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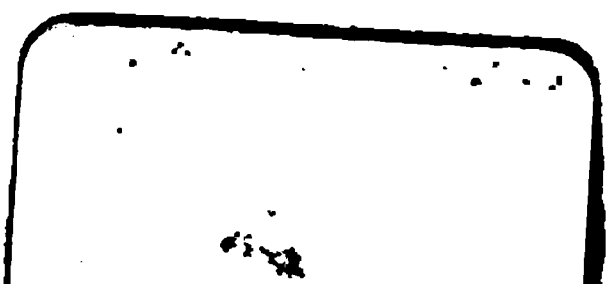
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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1801.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES II.—
Part V.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. AND J. ROBINSON,
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1802.



PREFACE.

THE principles upon which the New Annual Register has been conducted, have been amply vindicated by the testimony of facts and experience. They are, indeed, the principles of constitutional liberty, the principles of the Bill of Rights, the principles which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms. We expect therefore to hear no more of those despicable cavils, which the voice of venal faction had raised against us, and of which this notice will shortly be the only memorial.

Should it now be objected, that, from having been the opponents, we are become the panegyrists of government, we answer, that government in its measures has come over to us, and not we to them. We have never regarded men, but measures; and if that criterion be observed in deciding on our merits, we defy the most captious critic to fix upon us a charge of inconsistency.

PREFACE.

sistency. To oppose indiscriminately every administration, is faction; to censure what is pernicious to the public, and to applaud what is good and constitutional, is patriotism. The screaming bird that rails alike at every passenger, is a senseless chatterer; that praise or censure which is justly appropriated, is alone deserving of regard.

As the war has been limited in its operations, in the course of the last year, the Foreign department of our history is less copious than it has been on some former occasions. Such circumstances, however, as required minuteness of detail, have not been neglected: and in one instance we trust we may fairly challenge the approbation of our readers—*viz.* the care and accuracy with which the proceedings of the Imperial Parliament are reported.

Much attention has also been given to the other departments of our Register, in order to render them as interesting and entertaining as possible.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,
AND TASTE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES II.

PART V.

THE anecdotes of a civil war are the history of destruction: in all ages the mob have vented their hatred to tyrants on the pomp of tyranny; the magnificence which the people once have envied, they love to demolish; and, mistaking consequences for causes, the first objects of their fury are the palaces of their masters: if religion is thrown into the dispute, the most innocent acts are catalogued with sins. This was the case in the contests between Charles the First and his parliament; as he had blended love of the fine arts with a lust of power, scrupulosity and ignorance were adopted into the creed which comprised the liberties of the subject. By the presbyterians, painting was considered idolatry; monuments were deemed pride; and an ornamented cathedral supposed to be alike prohibited by Magna Charta and the Bible. The restoration of royalty brought back the arts—but not taste. Charles the Second had a turn to mechanics

1801. b —none

statuary, without attaining its graces. In his historic compositions, Fuller is a wretched painter; his colouring is raw and unnatural; and not compensated by disposition or invention. In portraits, his pencil is bold, strong, and masterly. Painters who excel in the latter, and miscarry in the former, want imagination. They succeed only in what they see. Graham speaks of Fuller as extravagant and burlesque in his manner: the former is more true than the latter. In a picture of Ogleby, by him (in which he certainly has not debased his subject), he has represented Ogleby as a moon-struck bard, rather than as a contemptible one. The composition has more of Salvator than Brauwer. His own portrait in the gallery of Oxford is capricious; but touched with great force and character. At Wadham-college is an altar-cloth, painted in a singular manner, of considerable merit; it is just brushed over for lights and shades, and the colours melted in with a hot iron.

He was much employed to paint the great taverns in London, particularly the Mitre in Fenchurch-street, where he adorned all the sides of a great room in pannels, as was then the fashion: the figures were large as life. Sir Peter Lely, seeing a portrait of the king's framemaker, an old grey-headed man, finely painted by Fuller, lamented that such a genius should drown his talents in wine. Robert Streater (who was appointed serjeant painter at the Restoration), excelled in perspective landscape, architecture, and still life: he was born in Covent-garden; and studied under De Mouler. Sanderson, a good judge, and speaking of landscape, says, "Of our own nation, I know of none superior to Streater, who indeed is a complete master therein, as also in other arts of etching, graving, and perspective: not a line but is true to the rules of art and symmetry." He painted ceilings at Whitehall; Moses and Aaron at St. Michael's, Cornhill; and all the scenes at the old play-house. He also excelled in painting hen-and-chickens, flowers, fruit-

pieces ; which, without joining exuberant encomiums, at least displays the universality of his talents. He died in 1661, soon after having undergone an operation for the stone. Charles the Second had so much kindness for him as to send for a surgeon from Paris to perform it.

Francis Vanzoon came early into England, and, marrying Streater's niece, succeeded to much of his business. Vertue and Graham commend the freedom of his pencil, but his subjects were ill-chosen: he painted still life, oranges and lemons, plate, damask-curtains, cloths of gold, and that medley of familiar objects which strike the ignorant-vulgar, and which was then the taste of the times.

Sir Peter Lely was the most capital painter of this reign ; and his works are admitted amongst the classics of the arts. He was born in Westphalia, where his father, a captain of foot, was in garrison. He received his first instructions from one Dé Grebbes, and began with landscape and historic figures less than life ; but coming to England in 1641, and seeing the works of Vandyck, he quitted his former style, and gave himself wholly to portraits, in emulation of that great man. His success was considerable, though not equal to his ambition : he fell short of his model only in simplicity. If Vandyck's portraits are often tame and spiritless, at least they are natural : his laboured draperies flow with ease, and not a fold but is placed with propriety. Lely supplied the want of his taste with *cliquant*: his nymphs trail fringes and embroidery through meadows and purling streams. Vandyck's habits are those of the times; Lely's a sort of fantastic night-gown, fastened with a single pin:—in fact, Lely was the ladies' painter ; and, whether the age was improved in beauty or in flattery, certain it is that his women are much handsomer than those of Vandyck.—He caught the reigning character,

“ and stole
The sleepy eye which spoke the melting soul.”

It

It would be endless to recapitulate the works of this master: he was celebrated by the poets of the age, particularly by Waller, Lovelace, and Charles Cotton. The beauties of Windsor are the court of Paphos. In the portraits of men he seldom succeeded, if we except a fine head of the earl Sandwich; an alderman Leneve in his habit; and a portrait of Cowley in his youth, which has an inimitable pastoral simplicity and beauty. He was knighted by Charles the Second. He married a beautiful English woman, always kept a handsome table, and his collection of pictures was magnificent.

Lely was much mortified at the rising merit of Kneller. Both had too little variety in their heads. Kneller was bolder and more careless; Lely more delicate in finishing. The latter showed by application and labour the height of excellence to which labour and application could arrive. Had Godfrey painted less, and applied more, he would have been the greater master. Sir Peter Lely died of an apoplexy, as he was drawing the duchess of Somerset, in the 63d year of his age; 1680.

Antonio Verrio, a Neapolitan, was a first-rate painter on the subjects upon which he was employed. Without much invention, and with less taste, his exuberant pencil was ready at pouring out gods and goddesses, emperors and triumphs, over those public surfaces on which the eye never rests long enough to criticise, and where the works of a capital master should never be placed, viz. *ceilings and stair-cases*. The New Testament, or the Roman history, cost him nothing but *ultra marine*.

Charles the Second, wishing to revive the manufacture of tapestry at Mortlake, which had been interrupted by the civil war, sent for Verrio to England; but, changing his purpose, consigned over Windsor to his pencil. The first picture he drew for the king was his majesty in a naval triumph, now in the public dining-room in the castle.

castle. He executed most of the ceilings there, one whole side of St. George's-hall, and the chapel. On the ceiling of the former he has pictured the earl of Shaftesbury, in the character of Faction, dispersing libels; as in another place he revenged a private quarrel with the housekeeper (Mrs. Marriot) by borrowing her ugly face for one of the furies. The king paid him generously; gave him, besides, a place of master-gardener, and a lodging at the end of the park (now Carleton-house). He was expensive, and kept a great table, and often pressed his majesty for money, with a freedom which Charles's good-nature always indulged. Once, at Hampton-court, when he had but lately received 1000*l.*, he found the king in such a circle that he could not approach; upon which he called out, "Sire! I desire the favour of speaking with your majesty."—"Verrio," said the king, "what is your request?"—"Money, sire: I am so short of cash, that I am not able to pay my workmen; and your majesty and I have learnt by experience, that pedlars and painters cannot give long credit." The king smiled, observing he had but lately ordered him 1000*l.* "Yes, sire, but that was soon paid away; and I have no gold left."—"At this rate," said Charles, "you would spend more than I do to maintain my family."—"True," answered Verrio, "but does your majesty keep an open table as I do?"

On the accession of James II, Verrio was again employed at Windsor, in Wolsey's tomb-house, then destined for a Romish chapel. He painted the king and several of the courtiers in the hospital of Christ-church. The Revolution was by no means agreeable to his religion or principles: he quitted his place, and even refused to work for king William. From that time he was employed by lord Exeter at Burleigh, where he painted several chambers, which are esteemed amongst his best works. He has placed his own portrait in the room where he represented the history of Mars and Venus; and, for the Bacchus bestriding a hogshead, he has, according to

to his usual liberty, borrowed the face of a dean with whom he was at variance. By the persuasion of lord Exeter, he condescended at last to serve king William, and was sent to Hampton-court, where, amongst other things, he painted the great stair-case as ill as if he had spoiled it out of principle. His eyes failing him, queen Anne gave him a pension of 200*l.* for his life; but he did not long enjoy it, dying at Hampton-court in 1707.

Simon Varelst was a real ornament of the age of Charles, and one of the few who have arrived at capital excellence as a flower-painter. He was a Dutchman: it is not certain in what year he arrived in England. His works were greatly admired, and his prices higher than had been known in this country. He was patronised by the duke of Buckingham, who had too much wit to be long beneficent; and perceiving the poor man to be immoderately vain, he piqued him to attempt portraits. Varelst, thinking nothing impossible to his pencil, fell into the snare, and drew the duke himself; but crowded it so much with fruits and sun-flowers, that the king (to whom it was shown) could not spy out his grace, and took it only for a flower-piece. However, as it sometimes happens to wiser buffoons than Varelst, he was laughed at till he was admired; and sir Peter Lely himself became the real sacrifice to the jest. He lost much of his business, and retired to Kew, while Varelst engrossed the fashion, and for one half-length was paid 110*l.* His portraits were extremely laboured, and finished with the same delicacy as his flowers, which he continued to introduce into them. Lord chancellor Shaftesbury, going to sit to him, was received by the artist with his hat on: "Don't you know me?" said the peer.—"Yes," replied the painter, "you are my lord chancellor; and do you know me? I am Varelst. The king can make any man chancellor, but he can make nobody Varelst." The chancellor was disgusted, and sat to Greenhill,

In 1785 Varelst was a witness on the divorce between the duke and duchess of Norfolk. One who had married into his family was brought to set aside his evidence, and deposed to his having been mad and confined. Mad he certainly was ; and his lunacy was self-admiration. He called himself the God of Flowers ; went to Whitehall, saying he wanted to converse with the king for three hours : being repulsed, he cried out, " He is king of England—I of painting !—why should we not converse familiarly ?" He showed an historic piece, boasting that it contained the several manners and excellencies of Raphael, Titian, Rubens, and Vandyck. He was shut up towards the end of his life, and recovered his senses at last, but not his genius : he lived to a great age, and afforded a melancholy instance of the consequences of vanity.

Mrs. Anne Killigrew, the daughter of Dr. Killigrew, was born a little before the Restoration. Her family were remarkable for loyalty, accomplishments, and wit : and this young lady promised to be one of its fairest ornaments. Antony Wood says—" she was a grace for beauty, and a muse for wit ;" and Dryden has celebrated her genius for painting and poetry in a long ode, in which the rich stream of his numbers has hurried along with it all that his luxuriant fancy produced in his way :—it is an harmonious hyperbole, composed of the fall of Adam, Arethusa, vestal virgins, Diana, Cupid, Noah's ark, the Pleiades, the valley of Jehosaphat, and the last assizes. Yet Wood assures us there is nothing in it to which she was not equal, if not superior. Her poems were published after her death, with a print of her, from her portrait, drawn by herself in a much better style than her poetry, and evidently in the manner of sir Peter Lely. She was maid-of-honour to the duchess of York, and died in her 25th year, of the small-pox, in 1685.

William Vandeville, the son of Vandeville, painter of
sea-

sea-fights, was the greatest master that has appeared in this branch of painting. The palm is not less disputed with Raphael for history, than with Vandeville for that most sublime element the sea, with ships upon it. Annibal Carracci and Mr. Scott have not surpassed these chieftains. W. Vandeville was born at Amsterdam, and wanted no master but his father till the latter came to England. Then, for a short time, he was placed with Simon De Vlieger, an admired ship-painter of the age, but whose name is only preserved now by being united with that of his pupil. Young William was soon demanded by his father, and favourably received by the king, to whose particular inclination his genius was adapted.

Samuel Cooper was an admirable painter, and might be called an original genius; for though he was indebted for part of his merit to the works of Vandyck, he was the first who gave the strength and freedom of oil to miniature. Other artists in this line touch and re-touch with such careful fidelity, that you cannot help perceiving they are nature in the abstract. Cooper's pictures are so bold, that they seem perfect nature, only of a less standard. Magnify the former, they are still diminutively conceived: if a glass could expand Cooper's to the size of Vandyck's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion. If his portrait of Cromwell could be so enlarged, Vandyck might appear less great by the comparison. To make it fairly, one must not measure Vandyck by his most admired work—cardinal Bentivoglio: the quick finesse of eye in a florid Italian writer was not a subject equal to the protector; but the fair experiment would be to balance Cooper's Oliver and Vandyck's lord Strafford; to trace the lineaments of equal ambition, equal intrepidity, equal art, and equal presumption; and to compare the skill of the masters in representing the one exalted to the height of his hopes, yet perplexed with

with a command he could scarcely hold, did not dare to relinquish, and yet dared to exert: the other, dashed in his career, yet willing to avoid the precipice; searching all the recesses of so great a soul to break his fall, and yet ready to mount the scaffold with more dignity than the other ascended the throne. Had the artists worked in competition, they could not have approached nearer to the points of view than in delineating the character of these heroes, in which both so eminently excelled.

Cooper, with all this merit, had two defects: his skill was confined to a mere head; his drawing of the neck and shoulders was so incorrect, that it accounts for the numbers of his works unfinished. Probably he was sensible how small a way his talent extended. This poverty explains another deficiency—his want of grace; a signal defect in a painter of portraits, yet how rarely possessed! Cooper, content like his countrymen with the good sense of Truth, neglected to make her engaging. Grace, in painting, seems peculiar to Italy. The Flemings and the French run into contrary extremes: the first never approach the line; and, though the latter do not go beyond (for they never arrive at it), they substitute false taste in its stead:—no attitude is natural, and no form simple. Cooper's women, like those of his model Vandyck, are seldom very handsome. A noble author has said, "it was Lely alone who excused the gallantries of Charles II, and painted an apology for that voluptuous court:" but surely no eminence of talent can atone for presenting allurements to vice, no beauty afford plea for prostitution of genius.

The anecdotes of Cooper's life are few: his works are his history. He died in London, 1672.

The art of engraving travelled from Italy into Flanders, where Albert Durer, considering the bad taste and
country

country in which he lived, carried it to a great height. It does not appear when this art first reached England; it is a notorious blunder of Chambers to affirm it was first brought over from Antwerp, by Speed, in the reign of James I. We had it in some degree nearly as soon as printing, the printers themselves using small plates for their devices and rebuses. Caxton's Golden Legend has a group of saints, and many other cuts, dispersed through the body of the work. Even portraits were used in books; yet there is no trace of a single print being wrought off till 1540. The observation is trite, that gunpowder was discovered by a monk, and printing by a soldier; but it is no small honour to the latter profession to have invented mezzotinto.

Few royal names appear at the head of discoveries; nor is this surprising. When necessity ceases to be a spring of action, when every want is supplied without labour, and every wish anticipated without invention, the mind becomes enfeebled: its faculties are blunted; it no longer retains quickness to seize or sagacity to apply; and luxury is found to be a soil equally unfavourable to industry and to genius.

Prince Rupert, born with the taste of an uncle whom his sword was not fortunate in defending, was fond of those sciences which soften and adorn the hero, and knew how to mix them with his private hours of amusement, without dedicating his life to their pursuit, like those who, wanting capacity for momentous views, make serious study of what should only be the recreative occupation of a genius. He one morning observed the sentinel at a distance from his post very busy doing something to his piece: asking what he was about, the man replied, that the dew of the night had made his fusil rusty, and that he was scraping it. The prince, on examining, was struck with something like a figure eaten into the barrel, with innumerable little holes, closed together like friezed

friezed work on gold and silver, part of which the soldier had scraped away.

The prince concluded that some contrivance might be found to cover a brass plate with such a grained ground of fine pressed holes as would give an impression all black, and that by scraping away proper parts the smooth superficies would leave the rest of the paper white. Communicating his idea to Vaillant, a painter, whom he maintained; they made several experiments; and at last invented a steel roller, with tools to make teeth like a file or rasp, with projecting points, which effectually produced the black grounds: those being scraped away and diminished at pleasure, left the gradations light.

Thus, from so trifling an accident, *Génie fécond en expériences* conceived mezzotinto.

Had the court of the first Charles been peaceful, how agreeably would the congenial taste of prince Rupert have flattered and confirmed the inclination of his uncle! How well would the muse of arts have repaid the patronage of the monarch, when for his first artist she presented him with his nephew! and how different a figure did this prince make in a reign of dissimilar complexion! The same philosophic warrior who could relax himself into the ornament of a refined court was regarded as a savage mechanic in a circle where courtiers were merely voluptuous wits. But, to return to the discovery, which Evelyn thus verbosely describes—"it appears a paradox to speak of a graving, without graver, point, or aquafortis; and yet this is executed in mezzotinto without the assistance of either. The very thing which gives our artists the greatest trouble, and is longest in finishing (for such are the deepest shadows in plates), is here the least considerable and most expeditious:—on the contrary, the lights here are the most laborious, and yet effected with the greatest facility. That a print should so accurately

rately resemble and even emulate the best drawings, so as nothing of Hugo da Carpi or any celebrated master has exceeded or even approached, is the excellence of this new invention.

But, curious as it was, it must be acknowledged that it did not produce all that it promised. It has rather diversified prints than improved them; and, though John Smith carried the new discovered art to the greatest perfection it ever has attained, mezzotintos still fall short of fine engravings.

William Faithorne was one of the most capital engravers who has appeared in this age. The number of those whose works deserve intrinsic regard, abstracted from their scarcity, or the curiosity of the persons represented, is comparatively few, and soon enumerated. Payne was the first Englishman who distinguished himself by the graver; and, had his application been equal to his genius, there is no doubt he would have shone in the first line of his profession. But he was idle; and, though recommended to Charles, died in indigence before he was forty. The family of Pass were singularly neat in their performances. Hollar still surpassed them, and in branches to which their art did not extend. Lombart added roundness to delicacy; and was even a great artist, if compared with most of his successors, of whom White declined the least.

Savage may be styled engraver to a race of heroes, whom Prior calls "the unfortunate brave." No country preserves the images and anecdotes of such worthies as England. The rigour of the law is here a passport to fame, from the infringers of Magna Charta to the collectors on the road. From Charles the First to Maclean, every sufferer becomes the idol of the mob; and this is one of the strong proofs that the characteristic of the English nation is humanity.

Some

Some of the resemblances preserved by Savage are men who fell in a better cause:—bishop Latimer, Sidney, alderman Cornish, the earl of Argyle, sir Edmonbury Godfrey, sir Thomas Armstrong, and the duke of Monmouth.

Robert White was celebrated for his admirable success in likenesses—a merit which would give value to his prints, had they not been so well executed. No one has surpassed him in the multiplicity of heads.

In sculpture, Grinlin Gibbons was an original genius: there is no instance of a man before him who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements with a free disorder natural to each species. Evelyn recommended him to Charles, who, though too indolent to search for talents, and too indiscriminate in his bounty to confine it to merit, was always pleased when it was brought home to him. He assigned the artist a place in the board of works, and employed him on the ornaments of most taste in his palaces, particularly at Windsor, where, in the chapel, the simplicity of the carver's foliage sets off and atones for the glare of Verrio's paintings. Gibbon, whose art penetrated all materials, carved that beautiful pedestal of marble at Windsor, for the equestrian statue of the king, in the principal court. The fruit, fish, and implements of shipping, are all exquisite. The man and horse may serve for a sign to draw the eye of the passenger to the pedestal. The base of the figure at Charing-cross was the work of this artist;—so was the statue of Charles II, at the Royal-exchange. The foliage in the choir of St. Paul's is of his hand: and there is at Burleigh a noble profusion of his carving, in picture-frames, chimney-pieces, and the Last Supper, in alto relievo, finely executed. But the most superb monument of his skill is at Petworth, enriched from the ceiling, between the pictures, with festoons of flowers and dead game, all in the highest

highest perfection. Appendant to one is an antique vase, with a bas-relief of the purest taste, and worthy the Grecian age of cameos.

In architecture, though the taste was bad, and corrupted by imitations of the French, yet, as the age produced St. Paul's, it may be said to have flourished in this reign. An age—nay, whole centuries often obtain a name for one capital work.

Sir Christopher Wren is placed here, as his career was opened under Charles: the length of his life ornamented the reign of several princes, and disgraced the last of them*.

A variety of knowledge proclaims the universality, a multiplicity of works the fertility, and St. Paul's church the greatness, of sir Christopher's genius: the noblest temple, the largest palace, and the most sumptuous hospital, in such a kingdom as Britain †, are all works of the same hand. He restored London, and recorded its fall ‡. He was born at London 1632, and educated at Oxford. His mathematical abilities unfolded themselves so early, that at twenty he was elected professor of astronomy at Gresham-college, and eight years after at Oxford. His discoveries in philosophy and mechanics contributed to the reputation of the new established Royal Society; and his skill in architecture had raised his own name so high, that in the first year of the Restoration he was appointed coadjutor to sir John Denham, whom he succeeded. Three years before, he visited France, but unfortunately went no further. The great number of drawings he made there, from their buildings, had but too vi-

* At the age of eighty-six he was removed from being surveyor-general of the works by George the First.

† St. Paul's, Hampton-court, and Greenwich.

‡ He built above fifty parish churches, and designed the Monument.

sible an influence on his own—but it was so far lucky for sir Christopher that Lewis the Fourteenth had erected palaces, and no churches. St. Paul's escaped, but Hampton-court was sacrificed to false taste. He died at ninety-one, having lived to see the completion of St. Paul's—a fabric, and an event, which one cannot wonder left such an impression of content on his mind, that, being carried to see it once a year, it seemed to recall a memory which was almost deadened to every other use. He was buried under his own fabric, with four words that comprehend his merit and his fame:—

“ Si quæras monumentum, circumspice ! ”

Oxford, in the time of the civil war, seems to have been the only place in the kingdom where *musical* sounds were allowed to be heard: for that city during a considerable time being the royal residence, not only the household musicians, but many performers who had been driven from the cathedrals of the capital, as well as those of other parts of the kingdom, flocked thither as to a place of safety and subsistence. However, after Charles I. was obliged to quit this post, and had been totally defeated at Naseby, they were necessarily dispersed, and those who were unable to find an asylum in the house of some secret friend to royalty and to their art, were obliged to betake themselves to new employments.

Ten years of gloomy silence elapsed before a string was suffered to vibrate, or a pipe to breathe aloud, in the kingdom, as we hear of no music-meetings, clubs, or concerts, till 1656; when, by the industry of Antony Wood, whose passion for the art inclined him to regard every thing connected with it as worthy of a memorial, we have an accurate account of the state of practical music in this university and age.

The

The obligations of English historians and biographers to this diligent antiquary are such, that he merits an honourable niche in every literary fabrication to which he has contributed materials.

Antony Wood, whose whole life was spent in the service of the dead, and whose labours, since his decease, have so much facilitated the inquiries of the living, was born at Oxford 1632. In his life, written by himself with the simplicity of ancient times, he tells us, "that in 1651 he began to indulge his natural and insatiable *genius* to music. He exercised his hand on the violin; and having a good ear to take any tune at first hearing, he could quickly draw it out from the violin, but not with the same strings that others used. He wanted understanding, friends, and money, to pick him out a good master, otherwise he might have equalled a capital one on that instrument, and, in singing, vied with any person then in the university." However, he procured a master, Charles Griffiths, one of the musicians belonging to Oxford, whom he then thought to be a most excellent artist, though, when he was himself improved, he found that he was not so:—but he obtained at last a proficiency in music, and frequented weekly meetings of musicians, the merits of whom he details very elaborately. In another place he says "that heraldry, music, and painting, did so crowd upon him, that he could not avoid them; and by music, and rare books in the library, his life was a perfect *Elysium*, having, besides, a generosity of mind, and a hatred of all that was servile, sneaking, or advantageous for lucre sake."

If this minute biographer is sometimes wanting in taste and selection, to give his records due importance, it must be ascribed to his constant habit of making memorandums of every person, transaction, and circumstance, within his knowledge, in the uncouth language of his early youth. This dialect alone renders his writings frequently ridiculous, though they contain such

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information as cannot be obtained any-where else. The few opportunities he had of knowing the gradual changes in our colloquial language by conversing with men of the world, and being debarred the perusal of elegant books by his favourite course of reading, degrade him to a level with writers infinitely his inferiors both in use and entertainment. Wood was perhaps too much an enthusiast in music to speak of its effects with critical and philosophical precision: however, without his assistance, the state of the art, as well as the anecdotes of the professors, would have been difficult to find.

The nation, tired of the seriousness approaching to gloom, which marked the republic with Cromwell at its head, manifested their joy at the restoration of monarchy by every possible demonstration—the viol and the song again were heard in their streets, and the scared musicians again appeared in their cathedrals. But many who had been degraded, and involved in the calamities of the civil war and the subversion of the established church, died during the conflict. Of the gentlemen of Charles I's chapel, none appear to have claimed their former station but Dr. Wilson, Christopher Gibbons, and Henry Lawes.

During the usurpation of Cromwell, it was deemed essential to true religion that no organs should be suffered to remain in churches, that cathedral service should be totally abolished*, and all whose functions had been to assist in such profane vanities should betake themselves to some employment less offensive to the Lord. In consequence of these tenets, the churches had been stripped of their organs, libraries and repositories ransacked for musical service-books of every kind, which being all considered alike superstitious and ungodly, were committed to the flames, and the utmost efforts used

* There are many persons who still think it did not evince a *bad taste* in music to wish the abolition of the cathedral service.

for a total extirpation;—and indeed with such success, that when the heads of the church set about re-establishing cathedral music, it was equally difficult to find instruments, books, performers, and singers, able to complete the duty. Organ-builders, organists, and choirmen, having been driven to seek new means of subsistence, the former became common carpenters and joiners, and those of the latter who did not enter the king's army privately taught the lute, virginal, or such miserable psalmody as was publicly allowed. A sufficient number of workmen for the immediate supply of organs not being found in our own country, it was judged expedient to invite foreign builders of known abilities to settle amongst us; and the premiums offered on this occasion brought over the two celebrated workmen Smith and Harris. Bernard Schmidt, as the Germans write his name, was accompanied by his two nephews as assistants. To distinguish him from these, as well as to express the reverence due to his abilities, which placed him at the head of his profession, he was called Father Smith.

An organ is so operose, complicated, and comprehensive a piece of mechanism, that to render it complete in tone, touch, variety, and power (exclusive of the external appearance), is, perhaps, one of the greatest efforts of human ingenuity. Smith was so careful in the choice of his wood as never to use any that had the least knot or flaw in it, and so tender of his reputation as never to waste his time in attempting to mend a bad pipe: if it had any radical defect, he threw it away and made another. This accounts for the equality and sweetness of his stops, as well as the soundness of his pipes to this day. Smith had not been many months here before Harris arrived from France, with his son Renatus Harris, who on the death of his father became a very formidable rival to Smith. The contention between these eminent artists, at the time of erecting the admirable organ which now stands in the Temple church, was carried on with
c 2 such

such violence as never happened before or since on a similar occasion. About the latter end of Charles II's reign, the master and benchers of the Temple, determining to have as complete an organ as possible in their church, received proposals from both these eminent artists, backed by the recommendations of so equal a number of powerful friends and skilful organists, that they were unable to determine which to employ: they therefore told the candidates, that if each would erect an instrument in the different parts of the church, they would retain that which by the greatest number of excellencies should be allowed to merit the preference.—Smith and Harris agreeing to this proposal, in eight months, each, with the utmost exertion of his abilities, had completed an instrument for the trial. Dr. Tudway, an eminent musician, performed on Smith's organ; and, till the other was heard, every one believed that this must be chosen. Harris employed Lulli, organist to Catharine, to touch his organ, which brought it into favour; and thus they continued vying with each other for nearly a twelvemonth. At length, Harris challenged Smith to make additional reed-stops in a given time:—these were the *vox humana*, *Cremorne*, and some others. The stops, which were newly invented, or at least new to English ears, afforded great delight; and the imitations were so exact on both sides, that it was difficult to determine who had best succeeded. At last the decision was left to lord chief justice Jeffries (afterwards king James's pliant chancellor), and he terminated the controversy in favour of Father Smith; so that Harris's organ was taken away without loss of reputation, having so long pleased and puzzled better judges than Jeffries.

The small stock of music with which the king's chapel began becoming in a few years less delightful by frequent repetition, and Charles perceiving a genius for composition in some of the young people of the chapel, he encouraged them to cultivate it; and many of the first set of choristers, even whilst children, composed services which

which are still used in our cathedrals. Dr. Tudway, in assigning reasons for the change of style in the music of the chapel-royal, says, "His majesty, who was a brisk and airy prince, coming to the crown in the flower of his age, was soon tired with the grave and solemn way established by Tallis, Bird, and others; and ordered the composers to add symphonies, accompanied by violins, cornets, and sackbuts, with other instruments, to all their anthems and ritornels. The old masters, Dr. Child, Dr. Gibbons, and Mr. Low, organists to his majesty, hardly knew how to compose with these new-fangled ways, but proceeded in their old manner; and therefore there are only some services and full anthems to be found of theirs. In five years' time, some of the brightest children in the chapel, as Pelham, Humphrey, and John Blow, &c. began to be masters of composition, so that every month they produced something new; without which indeed they could not hope to please his majesty." As French music under this reign was much better known in England than Italian, there are in the melody of Humphrey, and that of Purcell, passages which remind us of Lulli, whom Charles pointed out to his musicians as a model. Humphrey was sent out by the king to Paris to study under him, and was the first of church composers who had the least idea of musical pathos.

Captain Henry Cook, master of the chapel, had been esteemed the first musician of his time till his scholar Humphrey came into notice, on whose celebrity Cook died of grief.

Humphrey was appointed to fill his place, which he did not long live to enjoy. He died much regretted at the age of twenty-seven.

John Blow was a scholar of Cook. His compositions for the church have immortalised his name amongst his countrymen. Many of his productions are not inferior

to those of Handel, in the grand style of choral music; and though it has been objected to him, that he has frequently violated rule, and that there are crudities in his counterpoint, his uncommon harmonies are so well justified by effect, his subjects of fugue are so bold and masterly, and his pathetic expression so strikingly affecting, that the best critic in church music which England can boast* has left a printed testimony in his favour, pointing out "Dr. Blow's *talent of new modulation* as his peculiar excellence."

Blow was master to our English Orpheus, Purcell; and most of his pupils were eminent in their art. He died in the sixtieth year of his age; and though he did not arrive at great longevity, yet, by beginning his course and mounting to the summit of his profession early, he enjoyed a prosperous and eventful life.

Michael Wise, another of the three eminent church composers that were fostered in the chapel-royal immediately after the Restoration, was a scholar of Cook at the time of Humphrey and Blow; and each of this triumvirate not only surpassed their master in genius and abilities, but all the musicians of the seventeenth century, except Purcell. These, however, prepared the way for his bold and original genius to expand; and several of his wonderful melodies and happy licenses appear to have been first suggested by these fellow-students. Yet what they had slightly touched, Purcell treated with the force of a Michael Angelo, whose abilities rendered the difficult easy, and gave to the art, what would have been in less powerful hands distortion, effect and grace.

Wise was a native of Salisbury; in which cathedral he was organist, and afterwards a gentleman of the chapel-royal. In 1686 he was preferred to the place of almoner,

* The late Dr. Boyce.

and master of the boys at St. Paul's. He is said to have been in great favour with Charles, who assigned him, as king's organist for the time, the privilege of playing to his majesty on the organ at whatever church he was present.

The first set of chapel-boys having matured into men so eminent masters as Humphrey, Wise, and Blow, excites a curiosity concerning their immediate successors; and this second class not only produced Dr. Tudway and Dr. Turner, who afterwards arrived at distinguished excellence, but HENRY PURCELL, who, during a short life, and in an age almost barbarous for every species of music but that of the church, manifested more original genius than any musician in similar circumstances in any part of Europe.

The fine arts depend so much on the encouragement of the great, that they have never flourished in any kingdom where its most illustrious inhabitants were indifferent to their charms; and the periods of our own history in which music has been most favoured by royalty, are those alone that entitle us to any kind of share in the honour of its cultivation. Queen Elizabeth was herself a performer, and prevented music from being driven out of our cathedrals by her injunctions. Charles I. patronised the little good music that subsisted during his turbulent and unhappy reign; and Charles II. by his smiles and attentions stimulated the natives of his land to make a considerable progress in the art, without the aid of Italy or Germany: indeed, the passion of this prince for every thing that was French changed the national taste; but Lulli being in fashion at Paris, we reaped some advantages from it.

Henry Purcell is as much the pride of the English in music, as Shakspeare in the drama, or Newton in philosophy. He was bred up in the king's chapel under Dr. Blow,

Blow, and at eighteen was appointed *maestro di capello* of Westminster abbey. The world is more partial to promising youth than to accomplished age; and at twenty-four he was advanced to one of the three places of organist at the royal chapel; where, as he was able to have his compositions better performed than any where else, his fame was soon extended to the remotest parts of the kingdom. From this time his anthems were eagerly procured, and heard with rapture wherever they could be performed. Nor was he suffered long to devote himself totally to the church: he was solicited to compose for the stage and the chamber, in both which undertakings he was so superior to all his predecessors, that his compositions seem to speak a new language: yet, however different from that to which the public had been long accustomed, it was universally understood; and his songs comprised whatever the ear could wish or the heart could feel.

The unlimited powers of his genius embraced every species of musical excellence with equal felicity. In the church-offices—whether he adhered to the elaborate style of his great predecessors, or, following his own imagination, adopted the pathetic and expressive, of which he was himself a principal inventor, accompanying the vocal parts with instruments—he manifested equal abilities. In compositions for the theatre, though the effects of an orchestra were little known, yet, as he employed them—giving to the voice a melody more interesting and impassioned than had been heard in this country, or perhaps in Italy itself—he soon became the darling of the nation: and in chamber music, whether sonatas for instruments, songs, or catches, he so far surpassed whatever had been produced or imported before, that all other music seemed instantly to be consigned to oblivion. Bigoted admirers of modern music may call Purcell's taste barbarous; yet, in spite of superior cultivation, in spite of all the vicissitudes of fashion—original genius, feeling, and passion, are,

are, and ever will be, discoverable and eminent in his works. He possessed, like Shakspeare and Guido, the **INIMITABLE** of his art; and snatched the grace beyond it above all who have ever before or since been famous.

Walther, by not having assigned to Purcell a niche in his Musical Dictionary, seems never to have heard of his existence; but Purcell was so truly a *national* composer, that his name was not likely to be wafted to the continent; and the narrow limits of his fame may be ascribed not only to the paucity of his compositions for instruments, without which musical productions are an unintelligible language to foreigners, but to his vocal compositions being solely adapted to English words. We should have known as little of Lulli as the French and Italians do of Purcell, if it had not been for the partiality which Charles acquired by his long residence on the continent. The first attempts at operas here, after the Restoration, were either French, or on the model of those in favour at Versailles; and whoever is acquainted with the general melody of Lulli and Purcell must perceive a strong resemblance. Purcell, however, having infinitely more fancy than the frenchified Tuscan, his productions afford far greater pleasure, to judges of good music, than can be found in Cambert and Grétry, whom Charles patronised in preference to Purcell. Purcell has fortified, lengthened, and harmonised, the true accents of the English language—those notes of passion which an inhabitant of our island would breathe in such situations as his words describe, he has enforced by the energy of modulation, which on the different occasions is sweet, bold, affecting, and sublime.

These remarks are addressed to none but Englishmen; for the expression of words can only be felt by the natives of any country, who seldom extend their admiration of foreign *vocal* music further than its effect on the *ear*: nor has it any advantage over instrumental, excepting that of
being

being executed by the human voice, like *Solfeggi*. If the Italians themselves did not come over here to give us the true expression of their songs, we should never find it out by study or practice.

It has been unfortunate for our national taste, that Gibbons, Humphrey, and Purcell, were not favoured with longevity; as a school might then have been erected, which, with these masters at the head of it, including Blow, would have enabled us to proceed without foreign assistance.

Purcell died at thirty-seven, in the year 1697. No other vocal music was celebrated for thirty years after his death; and it then gave way only to some favourite airs of Handel.

We cannot quit this branch of the arts without an honourable mention of Purcell's catches and glees; of which the humour, ingenuity, and melody, were so congenial to the national taste, as to render them the sole productions in this facetious strain, which were in general use for nearly a century. And though the patronage and premiums bestowed in later times upon this species of composition, as well as modern skill in performance, have given birth to many glees of a more exalted strain, Purcell has never been equalled in the wit, contrivance, or effect of his catches.

A charter granted to the musicians of the city of Westminster by Charles I. had lain dormant from his death till the Restoration; but immediately after that event the persons named in it who were still living determined to rescue music from the disgrace into which it had fallen, and exert their authority for the interest of its professors. The king's band, and other professors, both natives and foreigners, eminent in that time, were enrolled in this charter as the king's musicians; "and all such as are and
" shall

“shall be musicians of his majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall from henceforth for ever, by virtue of the said grant, be a body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name,” &c. The other powers granted by this charter allowed the corporation from time to time to make bye-laws, and impose fines on such as transgressed them; “which fines they shall have for their own use.”—In pursuance of these powers, the corporation hired a room in Durham-yard, in the Strand, within the city of Westminster. Their first meeting was in 1661 (Nicholas Lamine being marshal); from which day they proceeded to make orders—summoning, fining, and prosecuting the first professors “who dared make any benefit or advantage of music, in England or Wales, without first taking out a license from their fraternity.” Amongst the instances of the exercise of their power, it was ordered “that Lock, Gibbons,” and other celebrated masters in their art, “do come to Durham-yard, and bring each of them ten pounds, or show cause to the contrary.”

This seems to have been one of the most unmeaning and oppressive monopolies with which the Stuarts had long vexed the nation. Such a tyranny over the professors of a liberal art, there is reason to fear, would have been abused in whatever hands it had been lodged. The college of physicians, which superintends the dispensations of life and death, may have its use in preventing or detecting *quackery*; but that the ministers of our innocent amusements should be subject to any other controul than that which the common law of the realm is empowered to exercise over men of all ranks and degrees in the state, is a noxious delegation of power, far less likely to benefit the public, or accelerate the progress of the art, than to enable artists to torment and harass each other from motives of jealousy and avarice.

The minutes of this corporation are extant among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum; by which it appears

pears that the meetings continued no longer than 1679; when the members finding themselves involved in law-suits, and incapable of enforcing the power they assumed and the penalties threatened, it was deemed most advisable to leave the artists and the art to the neglect or patronage of the public*.

* Anthony Wood, Evelyn, Vertue, Graham, Walpole's Anecdotes, Burney's and Hawkins's Histories of Music, Biographia Britannica, &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1801.

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CHAPTER I.

Dissolution of the Ministry—Circumstances which were supposed to lead to that Event—General Character of the late Administration—New Ministry—Meeting of the Imperial Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Debates on the Address—in the House of Lords—in the House of Commons.

THE year 1801 was introduced by a circumstance, to which perhaps may be ultimately referred other events, not only interesting to this nation, but to the whole of Europe. An administration which had lasted upwards of seventeen years, which had established itself in defiance of the house of commons, had baffled, and at length subdued, a most formidable opposition, was suddenly dissolved; and on Friday the 11th of January Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to his majesty, which was immediately followed by that of lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham.

Of the secret history of this transaction, little which may be deemed authentic has yet transpired. If we may judge of the different parts which certain members of that administration have taken, it is not unreasonable to

suppose, that a disunion of sentiment might exist among themselves on certain public measures, and particularly relative to a peace with the French republic. It has been said that Mr. Pitt was desirous of peace, but conceived himself not calculated for its accomplishment, after the rancorous hostility he had manifested towards the French nation, and even towards the person who now exercised the sovereignty there. It has been said that he began to feel for the consequences; and that the difficulty of the financial arrangements, and particularly of finding taxes answerable to the expences of a protracted war, at length appeared in a formidable point of view, and induced the resolution of relinquishing a seat which he could no longer preserve with safety and with honour. On the other hand, it has been whispered that a serious disagreement

had long subsisted between a great personage and the two most active members of the ministry. The ground of the difference we have understood to be the military arrangements; and it is said to have proceeded to such an extent as to determine Mr. Pitt to embrace the first opportunity of proving his strength in the cabinet, and of either holding the reins with the same uncontrolled authority at which his father aspired, or of resigning a situation no longer compatible with his feelings.

Whatever of credit we may attach to these different reports, the ostensible ground of resignation was the unfortunate question of Catholic emancipation, as it has been called; a question which we cannot but wish had never been agitated. In his ardour for accomplishing the projected union, Mr. Pitt, it is said, had engaged to the Irish catholics to achieve for them their object, in case the act of union should meet with no opposition on their parts; and he took one of the earliest opportunities of bringing it forward in the cabinet council. Two parties viewed the measure with abhorrence and with dread. The English clergy feared the increase of popery; and the Irish protestants were apprehensive for themselves, should they ever have to encounter a popish judge upon the bench, supported by a popish jury, summoned by a popish sheriff. Through what channel his majesty was influenced to oppose the measure, we are ignorant; but it is generally understood that through his interference the plan of the minister was defeated, and this was immediately followed by his resignation, and that of most of his colleagues.

Of the character of this long ad-

ministration an impartial judgment will be formed by posterity. The retainers of a minister may erect statues, and pour out the grateful incense of adulation before that idol which has been the tutelar deity of their fortunes; but it is the page of history which alone will erect a durable monument, and which will consecrate the name of a minister to honour and immortality. To Mr. Pitt's administration the impartial historian cannot accord the praise of political consistency, of extended views, of liberal principles, and an enlarged and beneficial system of policy. Mr. Pitt entered upon his political career too early in life, and with a degree of popularity which was calculated to intoxicate a young and inexperienced mind. Early involved in the vortex of public business, his talents wanted the severe exercise of study to improve and mature them. He was deficient in some of the rudimental knowledge of a statesman; he had not contemplated with a nice attention those great examples which might have served as a model for his conduct in times of difficulty, nor had he accurately weighed and considered the delicate chain of political interests on which the safety of Europe depends. Thus thrown prematurely into public life, gifted by nature with extraordinary talents, among the first of which we may account a fluent, copious, and impressive eloquence, he yet was an unfinished politician. He would have excelled as an associate, though he was perhaps unequal to the situation of a principal; he was calculated for an admirable partisan, though he wanted the knowledge and capacity of a general. His measures therefore displayed the impetuosity but not the

the vigour of youth; they had all the stratagem, but not the judgment, of the experienced statesman. They were calculated to excite admiration rather than to ensure approbation; and, while men were astonished at the boldness of the design, they sometimes beheld with disappointment a poverty of execution. He entered upon undertakings of the greatest magnitude without sufficient information, and he abandoned them because he had not calculated upon the difficulties that were to be encountered. In every thing his object was to be distinguished; in every thing he must be a prominent character. Thus the statesman was lost in the projector; and in too eagerly pursuing fame, he lost that greatness to which, with more sober counsels, he might have attained.

Yet the errors of Mr. Pitt were rather errors of judgment than of principle. The little and factious calumny which would ascribe to him a deliberate plan to overthrow the liberties of his country is to be despised. He disliked liberty only when it thwarted his views; and he sported occasionally with the constitution of his country, only to serve the little purposes of party, the exigencies of the moment. He is charged, with equal injustice perhaps, with having extended the system of parliamentary corruption. It does not appear that such a charge is well founded: on the contrary, the influence which he employed appears to have been of a more open and direct nature than that which was established either by Walpole or lord North. He lavished the honours of the peerage, it is true, with an unsparing hand, and some new offices were created. But the system of bribery, under the co-

lour of participating in the loan, was laid aside; nor does it appear, on the whole, that the pension list was immoderately enlarged.

So inapplicable indeed is the charge of pursuing despotism on a system, that the great misfortune of this administration was, that they were totally without any plan or system whatever. It was a temporising *make-shift* administration, which pursued no measures whatever with consistency. Genius, like virtue, yields not to times, or humours, or circumstances, but makes them all ultimately subservient to its own enlarged and liberal system of policy; but Mr. Pitt's administration was best characterised by a favourite phrase of his own, *existing circumstances*. His first political project was a parliamentary reform, but he discovered that *existing circumstances* would not admit it. He undertook to extinguish the national debt; he concluded by doubling it. He prided himself upon being the minister of peace; he soon experienced an inordinate passion for war. Thus, one part of his administration was a contradiction of another; one system served as a practical refutation of the preceding; and it is a well-known fact, that a measure of the highest national importance, which had been ordered in the afternoon, has been revoked the succeeding morning.

The same inconsistency is observable in the causes, or rather excuses, for the late war. At one time it was a war voluntarily undertaken in the true spirit of antient chivalry "for religion, monarchy, and social order;" at another, we were forced into it by the aggression of our adversaries. At one period it was carried on to procure "indemnity for the past, and security for the future;" at another, for the express purpose of

restoring the house of Bourbon. In the negotiation at Paris, the *sine qua non* was the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor of Germany; in the answer to the overture of Bonaparte, it was the re-establishment of monarchy in France. Contrary to the policy of all wise statesmen, who embrace the moment of good fortune to secure the most advantageous terms, our ministers were haughty and insolent in success, and abject in ill-fortune; they negotiated only when their allies were beaten off the field.

The war, rashly provoked, was weakly conducted. It was the undoubted policy of Great-Britain to have maintained, if possible, during the continental distractions, a dignified neutrality. The longer we could abstain from interfering in the dispute, the longer our finances could be preserved unimpaired, the better it must have been for the country at large. History would have instructed any man conversant in it, that a state of anarchy, such as France exhibited at the period to which we allude, could not long endure. Contending factions, like the armed men of Cadmus, must have successively destroyed each other; and if our interference could at any time be useful in restoring order, it would have been at the time when the nation should be sick of contest, of blood, and of atrocity. An external coalition for an indefinite end, an end which most Frenchmen concluded naturally could be only the dismemberment of the country, served internally to unite the nation; and a maxim of Mazarine, illustrated by a vulgar example*, might have instructed modern po-

liticians in the folly and inefficacy of the undertaking.

When great statesmen however, urged by ambition, or propelled by circumstances, undertake a project of this nature, they have been always careful to calculate the force of the contending parties. This, the event proved, was neglected in the present instance. If unable by their own powers to subjugate the country so circumstanced, or if even doubtful of their force, they have endeavoured to act in concert with some of the great factions, which divide the nation itself. This course of policy was evidently neglected; the coalesced powers formed a league only with the outcasts of the nation, a few miserable exiles, who were neither respectable for talents nor for character; persons held in detestation by the people at large, and formidable only to the party with whom they associated.

If a war with France was inevitable, the mode in which this was carried on was the most injudicious that could be devised. Even the recent contest with America might have convinced the British ministry, and their allies, how nugatory is the attempt to make an impression on the interior of a country which is totally adverse to its invaders. In the famous succession war, a war only exceeded in absurdity by that in which we have been recently engaged, the great earl of Peterborough informed his employers, that with the forces under his command he could march through Spain almost without opposition, but that he was not able to retain in subjection a single province. The example of the crafty Catharine

* That of two mastiffs, which tore each other before the common enemy of both (the bull) made its appearance.

might have instructed our ministers in the mode of conducting the war. She was equally with ourselves at war with France, yet she neither expended a shilling nor lost a man. From the moment of the victory of the 1st of June, Great Britain was secure from the risk of invasion. On our natural element we were without controul, we were every where victorious. Where then was the policy of expending with a lavish hand uncounted millions in subsidizing feeble or faithless allies, or in idle expeditions, which could only end, as they did, in discomfiture and disgrace?

The plea for engaging in the war from the proceedings of the seditious societies at home, is almost too puerile to deserve refutation. We have uniformly asserted that the corresponding society, and its affiliated clubs, were contemptible both as to numbers and character. The public never sympathized either in their projects, or the means of promoting them: the former were too visionary and metaphysical to engage the mass of the people; the latter were, from their violence and absurdity, calculated only to produce disgust. The multitudes who attended their public meetings were drawn together by no other motive than an idle curiosity; and perhaps the majority of the hearers would have been among the most active opponents of their measures. It was nevertheless right that these meetings should be suppressed; they were inconsistent with the peace of a well ordered community; and this part of the proceedings of administration had our approbation: but we could never discover the smallest connexion between this measure of prudence and safety, and the French war; and the remark of the

republican minister Le Brun, in reply to lord Grenville's representation on this topic, appeared to us unanswerable:—"If you have bad citizens among you, have you not laws to punish them?"

It has been supposed by men of considerable judgment, that the alarm manifested by ministers on this occasion was the stratagem of a deep policy; and not the impulse of sentiment. In this opinion we do not concur: we believe them to have acted seriously under the influence of fear; but it was a fear unbecoming Englishmen and statesmen. Whatever were their designs, the number of the seditious was grossly exaggerated. The men in buckram consisted of a few idle schemers assembled at a pot-house; and some seditious expressions chalked upon the walls excited a dismay almost equal to the prophetic hand-writing which predicted the downfall of the empire of Babylon.

The character of Mr. Pitt's administration then has been grossly mistaken by both parties. He was neither the knight-errant of despotism, nor the cool and crafty politician. His proceedings were more the effect of impulse than of meditation; and when, six months before the war, he predicted a seven years continuance of peace, we have no doubt but he was sincere.—On another part of his public character we shall perhaps differ no less widely from our contemporaries. He is extolled as a profound financier. The fact however has been rather asserted than proved; and when sufficient proof shall be brought, we trust we shall be found open to conviction. If, as has been asserted, of three plans for the liquidation of the national debt presented by the late Dr. Price, he

made choice of the worst, it argues little for either his knowledge or his judgment in that department. But without entering into that question, without wishing to depreciate the talents either of Dr. Price, or of Mr. Pitt, we have never been able to consider either the adoption of the plan, or even the invention of it, as any extraordinary exertion of genius. If a certain portion of the public debt was to be annually extinguished, in what manner would any person of common sense attempt it? Not surely by paying off at par, stock which was daily transferred in the public market, and the greater part of which indeed had been invested, at a much lower rate. The plain and obvious method was to take the stock at the market price, and to take it of those creditors who were desirous of parting with it—in other words, to purchase it in the open market. Thus far for the scheme on which we believe his reputation as a financier is chiefly founded. Of his plan for the sale of the land-tax we cannot speak in terms of approbation. Its only effect could be a temporary rise of stock, and we much question whether it will ever be carried into complete execution. His first essay in taxation, which was termed the commutation tax, was a palpable blunder in finance, and answered no good purpose to any part of the nation except the India company. The other taxes which from time to time he imposed evinced no genius for finance. They consisted either in augmentations of existing taxes, or in fantastical forms of taxation which have been found either impolitic or unproductive*. The income tax might have been much more equally collected than it was; nay, there is

a form in which it might have been imposed without even appearing an enormous burthen. A great and masterly genius for finance could not surely have been exercised for so long a space of time as seventeen years, without striking out something of a novel or extraordinary arrangement, without something which might be transmitted as a model to posterity. Yet of this kind nothing has been attributed to Mr. Pitt; his reputation in this line seems entirely to rest on the scheme for the liquidation of the public debt. This was not his invention, but the production of Dr. Price, and when examined and analysed appears in itself no extraordinary effort of invention.

Such appears to us the impartial outline of the character of this administration. Mr. Pitt is in truth neither to be regarded as the saviour of his country nor the enemy of its liberties. His administration will be known to posterity chiefly by its profusion; and the mischiefs which the nation has to regret from it are 280 millions added to the national debt; the existing taxes nearly doubled; and the necessities of life (from these causes and the unnecessary extension of paper credit) raised to an exorbitant rate.

It was some time before the new ministerial arrangements were announced, and probably some time before they were settled. We are unacquainted by what means the new ministers were recommended to his majesty's notice: report said, that Mr. Addington entered the royal closet as a mediator, and came out prime minister. It is however more probable that the king on this occasion consulted his old and confidential friend, the earl of Liverpool; and that the integrity, can-

* Such as the taxes on watches, maid-servants, hair-powder, armorial bearings, &c.

dour, industry, and conciliating manners of that gentleman distinguished him as a proper man for conducting the public affairs at a crisis when those qualities appeared to be most essential to the welfare of the state. Mr. Addington's appointment, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was followed by the nomination of lord Eldon to the office of lord high chancellor, lord St. Vincent to that of first lord of the admiralty, lord Hawkesbury as secretary of state for the foreign, lord Pelham for the home department, and colonel Yorke as secretary at war. Lord Eldon was succeeded by sir Richard Pepper Arden, who was created lord Alvanley, as chief justice of the common pleas, and Mr. Addington by sir John Mitford as speaker of the house of commons: sir William Grant was made master of the rolls, and Mr. Law and Mr. Percival attorney and solicitor generals. Before however the new ministers could regularly enter upon their respective offices, and before their appointment was announced in the gazette, his majesty was seized (in the month of February) with an alarming illness, and continued so far indisposed as to be unable to transact public business to the middle of the month of March. Till that period the old ministers continued to hold the reins of government, with the exception only of lord St. Vincent and lord Hawkesbury, who had been inducted into office previous to his majesty's indisposition.

On the 22d January the imperial parliament was opened by commission, and the lord chancellor informed the commons that they should proceed to the election of a speaker; when they made choice of Mr. Ad-

dington, who had not yet received the appointment which was noticed above. The parliament after this adjourned to the 2d of February, and on that day was opened by his majesty in person. The speech from the throne expressed "his majesty's great satisfaction in being now able to avail himself of the advice of the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. This memorable æra, distinguished by a measure calculated to consolidate the strength of the empire, he hoped would be equally marked by that energy and firmness which our present situation so peculiarly required. The court of Petersburg had treated our representations of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and against Englishmen, with the utmost disrespect; indeed acts of injustice and violence had aggravated the first aggressions.

"Under these circumstances, a convention had been concluded between Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, the avowed object of which was to renew their former engagements for establishing a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the interests of this country.

"The earliest measures had been taken to repel this confederacy, and to support those principles essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, in which firm determination there was no doubt of the vigorous assistance of the united parliament."

The speech concluded with recommending an inquiry into the high price of provisions, and promises of terminating the present contest, whenever it could be done consistently with security and honour.

In

In the house of lords, the duke of Montrose moved the address. This auspicious union, he said, was an event which tended essentially to promote the welfare and prosperity of both kingdoms, but particularly of Ireland. It was indeed of little consequence on which side the chief advantage lay; the wealth, the strength, the population, the happiness of one, was that of the other; this great act made them an inseparable people: the benefits of union had been already tried in the case of Scotland; and though each country had enjoyed the fruits of them, yet Scotland had reaped the greater share. She had incorporated with a kingdom of more extent of dominion, larger capital, wider commerce than her own. Apprehensions had been entertained at that time, that she would suffer under the influence of her superior neighbour, from the majority of representatives, and from other circumstances; but all those fears had been found to be chimerical, since, from the liberality of England to Scotland, she had not in any one instance felt the inferiority of her numbers in the legislature.

On the contrary, there had been a uniform and distinguishing attention paid to the weaker power: bounties had been granted for the encouragement of fisheries, communications by roads had been opened with the highlands, sums had been appropriated for the improvement of agriculture, the rents of forfeited estates had been applied to national advantage, money had been most beneficially lent to the completion of great works, a lower duty had been laid on malt in consequence of the inferiority of Scotland, and, much to the honour of England, the compact respecting

the proportion of land tax to be paid by Scotland had not been broken; which it might have been, had she continued to bear only the relative charge settled by the union. All this evinced that Ireland had nothing to apprehend from this country exercising superior power to her detriment, but, on the contrary, that every thing advantageous would be conceded, and a vigour acquired by her incorporation with a kingdom of such skill and industry as Great Britain. The fertility of the soil of Ireland, its natural resources and aptitude for commerce, could not be truly ascertained until they were developed by England, and they would now receive such an impulse as would demonstrate their value; nor could the most sanguine imagination conceive the extent of riches and power, to which, under these auspices, she would speedily rise. His grace said, that on this point he spoke the more confidently because in him the sentiment was hereditary. His family had taken an active part in promoting the union, at a time when it was highly unpopular in their country to do so; but they had the satisfaction of seeing all cavils against the measure die away, and every objection practically refuted. They had the blessings of their countrymen for their conduct, and all descriptions of people in both countries were long since convinced of its beneficial tendency. The first advantage to England would be a supply of grain from the superabundance of Ireland. There were immense tracts of land of such a mixed tenure, as to repress and impede tillage; there were extensive commons; and he had no doubt but that a bill of inclosure and allotment, by which they might be brought

brought into cultivation, would be a source of future plenty to the empire. The drainage of the fen lands was another source which he hoped would be opened by a public aid, and that surveyors would be appointed to inspect and report to parliament what could be done in this way. The system of the corn laws (he trusted) would be ameliorated; for though they might be right in their principle, it was a question whether the price at which foreign corn was importable did not discourage the British farmer from growing it, and induce him to turn more of his land into pasture. From this view of domestic points, his grace proceeded to examine our political affairs and relations; and here he acknowledged the aspect was somewhat dreary: but there was no cause to despond. Britain was strong in her own energies, and still more in the justice of her contest. It was said to be the wish of the French, and even of the chief consul, to procure the blessings of peace; but this he did not believe: the message sent by Bonaparte last year, and the whole tenor of the negotiation, proved that nothing was more distant from his heart; and he trusted that the agents and advocates for French principles would not gain proselytes to their assertions, that the chief consul was sincere.

He was aware that the communications made on this subject to the courts of Vienna and St. James's would be loudly spoken of; but these, instead of tending to general pacification, were for separate negotiations, when neither court could treat separately without breach of faith. But the French were now so situated, that they might fairly be brought to the test. The events

of war had so much reduced Austria as to oblige her to treat separately: this power therefore no longer being an obstacle with Great Britain, France had an ample opportunity of evincing her sincerity: as she was now greater than ever, it was more than ever the interest of the nations of Europe to combine against her, instead of which, they had combined to destroy the maritime law in pure hostility to England: if England therefore did not persist in maintaining it, her naval prowess was at an end, and her rank and character in the scale of nations totally abrogated.

To effect this, was one of the views of Russia: it appeared their aim to force this country into a war: the armed neutrality they found would not effect it; the people of Ireland and Britain, who were politically the same, were proof against this: the Russian ministers, by violating the property and treating the persons of British subjects in that country with indignity, sought to provoke hostilities, and had proceeded to such lengths as the legislature could not endure without incurring national disgrace. There was some hope that the monarch of Russia might yet perceive he had been deluded by his ministers; and should he feel disposed to make proper reparation, it would be the best indication of a great mind.

Impressed therefore with the conviction of the necessity of England defending her incontrovertible rights as a belligerent power, and that in case she did not obtain justice, every man in the kingdom would have but one sentiment, and resolve to support the councils of his majesty, his grace moved an address of thanks.

The

The earl of Lucan seconded the motion, and said that the very able manner in which the duke had expatiated upon it, would more powerfully impress the propriety of adopting it than any thing which he could urge.

Earl Fitzwilliam lamented that the course of events had made so momentous a change in the aspect of Europe: he lamented that he could not join in a unanimous vote of thanks on the union of Ireland; a subject on which his sentiments were sufficiently known: but, as the measure was past, he would suppress them now, and sincerely wished that the very sanguine expectations of the duke might be accomplished. But he could not withhold his astonishment, that on a crisis so awful, when we were about to be plunged in a new war, our ministers, instead of giving information to the house, had called upon them for additional confidence and additional supplies. It was the duty of that house to pause, and to inquire *why* we were to go to war, before it pledged itself to support the measure. An investigation ought to be made into the causes of this dangerous and calamitous predicament.

He had urged the house, perhaps more than any other individual in it, to the maintenance of the principles upon which the war against the French revolution had been founded; he had deeply felt the consequences of that spirit which had broken out in France, and the destruction to which it led; no one had gone further than himself in opposing the anarchy and confusion of the new doctrines; the nations of Europe had seen the policy of reinstating the ancient family of their kings in France; but he must confess his hopes were now disappointed, and the cause was a lost one.

The anarchy however had in a great degree subsided; France was converted into a monarchy under republican forms, and under a new ruler: it did not depend on the opinion of an individual, and he feared it no longer depended on the power of the nation, to withstand the establishment of the new order of things: the die was cast. But it was not consistent with the duty which that house owed to its king and country to omit an investigation into the causes of our failure, when such large and unlimited powers had been entrusted to ministers, when all Europe was in friendship with them, and united in one common interest. Surely it was a matter of importance to inquire by what means, instead of accomplishing this great object, they had plunged us into a contest with our own allies. The war, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, was intirely of our own seeking; we had it in our power to suspend the discussion of the neutral code, and by entering into a subject leading to litigation we had consolidated the powers of Sweden and Denmark with that of Russia. Nothing could be more distinct than the aggression of Paul and the northern confederacy, and it would have been political to have kept them so. If it was unjust in the emperor to detain our ships and property, it was equally unjust in us to seize and detain the ships and property of Sweden and Denmark. It had not been deemed necessary to go to war with them for the neutral code in the year 1780, and we had suffered nothing from our moderation. It surely then was incumbent on the house to examine the conduct of ministers, and to ascertain precisely in what manner they had used the extraordinary powers

powers with which they had been entrusted before they obtained more. The encroachments made on the property and freedom of the subject had been unexampled—yet what had been achieved by it? Every expedition they had undertaken had been attended with discomfiture; that to Holland had been marked by imbecility in the contrivance as well as criminal delay in the execution.

If it had been asked where 50,000 men could be placed most for the advantage of the enemy, it would have been answered, *Send them to Holland*, and instead of attacking France in her own territory (which she dreads) place them in an unhealthy climate, at a season unfavourable to military operations. Just so had they acted, and yet the same persons called for confidence. It was melancholy to reflect that our brave troops were now sent on an expedition which might have been unnecessary, if a treaty most wisely concluded had been honourably fulfilled. After declaring that to men so unfit for their situations his lordship could not give his support, he moved the following amendment:

“That the house should proceed with all possible dispatch to make such inquiries into the state of the nation, into the conduct of the war, and into our relations with foreign powers, as shall enable them to offer to his majesty such advice as may be conducive to the honour of his crown and the general interests of his people.

“And, if, owing to any unreasonable pretensions of the enemy, peace cannot be obtained with security; if the representations made to the court of Petersburg, of the outrages committed against our ships and property, have not re-

ceived reparation; and if the dissensions which have unhappily arisen between his majesty and the northern powers are of a nature to require immediate decision, and the impossibility of equitable adjustment renders new wars inevitable, they then would give his majesty every support which the means of the country could afford, in the confidence that his paternal care for the welfare of his people would induce him to take such measures as should prevent henceforward a calamitous waste of the remaining strength and resources, either by ineffectual projects or general profusion, and ensure a vigorous administration under the unexampled difficulties in which we were involved.”

The earl of Suffolk, after seconding the amendment, desired to know of the secretary of state why the papers of the return of killed and wounded in the expedition to Holland had not been produced, agreeably to the order of the house two months ago.

Lord Grenville complained of the irregular conduct of the noble earl, in having put any question personally to him, and observed this unparliamentary proceeding had not been uncommon lately; whereas it was quite contrary to order to address an individual peer and call for an answer peremptorily. In the present case, it had no reference to the subject before the house; and if it had, the returns did not fall within his department. Any order made in a former parliament, now no longer existing, could have no efficacy, unless revived by a new motion for an address to his majesty.

The earl of Suffolk said, a gross inattention had been shewn, and he was intitled to demand of the ministers

ministers the reason. The London Gazette had stated, that between 12 and 13,000 British and Russians had been actually killed and wounded in Holland, instead of 800 men mentioned by Mr. Dundas. As this matter remained without explanation, random censures might be cast on military officers, and even the illustrious chief might fall under slanderous insinuations. His lordship took a view of all our late expeditions, and arraigned them severally, as deficient in wisdom, vigour, and promptitude; by which the courage of our troops had been wasted, and our arms disgraced. He accused administration of artfully resolving not to employ lord Moira, for the same reason that Thugut had not employed the archduke Charles, because they were afraid his eminent talents should have given peace to the nation.

There were other important points on which it was a duty to impeach ministers; as, where the army was cooped up in transports, no man knew where; the sending 30,000 men to Egypt and elsewhere, and leaving this country without adequate defence; the refusal to negotiate, and the unfortunate letter of a noble secretary, which would have disgraced a school-boy. The violation of the treaty for the evacuation of Egypt was also one strong ground of impeachment; and our series of military expeditions was another.

The duke of Athol supported the original motion, and doubted not it would produce the benefits so well illustrated. He objected to the amendment, because it tended to repress the energies and enervate the strength of the nation, at a moment when unanimity was absolutely necessary.

Lord Romney was of opinion that administration deserved all the assistance it required. The court of Denmark had very lately attempted to treat us in the same manner as the other northern courts had treated us. Respecting Sweden there was a distinction in certain particulars; but when three powers united in a negotiation evidently hostile to British interests, we must consider them as embarked in the same cause. Since he had last spoken on the subject, he had carefully read over the papers between the secretary of state and M. Otto, and he thought they did great credit to ministers.

To him it appeared that Bonaparte was not sincere in his offers, and that our ministers had acted wisely and vigorously in the course they had taken. We ought to maintain an independence; and our maritime power depended on the principle which the northern confederacy threatened to overturn.

Lord Clifton (earl of Darnley) rose to remind their lordships that he had in the last parliament expressed his dissatisfaction at the conduct of the war; he should, therefore, on that ground support the amendment.

The war, in its origin, he had considered as just and necessary; but this was no reason for continuing a blind confidence, which had been, in more instances than one, disappointed. Yet, critical as was the moment, he did not despair of the ability of the country. He was convinced it was still able to resist the world in arms; but to give full effect to its energies, an inquiry into some recent transactions was necessary. The ministers had obtained a confidence, on the part of parliament and the people, unexampled

ampled in history; and how had they used it? Were we to look for their justification towards Holland and Ferrol? at their conduct in the treaty of El-Arish? or at their treatment of our allies, and the neutral powers?

Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos, was the maxim of the Romans; our ministers had inverted it:

Parcere superbis, debellare subjectos, had been theirs. Russia, in the first instance, had been permitted to insult us with impunity; but when a weaker power advanced a pretension, an ambassador had been sent to negotiate at the cannon's mouth; and yet the negotiation terminated without any adjustment of the point in question. Ministers asserted that the Northern confederacy was established on the basis of the neutral treaty of 1780. This, however, did not appear to be the fact, from count Bernstorff's official note to our ambassador: and they themselves did not think so, otherwise they could not, without betraying the greatest pusillanimity, avoid declaring war against the king of Prussia, who was a party in that treaty, and had acceded to the negotiation entered into by the Northern powers against us.

Earl Spencer strenuously contended, that an inquiry, during the present war, would infallibly cripple our exertions and impede our success; not that he meant to imply any doubt but that, whenever an inquiry should be made, it would redound to the honour of the ministers, as well as of the troops and officers employed. But this was not a period for investigation, but action. As to the new contest, it was not possible to avoid it; and we retained strength and

ability enough to conduct it to a happy issue.

The earl of Carnarvon said, that the present discussion had unfolded sentiments which ought not to be passed over in silence, tenets the most unconstitutional and dangerous at all times, but in this critical juncture destructive even of hope. When the speech from the throne announces the desertion of friends and allies, and their sudden change into enemies, was it our duty to hear it with ignorant astonishment, to exhaust ourselves in terms of rash indignation, and prepare for blind vengeance?

At this moment he did not consider that the house was called upon to pledge their confidence to ministers, or precipitately to declare them to be unworthy of it; but surely it was not a just statement of parliamentary duty to represent these things as not affording ground for inquiry; and, above all, to represent inquiry under these circumstances as dangerous.

Were we to be informed, that under the administration of the same men, the nation might fall from the highest situation in which we stood last year, to the lowest state of despondency under which we now met; and yet owed nothing but astonishment and regret to our country, and an unlimited confidence in the ministers? That at their desire we were to plunge into a war with our old friends and allies, without even examining the cause, or its justice? We had lately seen our nation in amity with them all, successfully pursuing one common object against one common enemy, with the prospect of an honourable peace almost at our command; and now, we are just informed, we were placed at the eve of an alarming war

war with all the world, without one ally, without the most distant hope of peace, and with only the assurances of government on which to deliver up the remaining resources of an exhausted country! He meant not to impute blame to ministers, but to promote inquiry: possibly all our surrounding calamities might have been inevitable; and this inquiry might lead us to expect, from the wisdom of administration, a termination of our evils: and surely this converted a strict examination into a peremptory duty. A series of disastrous events was little calculated to inspire confidence in the abilities of ministers; and if we were precluded from all sources of information, the view of our public situation, and this sudden reverse of our prosperous estate, must necessarily excite mistrust and dissatisfaction.

It had been rumoured that the claims of the Russians, Swedes, and Danes, as neutral nations, were so unreasonable, so obviously grounded in the hostile design to destroy the naval importance of this country, that it required no investigation to prove it. His lordship acknowledged he had great doubts upon this head. The little regular information laid before the house; public rumours, newspapers and private conversation, were all the materials which could be obtained; and these inclined him to think, that our quarrel was not so indubitably just as to preclude the necessity of inquiry before we plunged into a war. If it were true, that we had by treaty, for certain commercial advantages, relinquished to one nation the right of searching the ships of such contracting nations during our warfare with France, and thereby authorised such nations to supply

France without our interruption with warlike ammunition, this exception by treaty destroyed our right to search the ships of that nation, or of any nation included in a treaty of the same kind; and the refusal of Russia to permit her ships to be searched for contraband goods in times of war was justified by it.

Lord Grenville expressed his astonishment that it should be asserted the house was not fully apprised of the grounds of the quarrel, though it was so unequivocally known that an embargo had been laid upon our vessels in Russia in direct violation of her treaty with us. The house, however, was not called upon for its opinion, but support. In 1780, Sweden and Denmark had insisted on principles contrary, in some respects, to the law of nations, and in others to the express letter of our treaties. These pretensions had never been acknowledged by England, as was falsely affirmed; on the contrary, we returned an answer, that the different states engaged in the treaty of 1780 were bound by their prior treaties with us to a different line of conduct; nor could they have the power of altering them without the consent of England. With regard to a convention made with a sovereign state, agreeing to depart from the right of nations in certain specified particulars in its favour for a limited time, this was an exception to the general rule; and tended to prove those rights rather than deny their existence. His lordship reprobated the idea of free ships from neutral states supplying military stores to our enemy. He contended that, for ages past, the belligerent powers were intitled to seize them; and this doctrine was established immemorially by the practice

practice, and admitted by the law of nations; and if this country did not maintain her own honour, she would deservedly fall into disgrace in the eyes of all the world, the attention of which was fixed on the deliberations of the imperial parliament.

After discussing this point much at length, he came to the amendment, expressing great dissatisfaction at the idea of an inquiry, which would not only be useless, but detrimental.

Any one would suppose (continued his lordship) that the war had been attended with nothing but misfortune and dishonour; the naval victories, unparalleled for brilliancy of exploit and heroic action, seemed quite forgotten. Great blame had been cast on the expedition to Holland; but though it had not been completely successful, was it little to obtain the whole of the Dutch fleet, and cripple the marine of the most potent maritime power at war against us? If we took a view of the comparative situation of this kingdom, and those states which had been compelled to submit to the French republic, we should find cause of exultation: was it no privilege that their lordships were enabled to assemble quietly in that house? that the country was still able to meet, alone and un-allied, their combined enemies, without the slightest reason to despair? Confidence might surely well be placed on the force of our fleets, and the gallantry of our seamen. Respecting Cadiz and Ferrol, in carrying on such a contest as the present, expeditions might be justifiably prepared to attack the ports where the ships of Spain were fitting out to co-operate with the French fleets, and act jointly against our own squadrons; 1801.

and though the plan might not have succeeded to the full extent of our wishes, ministers did not deserve censure for so laudable an undertaking. Lord Grenville concluded with saying, it would be a bad return to his majesty, for his gracious speech, to annex an amendment to the address, implying the conditions on which alone they would support it.

The earl of Carnarvon rose again to observe, he never had asserted that any thing possessed by right, which in its own nature was alienable and transferable, might not be granted by treaty to whom and in such manner as the possessor chose; but he had affirmed, and would maintain, that a right arising from a state of war was in its nature unalienable, and resembled not a right of transferable possession; nor could it be relinquished or disposed of by treaty, for the sole benefit of one neutral nation, to the prejudice of another neutral state; it was due to neither, or to both; and we had consequently a right to search all neutral vessels, or *none*.

Lord Moira began an able speech with exonerating ministers for not allowing him to land his troops in the expedition he was called to command in the year 1794; the reason was, it had been found that the royalists had retired from the coasts of France to the interior of the country, and therefore could not have co-operated with the British forces, had they landed. Having exculpated administration where he knew them not to be censurable, he could go no further, but should vote for the amendment. The people of England wished to see that they were in earnest. Justice was due to the extraordinary merits of our fleets, officers and sailors; gallantry and enterprise

enterprise were not more the characteristic of our naval officers than of our military, to which he belonged: they were as ready to risk their lives in the service of their country as any description of men; but they had been placed in an invidious situation by the conduct of ministers, who were highly culpable for not having properly applied the large military force that was on foot. This alone was a necessary subject for inquiry, besides other important events in the whole management of the war. He did not, any more than the noble earl, distinctly collect from the speech from the throne what was the cause of the approaching hostilities with Russia and the northern powers; surely this was a subject of too great concern to be left to vague rumour, or oblique hints. The necessity of inquiry was apparent respecting all the past, on a variety of grounds: how came it, that the war against France commenced with this country in a confederacy with all the powers combined on our side, and that we now were in the strange situation of having that very confederacy combined with France against us? But the noble secretary had considered it a glorious privilege that we were able to assemble quietly in that house! Heavens! was it a glorious event that we were not crushed entirely? not totally annihilated?—and was this all the mighty result of “brilliant exploits” and “unparalleled valour?” Had the enemy made their threatened invasion, he, for his own part, did not believe there existed a lord in that house who would have been dismayed, nor a soldier out of it who would not have concurred in chastising the invaders for their temerity.

The earl of Musgrave defended ministers from the charge of not affording the military proper opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and directing well the large forces on foot: he asked lord Rawdon if the success in the West-Indies had escaped his notice, and whether the glorious achievements in the east, the capture of Seringapatam, and the destruction of our most invidious and powerful enemy in that quarter of the globe, had dropped from his memory? concluding with supporting the address as it was originally moved.

The earl of Fife declared it his opinion that ministers had abused the confidence they had received; the continent of Europe had been nearly ruined by their advice, and they would infallibly destroy the British empire, if they persevered in their system. He deplored the scarcity to which we were reduced, and thought it less to be ascribed to the dispensations of Providence than to the consequence of the war. He spoke upon this subject, to discharge his conscience, and thus openly avow his sentiments of the men whom he had, in common with other peers, so long and so improvidently supported.

Lord Eldon, after prefacing his speech with some observations on the awful and momentous situation of the country, took a review of the question now agitated by the northern powers against us, and proved from the law of nations that the right of searching neutral vessels originated in the rights of nature; it was, in fact, interwoven with self-defence; for, if a power professing to be neutral conveyed the means of annoyance to an open enemy, that neutral nation, by furnishing the means of our destruction, became our active enemy.

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He expatiated largely on the importance of asserting this right as the foundation of our naval glory, our commerce, and our wealth. Two great evils presented themselves to our choice; for he must admit that a new war, circumstanced as we were, was a very great evil; but it was always best to choose the least, and war, with all its inconveniences and horrors, was surely preferable to the voluntary sacrifice of that, without which, the glory, the independence, and even the existence of the nation must be extinct.

Lord Holland imputed these untoward events to the mismanagement of ministers; it was not to be expected they could have foreseen all beforehand, but they ought to have been able to have provided an adequate force against some of the various disasters which had happened. His lordship discussed the conduct of administration towards their allies, and affirmed it had necessarily led to their defection one after another, and was the sole cause of the alarming combination against us, which placed the country in so dangerous a situation. He voted for the amendment. The house divided; for the original address 73—non-contents 7.

After the speech had been read in the commons, sir Watkin Williams Wynne moved the address, conceiving, he said, that there could be but one sentiment respecting the propriety of presenting a grateful return of thanks; the union of Ireland was a cause for universal approbation, as it was a measure tending to universal benefit: it would tend to destroy all partial jealousies, cement friendships between the different members of the representa-

tive body, and lead every individual to consider himself not only as guardian of the rights of a particular district, but of the rights, the privileges, and the blessings of the whole empire.

Nor did he apprehend that on the northern confederacy there could exist much diversity of opinion; and therefore there could be little difficulty in pledging the house to support his majesty in the measures judged fittest to repress so dangerous a combination.

The conduct of our allies had not only been contrary to the faith of express treaties, but hostile to whatever gave importance to England in the scale of European nations.

In the present temper of the French rulers there was small reason to hope for any pacific overtures; but whilst we recollected that we had to oppose France, aggrandised and powerful as she now was, we had the satisfaction to reflect on our means to maintain the contest.

Notwithstanding all our previous exertions, our resources still were ample; and from the contemplation of our energies, embodied by our late happy union of the empire, we might look forward to the issue with confidence.

Mr. Cornwallis seconded the address, and in a comprehensive speech adverted to the topics comprised in it: he compared the sentiments which queen Anne had expressed, on the completion of the Scotch union, with the higher degree of satisfaction his present majesty must feel on the union with Ireland, from the manner in which this great event had been received, and the superior advantages to be expected from it.

From the co-operation of those

members who had now for the first time taken their seats, he anticipated the ablest assistance, and the firmest support: they had, in a separate parliament, given specimens of brilliant powers of eloquence, and of extensive knowledge of commerce; and it might reasonably be pronounced, that on subjects of difficulty their aid would be of the highest utility.

From his imperfect idea of the general relations of European states, he was unwilling to dwell long on other particulars in the speech, but briefly stated the necessity of maintaining our naval superiority against every confederacy originating in hatred or jealousy.

Mr. Grey expressed feelings of much anxiety on hearing what were the measures to be proposed to avert or meet the dangers with which the country was threatened: these feelings, he said, were not feelings of unmanly dismay and despondency; he was open to topics of consolation and arguments of hope; but nothing which he had heard had tended to remove his apprehensions; he could not pass from fear to confidence on the grounds now laid before the house; he could not banish uneasiness, when there was no change of that ruinous system of politics which had reduced us to our present state of distress; still less could he discover any cheering probability of its termination, when we were only assured of the pacific dispositions of ministers, and informed they would pursue the same plan which had involved us in these calamities: their professions had been reiterated in every emergency to reconcile the people to the prolongation of the war, and to obtain new means of support; and it was ow-

ing to the infatuated reliance upon them, that the nation had been so long and so calamitously involved in the contest.

It would be well to avoid every topic of debate unconnected with the immediate subject; but, lest silence should be misconstrued into approbation, and as he had strenuously disapproved of a legislative union before it took place, it appeared a duty to deliver his sentiments respecting Ireland, now that measure was adopted.

The evils to which this union was proposed as a cure were evils not resulting from Irish independence, but the fatal effects of a mischievous system, enforced by those who hated independence and proscribed it, because incompatible with their schemes of administration. Ireland, we were told, was now quiet; but might we be permitted to inquire if this tranquillity sprang from affection? Had it been followed by a relaxation of that severe policy to which the country had been so long the victim? Were those vexatious laws to be repealed, of which so many of the inhabitants still complain? Were the privileges of the constitution to extend to those who had hitherto been excluded the enjoyment of them? If indeed those jealous restrictions, to which the catholics were still subjected, were to be removed, it would be a pledge of real and permanent tranquillity: but this was not the case; the rebellion had been extinguished before the union. Ireland had been quiet for a year after it had been rejected; but this circumstance had not been considered as a proof the country was out of danger, or security restored. Why then should it be inferred that the union was the cause of the tranquillity,

quillity, and so many benefits affirmed to be now realised? The experiment is but just begun; many difficulties to the completion of the measure were unmentioned, and must be provided for; practice would discover many more, and a considerable period must elapse before success could be fairly ascertained.

The next point to be considered was, the melancholy prospect of a war against all Europe: Russia had been guilty of the grossest violence and injustice towards this country in the confiscation of the property of our merchants, and the treatment of our sailors; these injuries demanded reparation: nevertheless, though the emperor had been the aggressor, it did not follow that our ministers were free from blame; they might have given Paul ground of offence, though the offence could never justify his conduct. He accused them of violating a convention by which he was to receive the island of Malta, as the reward of his co-operation against France. Did such a convention exist? Mr. Grey confessed he was not inclined to believe that ministers would be guilty of breaking an express stipulation: yet such a charge furnished ground of inquiry—the affair ought to be investigated, in order to be cleared up—probably some treaties of mutual benefit might have been made, and what these were it was the duty of the house to examine, before it determined that the rupture with Paul was occasioned by no misconduct on our part. In the last session it had been affirmed that Malta had no connection with our stipulations: in the emperor's proclamation the contrary had been asserted: if it had been possible, by the cession of Malta, or of any port

in the Mediterranean, to have satisfied the ambition or secured the assistance of Russia, it would have been the best policy to have pursued this course, and to have brought a new power to oppose the aggrandisement of France. Such would Russia have been, and it would have been no less easy than advantageous to have gratified the wishes of Paul.

The next consideration was, the nature of the dispute with England and the northern powers (Denmark and Sweden); and though Prussia was unmentioned, it was equally engaged in those measures supposed hostile to this country: these powers, together with Russia, had subscribed a convention, the professed object of which was to secure their commerce against the vexations to which it had been subject. Without giving any opinion respecting the confederacy, he felt it his duty to warn the house against precipitately pronouncing it so essentially hostile to England as to justify an open war: it had been said, that the claims now advanced had never been heard of till the American war: but this assertion was untrue; the king of Prussia, in the year 1740, disputed the pretensions of this country on the same ground as the armed neutrality maintained, and contended as strenuously for the principle, that free vessels made free goods. In 1762, the Dutch resisted the claim of right to search ships under convoy, and resisted it at a period when, from our naval and military strength, it was little to be expected that any injury would be passed over with impunity. In the year 1780, the assertion of the rights of neutrals (frequently the subject of controversy in different wars) assumed a greater degree of

consistency and concert; the subscribers, that is, all the powers of Europe, entered into the armed confederacy, officially announced its principles, and claimed the rights enumerated in that famous document, as agreeable to the law and practice of nations. Let then the question be examined with attention and impartiality; and if we can discern a leading principle, whereby the claims may be tried and ascertained, such a principle will be found to be that of justice.

As the conduct of states to each other ought to be guided by it, it follows that whatever advantages might accrue to this country by contention ought to be given up if their claims were not just: any temporary acknowledgment of them, dictated by superior force, could never compensate the hatred of other states, the evil of rendering their animosity inveterate, and sowing the seeds of future confederacies, whenever the embarrassments of this country presented the prospect of establishing a disputed claim. Our naval ascendancy indeed ought to be carefully preserved, as the source of our glory, and the bulwark of our safety; but he should be sorry that the maintenance of this distinction depended on any claim inconsistent with the interest of other independent nations—or that, to preserve the interests of the British nation, we should abandon the maxims of justice, in which alone true greatness and permanent security consisted.

If it were necessary to prove the claim was just, it was no less necessary to prove it valuable: here he reminded the house of a saying of one of its distinguished members—"As you ought not to go to war for a profitable wrong, so

neither ought you to go to war for an unprofitable right." The maritime superiority of Great Britain was of inestimable value, but was this claim (so odious to our neighbours) essential to its existence? This ought clearly to be demonstrated before we engaged in an universal war for its defence, and purchased it at the price of blood. But admitting the claim was just and beneficial, circumstances might require a relaxation in the rigour of its exercise: a right in itself valuable might not be equally important at every period; there might be times when the infringement of it would be productive of no inconvenience, and the assertion be attended with imminent danger: in being exercised with moderation in certain circumstances, the right was secured and confirmed; in being pushed to extremity it might become so grievous as to be shaken off for ever. Suppose, even, that at the present moment our admission of the claims of the northern powers had enabled them to supply France with articles for her fleets, what evils could have resulted from it? France, destitute of seamen, of ships, of every thing constituting a navy, what advantage could she have obtained from the supply of a few naval stores? What importance would have been a numerical addition to her marine, without the nerves and sinews of naval greatness? In 1780, by the principle of the armed neutrality, the *right* of entering places blockaded is distinctly abandoned, and what is understood as a place blockaded clearly explained. At the present moment—thanks to the ability with which the blockade of the enemies' ports is conducted by the skill of our naval commanders—the enemy could derive little benefit from an extension of
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of the privileges of neutrals. But granting that all these facilities were permitted to France, could she, without seamen, without skill, and without discipline, establish formidable navies? But what might be the consequence of carrying the dispute with the northern powers to extremities? Should we not, in a moment, double her marine, and supply her with experienced sailors? Would not the hostile navies of Europe (to use a military phrase) out-flank us on every side, from Archangel to the Tagus? By our driving those powers to make one common cause with France, she would acquire new means of annoying us, and not only increase her opportunities of attack by dividing our means of resistance, but, by pursuing these unconciliatory measures, we should not be able to retain a single port in Europe. Naples even now could not be considered as open to us; Turkey and Portugal, by the growing preponderance of our foes, could not be expected long to be in our favour; and if we talk of the vigilance necessary to guard against the shattered navy of France, how much must our difficulties be increased when we raise up so many enemies against us!

It had been said that our superior navy would destroy the trade of the enemy; but was not trade essential also to England? Commerce was the basis on which our own revenue, strength, and national greatness, were founded; and if this was impeded in every quarter, if every market was shut against us, and whilst successful in destroying the trade of our opponents we destroyed that of our own country, our destruction as a nation was inevitable: not was it merely in the privation of a market for our com-

modities that we should suffer—not only the valuable sources of our splendor and security would be cut off, but the supply of our naval stores; nor could we depend on other countries to furnish them.

But admitting the truth of all this, our honour, we were told, was attacked, and must be vindicated, whatever it might cost. It then comes to be considered whether the dispute might have been avoided by our ministers, or had it been provoked by their misconduct? The suspicion was not without probability: in violation of the laws of nations, they had attempted to compel the neutrals to declare against France; witness their behaviour to Genoa and the grand duke of Tuscany: the northern powers had been provoked by our vexatious proceedings against them: instead of countenancing any undue violence or grievous irregularity, the greatest care should have been taken to prevent any abuse, without conceding the right. Instructions to our cruisers on the subject of neutrals would have obviated many complaints. It is evident our naval officers did not conceive themselves entitled to seize and detain neutral vessels under convoy, as appeared from commodore Langford requiring new instructions before he brought in the Swedish convoy. This moderating policy, which secured by tempering the exercise of those rights, was that which the earl of Chatham adopted in that glorious war which he conducted against France: a testimony of high authority in favour of that administration is left on record; it is that of lord Camden, who states, that the policy of the earl of Chatham in regard to neutrals was to act with caution and good temper, to prevent the enemy from obtaining

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supplies of naval and military stores, but at the same time to attend to the complaints of neutrals, and give them speedy redress.

Still it might be objected that now their pretensions appeared in a different view, and that it was impossible ministers should be blind to the northern confederacy: the question however recurs, Was this convention essentially hostile to us? All that we knew at present was, that the late treaty was founded on the armed neutrality of 1780: in consequence of the accession of Sweden and Denmark to that treaty, not only had an embargo been laid on their vessels, but orders had been issued and carried into effect to seize on the open seas the vessels of those powers: thus we had committed acts of hostility against them.

The ground of quarrel with Russia was different, consequently no inference could be drawn that the northern powers were actuated by hostile views; nay, the signature of conventions with belligerents, when for other purposes than those for which war is carried on, it is acknowledged affords no just cause for war. The administration of lord North, though in other respects unpopular, was never accused of pusillanimity or bad policy, because the discussion of these claims for which we contend was evaded.

If ministers knew that the confederacy was to be apprehended, why had they refused Bonaparte's overtures? If they did not know, what title had they to confidence? Had there been no symptoms of discontent in the north? Had not the Swedish convoy been seized, and complaints been made? Had not the Swedish government condemned the officer to death for not making resistance? Every thing therefore had indicated an accumulating pressure in the

prosecution of the war, at the moment when ministers were employing all sorts of arts and intrigues to effect its continuance.

But to proceed on the point of national honour—It must be vindicated, we were told, against the attacks of Denmark and Sweden; and why not against those of Prussia? Since Prussia was indisputably a partner in what was termed hostilities? The reason was, because one was strong, and the other weak; Prussia possessed means of retaliation, Denmark and Sweden did not. Behold how sacred was the honour of the nation, when such was the magnanimous conduct of high-spirited ministers!

But what was our situation now, compared to what it was when offers formerly were made? We had refused to treat when supported by Austria, when she was not unexhausted, and when the new government of France was struggling under financial difficulties and the discouragement of an unsuccessful campaign, when it was desirous of establishing its reputation either by peace or victory; and now that she was recovered in her armies, recruited in her finances, and strengthened by her alliances, ministers avowed that they were ready to treat whenever the enemy evinced a favourable disposition. Of the internal situation of the country, Mr. Grey briefly observed, that the power of France and her confederates being at this period so formidable, new measures of internal defence would be requisite. Four years ago, on the alarm of hostile attack, a military force was raised for the public defence. Where was it now? It had been dissipated and destroyed in the disgraceful expeditions in which ministers had embarked; part had been wasted in the fatal descent

descent upon Holland, part mouldered away in the holds of transports; and the rest, after being driven about from Portsmouth to Belleisle, from Belleisle to Ferrol, and from Ferrol to Cadiz, last of all had perished in the burning sands of Egypt. When we considered in what manner our means had hitherto been squandered, what hope of success could be entertained by arming ministers with any fresh forces? Mr. Grey concluded with remarking, that this real view of things was calculated not to discourage, but to rouse: much might be done under a better system of policy; our resources, though diminished, were still great, and, with economy and uprightness opposed to profusion and corruption, might be employed with effect to any purpose of national defence or national enterprise. He ended with moving an amendment similar to that in the lords.

Mr. Pitt, who still acted as chancellor of the exchequer, said, the honourable gentleman had fallen into the same error which constituted the great fallacy of the arguments for the northern powers; namely, that every exception from the general law, by a particular treaty, proved the law to be as it was stated in that treaty: whereas, the very circumstance of making an exception proved what the law would be, if no such treaty was made to alter it. With every one of the three northern powers in dispute, independent of the law of nations, of our uniform practice, and of the opinion of courts, we had the strict letter of engagements by which they were bound to us; and their present conduct was as much a violation of positive treaties with England as of these laws. In the convention signed

between Great Britain and Russia, the latter bound herself, in the commencement of the war, not merely to observe this principle, but to use her efforts to prevent neutral powers from protecting the commerce of France on the seas, or in the ports of France. Denmark and Sweden had distinctly expressed their readiness to agree in that very point which they now were disposed to contend: in the last autumn, Denmark, with her fleets and arsenals at our mercy, entered into a solemn pledge not again to send vessels with convoy until the principle was settled; notwithstanding which, she had engaged in a new convention to maintain stipulations by force of arms: was this *war*, or was it not? But it was objected, that as we did not know the precise terms of the present treaty, we ought to take no steps till we were fully apprised of them. It is true, we did not know the precise terms; but if, on demanding to know whether they had made engagements hostile to our interests, they told us that they had, without specifying what exceptions had been made in our favour, we were not bound to give them credit for these, or wait to defend ourselves till we were absolutely attacked. Ought we to give them time to assemble their forces, and thus empower them to produce a substitute for the fallen army in France? The question then was, were we to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited; to suffer blockaded forts to be furnished with warlike stores and provisions; and permit neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of America to the harbours of Spain, and the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest and Toulon? If the commerce

commerce of France had not been destroyed, if the fraudulent system of neutrals had not been prevented, her navy would have been now in a very different situation.

If we had no other guide but the experience of the present war, it was sufficient to prove not only the use, but the necessity, of maintaining a principle so important to the power, nay, to the existence of this country.

Inquiries into the conduct of administration would soon, he heard, be made, and we should then have an opportunity of ample discussion: none of them touched the point before the house; the amendment, as it stood, would only be embarrassed by reference to these topics, which are calculated to obstruct the proceedings on which our safety depended. The dispute between us and the confederated powers was of such importance as to claim the undivided attention of the house.

Dr. Lawrence thought the point was not so much, whether the practice of belligerent powers to search neutral vessels was founded in right, as whether it was consistent with sound policy to insist upon the right at this period: he professed himself decidedly against ministers on this occasion, and therefore voted for the amendment. If it appeared necessary, after investigation, to act hostilely against the northern powers, administration would then carry with them the support of the country; if the chancellor of the exchequer discarded this line of policy, and pursued the ruinous system on which he had so long acted, he would fatally evince, that eloquence and wisdom were not always united, and that a state was on the decline when the former arrived to its greatest height. It was the interest

of the military despot who now wielded the power of France to conciliate the northern allies; he had been distorting his navigation laws to their accommodation, and had succeeded in obtaining their friendship. Should this confederacy be driven by our ministers to unite with him, how dangerous must Bonaparte become to England!

He conjured the house well to consider whether war might be avoided before they recommended it; to abandon their right, at least to relinquish it in this critical moment, and not cut with the sword the knot which united us to other states. Forbearance had been the policy of the magnanimous Elizabeth, who claimed and exercised this right: the matter could be best adjusted by negotiation; force could never satisfactorily decide it: the northern powers had denied that there was any thing in the convention recently signed at Petersburg contrary to existing treaties with England. We complained of the arrest of our vessels by Russia, and committed an act as violent and unjustifiable towards Sweden and Denmark. The claim of the northern powers (which was exemption of convoys from search) was just; as vessels of the state, they were protected from examination; no precedent, political, historical, or judicial, had ever sanctioned it: but were it otherwise, would it be prudent, in our existing situation, when France had absorbed all the smaller states, to drive Denmark and Sweden into her arms, by urging these pretensions, and when they were not disposed to go to war with us? What could we gain by it? Some petty islands in the West-Indies, or manufactories in the East,
scarce

scarcely worth retaining; and, for this reason, he advised the house not to dissipate the force of the country, which required concentration against a formidable enemy. The objects of Bonaparte had been, to weaken the power of Austria, and to humble the naval ascendancy of England: the one he had accomplished, and had a fair prospect of the other, if we madly plunged into a contest with the maritime powers of the north: with such assistance, what fatal consequences might not be expected by even the most sanguine admirers of our courage and resources!

The solicitor-general said, that we were not in circumstances in which to pause would be politic or praise-worthy: yet, whilst the mover of the amendment acknowledged we were in a situation requiring vigour, exertion, and promptitude, he had proposed doubt, inquiry, and hesitation. We had exercised the right of maritime capture from time almost immemorial, and had continued to exercise it with the utmost moderation. Let our conduct be compared with that of France: they had confiscated the ships of their friends whenever they happened to be loaded with enemy's goods; and not merely that, but if the goods were of English manufacture, or if any part of them were so, the whole ship and cargo were condemned: yet France raised all the outcry against England, whose pretensions were a temperate use of the general custom of belligerent powers, and a material qualification of the unjust and extravagant practices of France and Spain.

But France was now an advocate for the freedom of the seas; and, to assert that freedom, had

joined Sweden and Denmark, and become a leading friend to the unmolested navigation of neutral ships—Why? Because, after the defeat of their navy by lord Nelson, they recalled these ships into their ports, and the policy of this measure could not be overlooked. If we wished to defeat it, and to prevent the restoration of their navy and their commerce, we must maintain the right of searching neutral ships: if we permitted the free navigation demanded, the French would soon recruit their marine; we might destroy it again and again, they would weary us by expense: if the northern powers were suffered to furnish them with stores, they could easily, year after year, bring out fresh fleets; and, should such a system be tolerated, our naval superiority would be reduced to complete insignificance. By the existing treaties, it would be fraud in Denmark and Sweden to convey enemies' goods; the present convention, which Denmark had signed, asserted this right; this, therefore, was a defection from treaty, and to all intents an act of hostility. By consenting to any modification of our rights, the next requisition would be, that all kind of property on board merchant-ships should be protected from detention, and free from search, and they would proceed to insist that we should not take our enemies' goods, and that the intercourse of merchants ought not to be interrupted. Against whom then were we to wage war? Why, against a metaphysical being called a State—as if the state was any thing but the aggregate of the people, and we attack their property to reduce the resources of that state which derives all its vigour from them.

The

The Danes and Swedes were neutral whilst they remained at home; but when employed in transporting goods to our enemy, in promoting their commerce, and contributing to their interests, to affirm they then were so, and that we were unjustifiable in interrupting them, is too absurd to need refutation.

There being then no doubt as to the right, where was the impropriety of assuring his majesty we would assist him in maintaining it? Distrust and despondency must necessarily be excited if we despaired of the justice of our claim and the sufficiency of our means: nor was it wise to dishearten that spirit on which we were to rely for effective assistance. Did the mover of the amendment design to cast down the hopes of the people by his comparison between this country and the state of France? What would be thought of the character of that commander, who, when the battle was approaching, instead of animating his army with encouragements, should display his eloquence to exaggerate their danger, and describe the strength and formidable numbers of the enemy? Should we not pronounce him cowardly, treacherous, and impolitic? Away with those invidious distinctions of party when the country is in danger! When the existence of our primary interests is threatened, let there be a correspondence in our views, and we might face that host of enemies which the honourable gentleman had presented to us. If it be our determination to fight for our dearest rights, let us diffuse no doubt of our capacity for the combat: we now were called upon to assert all that was elevated in the British character, all that was denominated

public spirit; let us then avoid that whining melancholy which could answer no purpose but to enfeeble, by depicting evils in the most glowing colours, without representing any thing tending to their alleviation: 'spite of declamation, the English would not clamour for peace at the price of honour; they would not submit to French domination to obtain bread, or sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. To bring forward a motion calculated to embarrass those who were to guide us through our difficulties—to deplore our situation instead of exerting ourselves to remedy it—to insinuate that hope was delusive, and vigour unavailing, when we were called upon to act with vigour and unanimity—was neither patriotic nor magnanimous. For his own part, he would come forward and struggle with his countrymen for their rights, their property, their power, and their existence.

Mr. Tierney said he should not have troubled the house with a single observation, had not the long train of misrepresentations and artful arguments which he had just heard tended to inflame the minds of the house and of the country against his friend Mr. Grey, by imputing to him sentiments he had never uttered. Was it exciting despondence, or sacrificing the liberties of Englishmen, because, after being eight years deceived by every promise, and disappointed in every enterprise, we refused to entrust the remaining resources of the country into the same hands, without making some inquiry?

The house had also been called to vote on a most delicate and implicated subject, before any documents were produced to guide their

their decision. The middling and upper classes of the people were accused of indulging in idle lamentations, and permission was denied them to ask why and for what further sacrifices were deemed necessary. If an attempt was made to show the country the fatal consequences of blindly persevering in the contest in which ministers had involved it, the friendly endeavour was called *leaguings with the enemy*. Mr. Tierney, proceeding to show how miserably the war department had been conducted by Mr. Dundas, for whom that office had been expressly created, remarked, that nothing but disgrace had attended his measures; and, if we were to fight on, why not permit us to fight under better auspices than those of a man who lavished the treasure and blood of the country with the most perfect apathy?

The speaker here interfered, re-

proving this language as irregular and unparliamentary.

Mr. Tierney disclaimed any personal imputation of inhumanity to the honourable gentleman, only intending, he said, to point out that his official conduct respecting the Dutch expedition wore the appearance of indifference to the misery it had produced; that it was the aim of the amendment to place our resources in hands more capable of employing them, and therefore it had his most decided support.

Mr. Sheridan thought, that if Bonaparte had hired his majesty's ministers to play the game of France, he could not have had better tools; that if they persevered in such conduct, their allies would fall off, and not only fall off, but might advance in hostile array against them.

The house divided; for the amendment 63—against it 245—majority 182.

CHAP. II.

Navy and Army Estimates. Debates on that Subject in the House of Commons. The Budget, Supply, Ways and Means. New Taxes debated in the House of Commons. Part of the Supply which Ireland was to pay. Irish Budget and Taxes. Taxes abandoned, and new ones proposed, by Mr. Addington. Vote of Credit. Mr. Grey's and Mr. Tierney's Objections against the Augmentation of the Salary to the Chairman of the Committee in the House of Lords. Review of the Supply for the Year. Subsidy to Portugal. The same debated in the House of Lords. Mr. Tierney's Resolutions on the Finances. Mr. Addington's Counter-Resolutions. India Papers moved for. India Budget stated by Mr. Dundas.

DURING the early part of the session, even after it was generally understood that the administration was totally changed, the old ministers continued to transact the public business; the budget

was consequently opened, and the new taxes proposed, by Mr. Pitt, who had probably prepared for the arrangement before his resignation; and as the public wants were urgent, these subjects engaged

gaged the attention of parliament soon after the opening of the session.

On the 16th of February, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply. It was proposed, that there should be granted for the sea service 135,000 men, for ten months, including 30,000 marines.

Mr. Tierney observed, that this was a very considerable increase; that the number of men voted on a former occasion did not exceed 120,000 men.

Mr. Pitt replied, that it was very desirable, under the present circumstances, to carry the strength of the country as far as possible, because we might have to contend for principles which were essential to our naval power. There had been already voted for the service of this year 120,000 men; and he was sure the honourable gentleman, upon consideration, would not think the present increase too great. The other resolutions, which followed of course, were agreed to without any comment.

Mr. secretary at war then rose, for the purpose of calling the attention of the committee to the army estimates. The committee would perceive in the estimates of the year many things which were not usually in the estimates (he alluded to the statements respecting the army in Ireland, which used to be separate, but which now, in consequence of the union, formed a part of the general estimate). The committee, however, would now have before them, in one short view, an account of all descriptions of troops in the service of the whole empire. The number of regular forces, cavalry and infantry, amounted to 193,187 men.

The number of militia, both British and Irish, was 78,046; of fencibles, both British and Irish, 31,415; so that the whole force in the empire, exclusive of the volunteer corps, amounted to 302,648 men. The expense of maintaining this force would be 12,940,889*l*. In distinguishing between the expenses of the two countries, it would stand thus; for Great Britain 9,617,033*l*. for Ireland 3,323,856*l*. In comparing the estimates of this with those of the last year, the estimates of the present exceeded last year by 762,459*l*.; but of this sum no less than 656,388*l*. was incurred in consequence of an augmentation which had been made in the army, by adding two companies to each battalion, and by increasing the cavalry. The real difference, therefore, between the estimates of this and of the last year, was not more than 100,000*l*. He then observed, that an allowance had been held necessary to be granted to the troops in Ireland, which were placed in a different situation from that in which they stood formerly. He then moved, "That it is the opinion of the committee, that 58,387 men, &c. be employed for that part of the united kingdom of Great Britain called England, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, for the service of the year 1801."

This question being put, Mr. Grey said, he was very sorry that he could not agree with the right honourable gentleman: taking the increase at 10,000 men, it was a very great addition to what we had already. There was good reason for the additional force to the militia when there was an alarm of an invasion; but now there was no additional force wanted for offensive service, except against the
northern

northern confederacy, which he apprehended was not considered by ministers as alarming. He did not know whether this force was meant for defensive or offensive operations, for that was not explained; but if the same gentlemen were to continue in administration who had directed the national councils for some years, he should have no hesitation in saying, that he had had too much experience of them to think it prudent to allow them the disposal of such a force as that which was now proposed; for, if they had wasted so much treasure in fruitless and disgraceful expeditions, they could not by any rational person be trusted with the power of doing it again. In a word, he should be readier at all times, and particularly at this time, to assent to the augmentation of the militia than the regular forces, if our object was defensive operation.

The secretary at war said he was surprised to hear the honourable gentleman make so great a difference between the militia and the regular forces of this country, and to prefer the militia to the regular force, as an active body for defensive operations. This was a general military question, and he did not feel himself well qualified to discuss it. The advantages of this force to the country he would not state, nor the consideration upon which the hopes of its success were grounded; the particulars of the mode he was not going to detail; but he understood, that, in the raising of this additional force, it was made the interest of the officers to cause the augmentation to take place more speedily than it could otherwise be made: this, however, was to be under certain restrictions; and the general object, he

hoped, would be attained by it, which was that of increasing the army: an object which he really thought every intelligent man who entertained good wishes for the welfare of the country, looking at the circumstances by which it was surrounded, must have at heart.

Mr. Dundas, general Walpole, colonel Gascoyne, and Mr. Pitt, bore a share in this debate. The resolution was carried; and, the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received the next day.

On that day Mr. Bragge reported from the committee of the whole house as follows: "Resolved, that 135,000 men be employed for the sea service for ten lunar months, commencing the 26th day of March 1801, including 30,000 marines. Resolved, that a sum not exceeding 2,497,500*l.* be granted to his majesty for wages for the same, at the rate of one pound eighteen shillings per man per month," &c.

The house, on the 18th of February, resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, when Mr. Pitt, in submitting to the committee the estimate of the provisions which would be necessary for the services of the present year, stated that it would be his duty to call their attention to them, under the arrangements which were made at the time when the union between the two countries was happily effected, and which were to be jointly defrayed by the two countries. He should, therefore, in the first place, state the charges for which it was necessary to provide, and then the manner in which he should propose them to be defrayed; and, in doing this, he should conform, as nearly as possible, to the usual mode.

He first stated the supply; under which head the first thing to be noticed

ticed was the sums which had been granted for the service of the navy. There had already been voted for that service the sum of 15,800,000*l.* which exceeded by 2,200,000*l.* the sum which was last year voted for that service. The reasons for this increase were alluded to on a former occasion. In the first place, the number of seamen had been considerably augmented; it having been judged necessary, under the present circumstances, to carry this part of the force of the country to the greatest extent. For the army, the sum voted was 9,617,000*l.*; for Great Britain, the sum voted last year for this service was 8,500,000*l.* This increase in the sum arose from an augmentation which it was judged necessary, under the present circumstances, to make in the army. There was also a sum voted in the last year, before-hand, of 2,500,000*l.* for the extraordinaries; and the same sum had been estimated as necessary for the present year. This would make the sum necessary to be provided for the army, on the part of Great Britain, 12,117,000*l.* The sum necessary for the service of Ireland would be 3,785,000*l.* making the whole sum to be defrayed by the united kingdom, for the army, 15,902,000*l.* The next was the ordnance: for this branch of the service, the charge for Great Britain was 1,639,000*l.* and for Ireland 299,000*l.* making together, for the ordnance

service, for the united kingdom, the sum of 1,938,000*l.* The next head was that which was called miscellaneous services, including the plantation services, the sums granted by the bounty of the country to the French refugee clergy, and other articles. The sums necessary for this branch of the service would be, for Great Britain 550,000*l.*, and for Ireland 207,000*l.*, making together the sum of 757,000*l.* It had been the usual practice to grant a sum of money, under the title of a vote of credit, for extraordinary emergencies that might occur, and which could not be foreseen when the estimates were forming. He did not think there would be any occasion for subsidies, as the present situation of Europe, so far as he could venture to form an opinion upon the subject, would not admit of our doing that which parliament had so frequently sanctioned with its approbation, and from which this country had, during the course of this arduous contest, derived such signal benefit. "These, sir," said Mr. Pitt, "with the exception of one article, are all that are to be jointly defrayed by the two countries." The article to which he alluded was Irish permanent grants, which amounted to 390,462*l.*; the whole, therefore, of the sum which was to be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland, for the service of this year, stood as follows:

RECAPITULATION OF THE SUPPLIES.

Navy.....	£. 15,800,000
Army { England..... 9,617,000 }	12,117,000 { 15,902,000
{ Ditto, extraordinaries .. 2,500,000 }	
{ Ireland 3,785,000 }	
Ord- { England..... 1,639,000 }	1,938,000
nance { Ireland 299,000 }	
Miscel- { England..... 550,000 }	757,000
aneous { Ireland 207,000 }	
Vote of { England..... 500,000 }	800,000
credit { Ireland 300,000 }	
Irish permanent grants	390,462

Making altogether the sum of £.35,587,462

The reason why he had stated the charges, which were to be borne by the two countries jointly, under separate heads, was, that, by the act of union, of those charges which were to be borne by both countries, Ireland was to defray two-seventeenths, and the other fifteen-seventeenths were to be borne by England. Of this sum, therefore, the part to be borne by Great Britain was fifteen-seventeenths of 35,587,462*l.*, which amounted to the sum of 31,400,702*l.*; and by Ireland, at two-seventeenths of it, 4,186,760*l.* The permanent charge in this country for the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to the public debt, was to be allotted in its due proportion. This sum amounted to 1,170,000*l.*; of course the sum which would fall upon Ireland, being two-seventeenths of that sum, would be 137,000*l.* Whatever else remained, with the exception of the national debt of Ireland, was to be provided for by Great Britain; and he should therefore proceed to state those charges which fall separately upon her; and these were such as arose from causes existing before the first day 1801.

of January 1801, the day on which the union between the two countries took place. Of the defalcations from the public revenue, the first which he should state to the committee was, the deficiency of the income tax, which he last year stated as being likely to produce 7,000,000*l.* and accordingly took credit for that sum. Though, when he made that estimate, he conceived that he had very good grounds for the calculation, yet he did not think he should be justified now, after examining all the returns, so far as they could be procured, in taking its produce at more than 6,000,000*l.* The difference therefore, between that sum and the sum at which it was estimated, would be a deficiency for the year 1800, which was to be made good. The next sum to be made good was the discount allowed upon the loan, and upon the lottery, which amounted to 200,000*l.* The deficiency of the malt duties for the year 1799, up to the 5th April 1800, amounted to 400,000*l.* There were exchequer bills issued upon the credit of the additional assessed taxes of 1798, of the duties on exports and imports in 1799,

1799, and of income duties of 1799. A considerable part of these duties having not yet been paid in, it was impossible to judge how much of them might be ultimately satisfied; therefore, he thought the best way would be to compare the assessment, deducting the charges of management, with the sums which had been satisfied, and to provide for the deficiency; and for this purpose he should propose to vote a sum of 1,350,000*l*. The next deficiency for which he had to provide, and the most material one in point of amount, was the deficiency in the estimate of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, voted for the service of last year. In addition to this, there were certain

sums included in the produce of the consolidated fund, which had not been realised; such as the interest due from Grenada, &c. He thought it would be the most proper to adopt a line of conduct which was adopted upon former occasions, and to vote the whole of the deficiency, which, under these heads, would fall due on the 5th of April following. He should therefore propose to make an effectual provision for it, by voting the sum of 3,000,000*l*. for the payment of these exchequer bills. It would also be necessary to provide a sum of 460,000*l*. for the interest of the exchequer bills.

He then stated the charges which belonged exclusively to England, that is,

	£.
To make good the deficiency of the income tax for the last year	1,000,000
Discount upon the loan and lottery	200,000
Deficiency of malt duties of 1799	400,000
To pay off exchequer bills issued on the credit of the assessed taxes of 1798, the imports and exports, and the income duties of 1799	1,350,000
Interest of the exchequer bills	460,000
For the sinking fund	200,000
To pay off exchequer bills issued on the consolidated fund	3,000,000
Making altogether the sum of	<u>£. 6,610,000</u>

The whole charge of the two countries for the service of the year, then, would amount to 42,197,000*l*. which would be divided between the two countries thus: Great Britain for its fifteen-seventeenths of the joint expence, and those charges which belonged separately to her, would have to defray in round numbers 37,870,000*l*.; and the charges falling upon Ireland would be 4,324,000*l*. Having stated the supplies of the year, he should

next submit to the committee the ways and means.

The first article he had to state was the substitute for the land-tax, or those on sugar, malt, and tobacco, which he should estimate at the usual sum of 2,750,000*l*. The next was the lottery, which he estimated at 300,000*l*. The next was the duty upon income, which he had estimated at 6,000,000*l*. From this, after deducting the amount of the interest of loans charged thereon, which

which amounted to the sum of 1,740,000*l.*, there would remain a sum of 4,260,000*l.* applicable to the service of the year. The next was the duties upon exports and imports, which were estimated at 1,250,000*l.* The next was the produce of the consolidated fund from the 5th of April 1801 to the 5th of April 1802, which after deducting the charges of the civil list, and some other charges not relating to the public debt, would leave a sum applicable to the ways and means of 3,300,000*l.* In order to explain to the committee how this sum arose, he would shortly state that the estimated income of the year ending the 5th of April 1802 was 22,044,500*l.*, and that the permanent charge was 20,144,500*l.*; consequently leaving a surplus of 1,900,000*l.* The taxes of the last year, from the short time they had been in operation, could not be supposed to have reached their full amount. They were estimated at 350,000*l.* for the three first quarters; they were likely to produce less than the estimated amount, but in point of fact, 280,100*l.* had been received, and he did not think he expected too much when he calculated the remaining sum to be received, at 100,000*l.* The committee would recollect, that, in consequence of a glut in the market of West India commodities, there was a remission of duties granted for a time;

but as circumstances no longer required that remission to be continued, there would be duties coming to the public on West India goods bonded, which duties would amount to 338,000*l.* The deficiency upon the article of beer had been above 400,000*l.*; but upon every inquiry he could make, he had no reason to think that the quantity consumed this year would be less than the average quantity of former years. Great facility had been given to the brewers by permitting them to use sugar, and therefore he thought the produce would be as much as in former years. On malt and spirits the deficiency had been very great; he would only state their produce at 500,000*l.* These sums made together the sum of 3,238,000*l.* From this there was to be deducted 2,891,000*l.* for the grant remaining unsatisfied, as per estimate for one quarter to the 5th of April 1801, which would leave 347,000*l.*, in round numbers 3,300,000*l.* To this was to be added 300,000*l.* applicable to the public service. The next article of the ways and means was, the money which was granted last year for subsidies, and which was not issued. It amounted to 500,000*l.* The next article was, the surplus of grants for '1800, amounting to 60,000*l.* He should for the sake of clearness recapitulate the

WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
Sugar, malt, and tobacco	2,750,000
Lottery	300,000
Income duty, deducting the interest with which it stands charged	4,260,000
Duty upon exports and imports	1,250,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund in round numbers ..	3,300,000
To be provided for by Ireland	4,324,000
Sum not issued for subsidies	500,000
Surplus of grants	60,000

£. 16,744,000

There

There would then remain a sum of 25,500,000*l.* to be raised by way of loan. There was actually a rivalry between two great parties, which should take the loan. Estimating the stocks above the market price, they had taken it without premium or bonus, except the discount upon prompt payment. The terms upon which the loan was made were, 125 consols for every 100*l.* and 50*l.* 15*s.* reduced. The discount to those who might be in a situation to make prompt payment was 3*l.* 12*s.* : therefore, upon the whole, they had taken it at a profit of not above two per cent. At a time like the present, when difficulties could not be disguised, and when resources ought not to be forgotten, he had a right to congratulate the committee and the country.

He next proposed to provide permanent taxes for the whole of the loan.

He hoped that the new taxes which he should lay upon the country would not be found likely to interfere with the public prosperity, nor to bear hard upon the lower classes of the community, whose interests were always guarded with a tender concern by the house, and never more than at the present period. The addition which he proposed to make to the articles coming under the *Excise*, would, he thought, amount to 586,000*l.* The first article was that of tea. He should propose to lay the tax upon teas of a higher sort, which were really articles of luxury, and that the price of that kind of tea which was used by the lower orders of the community should not be increased. If the committee should agree with him, even after the imposition of this tax every cottager and person of inferior order would have their tea cheaper than they had twenty years ago. After what he had

stated, the committee would, he hoped, not think it improper to lay on an additional ten per cent. upon all teas which were above 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. and this additional duty would, he estimated, produce 300,000*l.*

The next article he meant to propose was to double the duty at present paid on all descriptions of paper; except paper used for hangings, those used in the export trade, glazed paper, and the like. He meant to allow a discount on the paper used in news-papers, which were become extremely interesting to gentlemen of all descriptions. He estimated this duty on paper at the sum of 132,000*l.* The next duty he meant to propose was an addition of 2½*d.* per yard on all printed cottons paying 3½*d.* per yard at present, allowing drawbacks on whatever was exported to foreign ports: this tax he estimated at the sum of 154,000*l.* The next article came under the head of *Customs*.

To the article of sugar he proposed to add 1*s.* 10*d.* per cwt.; and also that the convoy duty should be made perpetual, and the temporary one cease: he estimated this to produce 166,000*l.*

To timber he proposed to add one-third of the present duty, which he thought would yield 95,000*l.* It would be an increase of about 4 per cent. upon the price of the article. The next article was pepper, the whole exportation of which was, in fact, in the hands of the country: he proposed that upon this article there should be imposed on the home consumption 3*d.* per lb. and upon all exported 6*d.*; which he expected would produce 104,000*l.* Besides this he meant to lay a moderate duty upon raisins, which would amount to 10,000*l.*, and upon lead, which he estimated at 12,000*l.*

He

FOREIGN HISTORY.

He next proposed a tax upon pleasure horses.	£.
Where only one was kept, there should be imposed a duty of 10s. which he expected would produce 63,000 <i>l</i> . On all above one, 20s, which would produce 73,000 <i>l</i> .	136,000
On each horse kept for husbandry, he would propose the sum of 4s. which he thought would yield	170,000
Total	306,000
Upon all notes and bills of exchange he meant to impose an increase of half the existing duty; the same on policies of insurance; and on all deeds of conveyance, &c. 3 <i>d</i> . per skin,—amounting in all to	350,000
The last tax was an additional postage on all letters, and the doubling of the rate of the penny-post—amounting in all to	150,000
He would now recapitulate the new taxes.	
Paper	132,000
Tea	300,000
Printed cottons	154,000
Sugar	166,000
Pepper	119,000
Timber	95,000
Raisins	10,000
Lead	12,000
Horses	306,000
Stamps	350,000
Post-office	150,000
Which would make a total of £.1,794,000	

And the sum to be raised as interest of the loan was 1,785,000*l*. or thereabouts. He did hope, considering how the country at large received the idea of the tax upon income, that it would have produced ten millions. But the committee must consider that this was adopted as a war tax in the first instance, and one that was within a moderate time to repay the excess of debt which had been contracted, or debt that went beyond a given amount. For this reason he would not prolong the period for which that tax was at present mortgaged. Let us suppose, for example, the whole amount of the income tax to be equal to his most sanguine expectations, there was one circumstance which rendered it unnecessary to mortgage it to the extent of the original proposal, to produce the reduction of the debt, which was then expected as the operation of this tax; that operation was, that the public debt should never be more than it was at the period of 1798. “Now, sir,” continued Mr. Pitt, “since that time there has been discharged, of the capital of the debt, eighteen millions by the redemption of the land tax; and it does not appear to me

to be necessary for us to keep the debt the same as it was in the year 1798, at all events and under all pressure, especially when we consider the operation of the sinking fund; nor do I think it would be wise to mortgage the income tax beyond its original period."

Mr. Pitt next adverted to the price of the loan. He had borrowed on cheaper terms than he could have obtained if he had proceeded on any other system. The present condition of the debt he stated to be as follows, viz. There would now remain an addition of twenty millions to its capital, beyond what it was in the year 1798; nine millions were paid off in the present year by the operation of the sinking fund, old and new: from eighteen to twenty millions were reduced by the redemption of the land tax; so that there would remain of course about twenty millions on the present year, which, added to the fifty-six millions for which the income tax was pledged, would amount to seventy-six millions; which, on the calculation of the last year, and allowing for the operation of the sinking fund, would not require more than six years for the application of the income tax, although it was calculated as mortgaged for seven years.

Mr. Pitt then stated the amount of the permanent taxes, which exceeded, on the 5th of January last, that of January 1800. He next alluded to the system long since adopted for the discharge of that debt. According to the engagement entered into in the year 1786, we had paid off no less a sum than 52,000,000*l.* of the capital. The total amount of our sinking fund was now 5,000,000*l.* The exports of British manufactures had risen to twenty-four millions, as taken from the customs, but amounted in

real value to thirty-two millions, and the exports of foreign articles were stated at seventeen millions; both much larger than the amount of any preceding year. And if compared with any year of peace, with any other year in which the prosperity of the country was conspicuous, this year would present a spectacle that would, to any but those who were intimately acquainted with the affairs of nations in a political sense, appear astonishing, inexplicable, and paradoxical.

He then moved his resolutions, which were carried in the affirmative.

Mr. Bragge on the 19th of February brought up the report of the committee of ways and means. The resolutions were read a first time; and upon the question that they should be read a second time, Mr. M. A. Taylor said, he wished to call the attention of the house for a few moments to the subject under consideration. He saw some reasons why they should not quite agree with the honourable gentleman who last night opened the subject, and who seemed to think the resources of the country so abundant and prosperous. He would recommend to gentlemen who represented large and populous districts, to advert to the situation of those districts, and particularly to the state of the poor rates.

He was persuaded that unless some relief was given to the poorer and manufacturing classes of society, and some of the taxes that weighed them down taken off, they would be unable to discharge them. The consequence then would be, that the landed interest would most materially suffer. That unless the country had peace, and the blessings attendant upon it, they might go on voting supplies, but would not

not find the people able to pay them. He was certain that the operation of the bill for manning the navy, and the bill for raising the provisional cavalry, augmented the poor's rates. He saw that some of the taxes now proposed affected the lower orders, and some the farmers; for instance, the tax on horses used in husbandry. Now, when corn was at such an extravagant price, he thought it imprudent that any additional tax should be laid on agriculture. Mr. Taylor then produced several documents relative to the average poor's rates in the west-riding of York. It appeared that, in the township of West-Ardley, the poor's rates in the year 1790 were 176*l.*; and in the year 1800 they amounted to 465*l.* In the parish of Mersin, in the same part of the county, the poor's rates were in 1791 only 27*l.* and in 1800 they were 1014*l.*; and at Stanley and Rental, the rates in 1791 were 457*l.* in 1800, 2108*l.* Having stated a variety of instances, in which the progressive increase was in the same proportion, he would leave gentlemen to say, if the war was carried on, how long the manufacturing part of the country could sustain these and the other burdens laid upon them. In the west-riding of York the inhabitants subsisted by the sale of their manufactures on the continent; but the ports of Russia, where their trade was principally carried on, had been shut against them.

Sir John Parnell said, he was ready to admit that the act of parliament by which it was agreed that Ireland was to pay a part of the supplies voted by Great Britain was framed upon principles in the highest degree candid and fair, inasmuch as it exempted Ireland

from paying towards any additional supply of the preceding year. There was no estimate of services under that particular head, which, in Ireland, had used to fall within the description of Miscellaneous services. However, as the subject would come on again, and he should have an opportunity of expressing himself more fully upon it, he should decline saying any thing farther on this particular topic. He stated that the expences of Ireland last year were considerably more than 4,300,000*l.* they amounted to a sum which was equal to 5,600,000*l.*; consequently England had incurred all the difference between 4,300,000*l.* and 5,600,000*l.* He mentioned this, to show that this country was as much interested in any thing that respected Ireland, as in its own actual expenditure.

Mr. Pitt in reply to sir John Parnell stated, that he had not entered in the course of his observations last night so fully into the Irish estimates as he should. The honourable baronet had considered Ireland as having to furnish 4,300,000*l.*; and concluded that, as the expences of that country for the last year amounted to a much larger sum, the difference was to fall upon Great Britain. He had stated that it would be necessary for Ireland to borrow about 2,500,000*l.*; that the aggregate charge amounted to 4,300,000*l.*; and the separate charge, which this country was not bound to pay, to a sum somewhat exceeding 2,000,000*l.*, this sum was wholly independent of the ways and means. After a few observations from lord Castlereagh, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Jolliffe, the resolutions were read a second time, and agreed to without any division.

Mr. Bragge, on the 10th of March, appeared at the bar to bring up the report of the committee on the additional tea duty bill. Sir C. Bunbury said, that the additional tea duty would affect the lower classes of the people, upon whom no farther burdens ought to be laid. It imposed an additional duty of 10 per cent. upon all teas above 2s. 6d. a pound. Teas of this description were in very general use with the lower classes; and therefore this additional tax would oblige them to give up their wonted indulgence, and deprive them of their enjoyments. His wish was, that this additional duty should not attach upon any teas under 3s. 6d. a pound, and that the bringing up of the report might be deferred till the chancellor of the exchequer should be present. Mr. Rose observed, that the price of the low teas at the East-India company's sale was 1s. 8d. a pound, and that the price of oongo was about 3s. The mixture of the latter with the bohea was about one-third of a pound of congo with one pound of bohea. This additional duty then would only be about one penny a pound on such teas. The report was then agreed to. The same day a resolution of the committee on the additional horse-duty bill, exempting farmers not renting more than 20l. a year from the additional duty, was read. Colonel Porter said, that the small farmers in Wales were obliged to use more horses upon their farms than in England. With a view of proposing an amendment, he would now move that the clause should be re-committed, for the purpose of proposing a clause of exemp-

tion in favour of those farmers who do not rent above 35l. a year in Wales, and 50l. a year in England. Mr. Rose said, by such an amendment the revenue would suffer a great loss. Mr. Rose however on the 16th of March brought up a clause to exempt farmers having only two horses, and who did not pay more rent than 30l. a year, which was read and agreed to. An amendment to the bill exempting hackney-coach horses from the duty was adopted, and the bill was passed. The newspaper duty bill was read a third time. The paper and tea duties bill were, after some opposition on the part of sir Charles Bunbury and Mr. Hobhouse (who wished the exemption from the new duty upon tea to extend to teas of 3s. per lb.), read a third time, passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords.

The house on the 12th of March having resolved itself into a committee on the stamp duties bill, Mr. Sheridan insisted that, if a higher discount was not allowed, the proprietors of newspapers would suffer considerably. On the Monday following an amendment of Mr. Sheridan's to this effect was put, and negatived without a division.

On the 30th of March, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply for Ireland, Mr. Corry said, the resolutions which he held in his hand were those which were annually voted in the parliament of Ireland, and (with a very few exceptions) contained nothing new. He should reserve the observations he had to make until he stated the ways and means. He then moved, That there be granted to his majesty,

For

For the protestant charter schools, a sum not exceeding 18,213 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> being	£. 19,731 Irish money.
Foundling hospital	13,846
Marine society	1,846
Hibernian society for soldiers children	3,655
Westmorland Lock hospital	6,183
Roman catholic seminary	7,384
Society for discountenancing vice	276
Female orphan house	461
House of industry	15,594
Pratique Dublin port	966
Apprehending offenders	2,307
Criminal prosecutions	23,076
Civic buildings	29,538
Printing the statutes of Ireland	3,477
Printing the Gazette	6,485
Treasury incidents	1,846
For working the Wicklow gold mines	923
For the battle-axe guards	683
For heralds' new clothing	1,002
Offices for records	5,538
For stationary, &c. for Dublin castle and public offices	18,166
To the accountant-general	313
To deputy accountant-general	221
To the paymaster of corn bounties	738
To the examiner of corn bounties	184
To the inspector-general of imports and exports	184
To the first clerk to ditto	129
To the examiner of excise	129
The linen bounties	19,938
First fruits	4,615
Dublin society	5,076
Paving	9,230
Widening streets	4,153
Irish Treasury bills	522,200

These resolutions were agreed to.

The next day, the house in a committee of ways and means for Ireland, Mr. Corry said, that owing to some circumstances subsisting antecedent to the union, it became necessary for a short time to administer the finances of the two countries in a separate manner, and not in that perfect unity which was the object of the great measure to which he had alluded. He would now proceed to state the separate charges; the first of which was the interest of the national debt, which formed the great article of the separate charge upon Ireland, as the military expence formed almost the whole of her joint charge. With respect to the debt of Ireland, it would appear to ears accustomed to the millions of this country, to amount only to a small sum; it was at present no more than 36,000,000*l.* The proportion of the

the debt of Ireland at the commencement of the war was, to the debt at present, in the proportion of one to fourteen: her debt at that period was to that of England as one to one hundred; but now the proportion of the debt of Ireland was to that of England as one to ten. The interest upon this debt amounted to a larger sum than those who were only accustomed to three per cents. would at first suppose; it amounted to 1,696,000*l*. In this statement he did not include the taxes which it would be necessary to lay on in consequence of the loan for the service of the present year. Of this debt Ireland had been under the necessity of borrowing so large a sum in England, that the interest which she paid to this country amounted to nearly one million. The sinking fund of Ireland, which was included in the sum he had before mentioned of 1,696,000*l*., was founded upon the same principle as that of this country. The original sinking fund of Ireland was adopted in Ireland under the patronage of a right honourable friend of his, and it then amounted to no more than 100,000*l*. It bore a proportion to the debt of that country of one to seventy, whereas the sinking fund of England, at its establishment, bore a proportion to the debt of one to 230. Since the establishment of the sinking fund in Ireland, it had paid off about a million of the debt, and it now amounted to 400,000*l*. a year. The next article of the separate charge of Ireland was the sum of 622,000*l*. for the compensation for boroughs, which was all that it was thought desirable to raise in one year. The next item was 100,000*l*. for the improvement of the in-

land navigation. These sums together made something more than 2,400,000*l*. which formed the separate charge that was to be provided for by Ireland. The other part of the joint charge, which was for civil purposes, amounted to above 600,000*l*. making together something more than 4,700,000*l*. exclusive of 300,000*l*. for the vote of credit. This, added to the sum which he had stated as necessary for the separate charge of Ireland, would make the supplies necessary for that country above 7,100,000*l*.

He would now state the ways and means by which he proposed to cover this charge. In consequence of the act of union, the joint charges between the two countries commenced from the 1st of January 1801, and consequently the supplies from that period to the 25th of March must be thrown into the joint estimate. The amount of the balances in the treasury of Ireland on the 1st of January 1801, amounted to 1,697,000*l*. besides 800,000*l*. the balance of the loans. The income arising from the port-duties amounted to about 2,500,000*l*. from stamps, about 150,000*l*. from the post-office, only about 20,000*l*.

In estimating the revenues of the current year, he should form his calculation upon three quarters of the year up to Christmas last; they amounted then to 1,800,000*l*. consequently he should take their whole produce at 2,400,000*l*. It had been usual, in Ireland, to have one or two lotteries in the course of the year; he would propose one for the present year, the produce of which he should take at 150,000*l*. The sums applicable to the service of the present year would then be 5,247,000*l*.

Balance

	£.
Balance in the treasury	1,697,000
Balance of the two loans	800,000
Estimated revenue	2,600,000
Lottery.....	150,000
<hr/>	
Making altogether	£.5,247,000
<hr/>	

From this sum there was to be a deduction of 230,000*l.* for the loyalists, in order to enable them to rebuild their houses, &c. There was also a sum of 70,000*l.* to be deducted, paid by Ireland to her forces in the garrisons of Great Britain, which would leave the sum remaining applicable to the service of the year 4,947,000*l.* The ways and means being therefore unequal to the supply of the year, it became necessary to borrow the sum of 2,500,000*l.*

He should now proceed to state the new taxes of Ireland, which he would estimate at 263,000*l.*

	£.
The new taxes were, 1st. on sugar, at the rate of } 2 <i>s.</i> per cwt. which he estimated at }	24,000
2dly, On tea, abolishing the old duties, and laying } on all teas above 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per lb. a duty of 35 } per cent. ad valorem	
3dly, An augmentation (from the reduction of the } privilege of franking) in the revenue of the Post- } office	5,000
4thly, A stamp duty additional on all notes, bills, } receipts and bonds	5,000
5thly, A tax on policies of insurance	
Lastly, A transfer of the duty on coals, formerly } collected in this country, to be now collected in } Ireland, at 10 <i>d.</i> per ton altogether	93,000

This sum would be more than the supplies of the year.

Mr. Corry then begged pardon for troubling the committee so long, and concluded with moving his resolutions respecting the taxes.

Sir John Parnell said, he could not see how these expences could be brought so low as 4,600,000*l.* The expences of Ireland in the last year had amounted to seven millions, besides an additional sum of 700,000*l.* There was also the interest of the debt payable by Ireland of 1,600,000*l.* amounting in all to the sum of 9,300,000*l.* so that, after deducting that part of the debt chargeable on Ireland, there would still remain the sum of 2,300,000*l.*

to be placed to the account of Great Britain. With regard to the expences of Ireland, he was sorry to remark that they were every year increasing. He concluded a long speech by declaring a wish that whatever the expences of Ireland were, they might be provided for as far as possible within the year; for, otherwise, to promote a system of increasing loans would prove ruinous to both countries. The question was then put upon the resolutions, which were agreed to.

The house on the 24th of April having resolved itself into a committee

mittee of supply, Mr. Pitt observed that he should have no occasion to engage much of the attention of the committee, because the accounts would be found to be nearly the same as those of the last session, with the exception only of certain grants, about which there could be no difference of opinion. In the last short session, the public supplies were voted for three months to come up to June, and the remaining half year was all that now remained to be granted. It was, however, to be observed, that a reduction would be found in the amount of the secret service. In the year 1800, the sum allowed for that service was 150,000*l.* For this year there was reason to think that no more would be required than 50,000*l.* of which 35,000*l.* having been voted in the short session, all that he should now ask on that head was 15,000*l.*

The house on the 20th of May, having gone into a committee to consider further of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Addington) said it would be recollected by the committee, that Mr. Pitt, who proposed to the house the ways and means of the year for raising the supply, proposed, among other things, a duty on printed goods; likewise on pepper for home consumption, and pepper for exportation. It was afterwards thought advisable, that the duty on pepper exported should be abandoned. It was his duty to

propose taxes to supply the deficiency which would be thus occasioned. The duty on printed goods was taken at 140,000*l.*; that on pepper at 92,000*l.* making together the sum of 232,000*l.* It was for the purpose of providing for that deficiency that he now was about to propose taxes. The first tax he should mention was that of an additional stamp-duty on probates of wills, or letters of administration on property, left by legacy or otherwise, where the value amounted to more than 600*l.*; and rising gradually from that amount up to 100,000*l.* There was a duty already up to 600*l.* and thence upon a scale of gradation up to 10,000*l.* He proposed to make an augmentation on almost all these duties, excepting the smaller sums, viz. upon all bequests, &c. up to 10,000*l.* upon a certain scale of gradation up to 100,000*l.*; for it did not appear to him equitable that the larger bequests should pay a smaller proportion, with reference to their own amount, than the smaller. It did not seem to him reasonable, that the scale of gradation should stop at 10,000*l.*; he should therefore propose to pursue the ascending series up to 100,000*l.* and by way of stamp on the probate of wills and letters of administration, in the following manner; but he should propose no new duty where the property should not amount to 600*l.*

£.		£.	£.
600	and under	1000	an additional tax of 3
1000	. . . . .	2000	. . . . . 10
2000	. . . . .	5000	. . . . . 20
5000	. . . . .	10,000	. . . . . 30
10,000	an additional tax of		50
10,000	and under	15,000	. . . . . 80
15,000	. . . . .	20,000	. . . . . 100
20,000	. . . . .	30,000	. . . . . 150
			30,000

£.	£.	£.
30,000	40,000.....	250
40,000	50,000.....	350
50,000	60,000.....	450
60,000	70,000.....	550
70,000	80,000.....	650
80,000	90,000.....	750
90,000	100,000.....	850
And for	100,000 and upwards	940

He should estimate these additional duties at 120,000*l*.

The next duty he should propose was that of an additional stamp on all deeds of 2*s*. where 3*s*. had been laid on in the last act of parliament, and this tax he estimated at 62,000*l*.

The next duty was that of half a guinea additional stamp on every license to sell ale. The number

of licenses were 60,000; the produce of this duty he estimated at 32,000*l*. The next was an additional stamp of 6*d*. on every pack of cards, and 2*s*. 6*d*. on every pair of dice; which he understood would produce more than 20,000*l*.

Mr. Addington proceeded to recapitulate the new taxes :

Taxes to be relinquished	£. 232,000
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Taxes proposed in lieu of them :

Additional tax on probates of wills.....	120,000
Additional duty on deeds.....	62,000
Additional duty on ale licenses.....	32,000
Additional duty on cards and dice	20,000

£. 234,000

It was not his intention at present to propose all the remainder of the ways and means of the year for raising the supply in the place of other duties abandoned. He then moved the first resolution, which passed without opposition; as did all the others, except that of the duty on ale licenses. When that resolution was put, sir R. Buxton said, he knew that the last tax which was imposed upon ale-houses put down some of the small ones; the consequence of which was, that a number of houses sold ale without any license. It was extremely difficult to get at these houses. He did not oppose this tax, he only wished it might be made as productive as possible. Mr. Addington admitted

that, to a given extent, there was force in these observations, but he hoped that the evil alluded to would not be very great.

Mr. Addington on the 10th of June said he was extremely sorry to find that the public service would require that there should be given to his majesty a power of raising 2,000,000*l*. on exchequer bills, as a vote of credit. In consequence of the northern confederacy, and other causes, he found that the additional expence of the navy, victualling, and transports, in all amounted to 1,686,871*l*.

The question being put, Mr. T. Jones said he hoped the present chancellor of the exchequer would see the necessity of stating to the house

the time of his accession to office, in order that the public might know when the late administration ended, and when the present began. For his own part, he rather felt this proposed two millions vote of credit to arise out of the deficiencies of the late administration; because the right hon. gentleman alluded to the armed neutrality, which certainly did grow out of the measures of the late administration.

Mr. Tierney said, when the budget was opened by the late chancellor of the exchequer, he demanded a vote of credit for 500,000*l.* and this was a subject which required some explanation. He understood, however, by the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that nothing concerning the army would require any further estimate. Mr. Addington replied, he should be extremely sorry to pledge himself that the vote of the army estimates would be sufficient for the army; he said no such thing. He was, however, not aware of any difference in the expence from the estimate. With respect to the application of the two millions now proposed, he begged to be understood as not pledging himself to apply the whole of it to the naval service, although it was to the increased demands of that service that this application was owing. He was not aware of any other observations necessary for him to make, except that which referred to the vote of credit of 800,000*l.* that was 500,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 300,000*l.* for Ireland: 300,000*l.* were since voted for the assistance of Portugal: so that there now remained, out of that part of the vote of credit which was applicable to Great Britain, 200,000*l.* Mr. Tierney replied, that Mr. Pitt,

at the time of proposing the last vote of credit, expressed some concern that there was no possibility of sending out any money to Portugal; but now the matter stood thus. The original vote of credit proposed by the late minister for this year was 800,000*l.*; that was 500,000*l.* for England, and 300,000*l.* for Ireland; and now it was proposed to vote two millions more.

Mr. Addington observed, that the two millions now proposed to be voted covered the 300,000*l.* for Portugal; so that the difference was not now to be computed at between 2,300,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* for the 300,000*l.* was comprised in the 2,000,000*l.* Mr. Pitt took credit for only 800,000*l.*; that was 500,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 300,000*l.* for Ireland. He did not imagine that Mr. Pitt then foresaw the subsidy to Portugal. Mr. Tierney said, that, according to the present statement, there would not be, out of the whole vote, for the real purposes of supplying any exigency that might arise, (the true spirit upon which a vote of credit ought to be adopted) any more than about 100,000*l.*; a sum that would, he feared, be very insufficient. After Mr. Steele, sir Andrew Hammond, and Mr. Grey had spoken, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to move the following resolutions: "That a sum not exceeding 2,000,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to enable him to take such measures as the exigency of affairs might require. That a sum of 200,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be issued and paid to the governor and company of the bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the

national debt. That a sum not exceeding 3,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, towards enabling the trustees of the British museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by parliament. That a sum of 270*l.* 9*s.* be granted to his majesty to make good the like sum, which had been issued by his directions to the chairman of the committee of the house of lords."

Mr. Grey wished some reason to be assigned why so large a sum as 1000*l.* should be given as an addi-

tional salary to the chairman of the committee in the house of lords. Mr. Tierney also made the same objection. Mr. Addington replied, that the noble lord had the whole of the private business under his inspection; this had increased considerably, and was nearly double the amount this year of what it had been the preceding one. Formerly the salary was paid at the treasury; it now would be made a matter of annual vote. He then proceeded to move, in order, the following resolutions:

	£.	s.	d.
To the Levant company.....	5,000	0	0
To the discharging of the exchequer bills.....	3,500,000	0	0
Loans on exchequer bills for the service of the year 1800, and charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament.....	3,000,000	0	0
The further sum of three millions by loans on exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1800, and charged upon the first aids, &c.	3,000,000	0	0
The addresses of this house, and which had not been made good by parliament..	10,991	11	10
To Bernard Cobbe, esq. at the receipt of the exchequer, out of his majesty's civil list revenues, for additional allowances to clerks, &c.....	827	12	0
To Joseph White, esq. to enable him to complete the purchase of several old houses, for carrying on the works at the New Marshalsea.	528	9	0
To Arthur Young, esq. secretary to the board of agriculture, for premiums to be paid for breaking up of grass lands....	800	0	0
To the establishment at Sierra Leone, for one year, to the 31st day of December 1801.	4000	0	0
To defray the extraordinary services of the army in Ireland for the year 1801.....	600,000	0	0

On

On 15 June, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, and an order having been made to refer to the committee an account of the disposition of last year's grants, an account of the monies remaining in the exchequer, and some accounts presented that day to the house, Mr. Addington said, that the amount of the supply voted for the service of the year, was 43,686,715*l.* of which 4,348,226*l.* being two-seventeenths, were on account of Ireland. The ways and means for this supply was first, on sugar, &c. 1,000,000*l.* tobacco 2,760,000*l.* lottery 201,000*l.* loan 25,500,000*l.* The sum he now proposed to be voted was 4,000,000*l.* for the income duty, the reason for which he should presently state. Imports and exports were 1,200,000*l.* Surplus of the consolidated fund 3,100,000*l.* Remaining unissued of the sum voted last session for the emperor of Germany, and the elector of Bavaria, 499,004*l.* Estimated surplus of grants 65,837*l.* Vote of credit 2,000,000*l.* Interest on instalments of the land-tax 50,000*l.* Money in the exchequer for the payment of particular services 4,080*l.* 11*s.* The sum at which the income tax was taken by Mr. Pitt, who preceded him in office, was 6,000,000*l.* and, after interest and charges were deducted, the remainder would be 4,260,000*l.* applicable to the ways and means of the year; but on examination he found, from the papers on the table, that he should not be justified in taking the income tax at that amount, he should not take it at more than 4,000,000*l.* Imports and exports 1,200,000*l.* A considerable augmentation, however, would take place from the large quantity of wine and other articles from Portugal, under the

circumstances of that country, which would counterbalance the charge of freight, &c. The amount of this accession he should not think would in all be less than 100,000*l.* He should, however, propose this head of income at 1,200,000*l.* The growing produce of the consolidated fund was 3,500,000*l.* as originally stated, but he should take it at 3,100,000*l.* He was led to this upon a view of the produce of the whole of the taxes; the accounts of which were now laid before the house. There would be a considerable defalcation from the drawbacks allowed on sugars, four and a half per cent. on first fruits, &c. but on the other hand, the tax on malt was likely to be much more productive than it had been for the last year. The whole produce of the permanent taxes would be 23,346,590*l.* The charges were 20,069,590*l.* leaving a surplus of 3,277,000*l.* He might indeed take the permanent taxes, according to an estimate which had been made of them, at 23,350,000*l.* but he would take them only at 23,346,590*l.* he would take the surplus at 3,100,000*l.* He then moved as the first resolution, "that out of the monies arising by virtue of an act made in the 39th year of the reign of his present majesty for granting a duty on income, there should be applied the sum of four millions towards making good the supply granted his majesty, over and above the sums necessary to discharge the interest of any loans which have been charged on the said duties by any acts of parliament."

On the question being put, Mr. Tierney rose to make some observations on the statement of Mr. Addington. He disapproved of the

the deviation that had taken place in the manner of laying the accounts before the house, and thought there would be a considerable deficiency in the supplies. Mr. Steele said that what Mr. Pitt had stated was very fair at the time, and reasonable in the expectation, although many of the items fell very far short of the estimate; the consequence of which was, that exchequer bills were issued to supply the defect, and those were paid off when they became productive. There was now due on the land tax of 1799, 344,000*l.* on the year 1800, 900,000*l.* These sums belonged to the year ending last April. They were in the hands of the receivers, in their progress towards the exchequer; all of it would be paid, and would discharge what remained due on the consolidated fund on the 5th of April last.

It was wiser for the chancellor of the exchequer to state what remained due on the former years, and to assume that it would be paid in the ensuing year, than to pass it by altogether as unproductive, on account of its not being received, because the money might be raised by exchequer bills as it was wanted.

After a little conversation between Mr. Addington, Mr. Lee, and sir J. Parnell, the question was put, and the resolution voted. Mr. Addington then moved the next resolution, and it was ordered that bills be brought in upon the said resolutions.

The only subsidy granted this year was a small sum for the defence of Portugal, and it occasioned some debates which it is proper briefly to notice.

The house on the 18th of May, having resolved itself into a com-

mittee of supply, and a message from his majesty relative to granting a subsidy to Portugal. 300,000*l.* being read, lord Hawkesbury said, if it was stated that subsidies were wrong, with reference to British objects, he should only answer, that history proved that the only war in which, in the course of the last century, this country had failed, was that in which it had no continental alliances, and consequently no subsidies to grant—he meant the American war. He could easily conceive that many gentlemen might object to subsidies for offensive operations, such as those to Austria and Russia, and yet would admit that a subsidy to an old ally, not for offensive but defensive operations, might not only be right, but that it was a duty of parliament to grant it. The power for whom he rose to propose a subsidy was one which, for more than a century, had behaved with fidelity towards us, and afforded us its assistance and co-operation. It was a subsidy to a power that we were engaged to support. The only reason that could be stated against the motion was, that it was equally the interest of Portugal and of this country that the former should make a separate peace with France; that, also, such a peace could not be made without great sacrifices; yet that it would be better to make them than continue the war; and that if the object of the subsidy was to induce Portugal to continue the war, it would be detrimental, instead of being of service. A short statement would convince those who reasoned thus that there was no ground whatever for their arguments. He was ready to admit that his majesty had thought it right to absolve Portugal

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from any engagement not to make a separate peace, if it could be obtained on terms consistent with its honour; but it was impossible for any one to look at the state of the continent and the conduct of the French government towards Naples, and doubt whether Portugal could make peace on any terms consistent with her honour and independence. Under these circumstances, he would leave it to the house to say, whether, if such assistance as he should propose might have the effect of enabling Portugal to negotiate on better terms, or, in case of negotiation failing, of preparing for more effectual resistance, there could be any objection to grant it. Every motive of policy demanded such a subsidy, whether we wished Portugal to make peace or not. When he observed that it was only intended to enable Portugal to maintain an army of 20,000 men, it might not appear inadequate.

Mr. Grey said, he admitted that it was of importance to preserve Portugal from being over-run by the French: he admitted also that she had the most powerful claims to our protection; but he disapproved of the assistance which was proposed to be sent to her, because he doubted of its efficacy. From the conduct of the predecessors of the noble lord, and his bold defence of all their measures, it might be inferred that subsidies were politic in all possible cases, and that nothing was so desirable as an opportunity to grant one. Examine the history of the present war, calculate the extravagant amount of the sums they had thus squandered. "For what purpose," said Mr. Grey, "is this subsidy granted? not to stir up Portugal to make war, we are

told; but to enable her to negotiate with advantage." He was assured that the subsidy proposed would raise the demands of the invader. Last summer, general Berthier went to Madrid, and no one doubted the object of his mission; yet ministers remained inactive, and took not the smallest notice of the danger which thus threatened our ally. When twenty or thirty thousand French were joined to the troops of Spain, would any one say that Portugal had the least chance of success? When Portugal was not threatened with invasion, when Spain showed dispositions rather friendly, when every soldier that could be raised in France was sent to Italy and the banks of the Rhine, then a formidable British force was kept up in Portugal under sir Charles Stewart. When the continental war was over, when our enemies had the ability, and testified the strongest inclination, to attack our ally, what did we do for her? Portugal was left without a single British soldier, an easy prey to the conqueror. Had the convention of El-Arish been suffered to remain unbroken, we should have been able to support our allies in other quarters. All the bloodshed that had happened was therefore ascribable to the authors of this disgraceful measure. While we were struggling for Egypt, and shedding our best blood in the struggle, Portugal was certainly ravished from us, an old and faithful ally was over-run and ruined on our account.

Mr. Pitt said, that if any gentleman would look back to the history of the war, he would find that, whatever had been the fate of the continent, we had given to the different powers the best chance for

for their safety ; and that the money we had laid out on these occasions was in the best way of laying it out, and constituted the cheapest bargain on our part in the present war. Mr. Grey admitted he had no objection to make against the particular subsidy now under consideration of the house ; but under the semblance of discussing this question, he took an opportunity of renewing his attacks upon his majesty's late ministers. He took the opportunity of collaterally making charges against them, though notice had been repeatedly given of a specific motion on that subject, which motion had never yet been brought forward. Leaving then the importance of Egypt out of consideration, he made it a charge against the king's late ministers, that they were prevented from assisting Portugal because so large a force had been sent to Egypt ; and he said he would now recommend their being employed in the defence of Portugal. The question which his majesty's late ministers had to consider at the period to which the honourable gentleman alluded was, whether it would be wise to have permitted so many of the veteran troops of France to have been landed in Italy, at a moment when the fate of the campaign in Europe, of every minor state, and especially of Portugal, was at stake. If any rational man at that moment had been asked, whether the security of Portugal was most likely to be maintained by keeping these veteran forces in Egypt, rather than by suffering them to land in Italy, it was impossible to entertain a doubt with respect to his answer. The consideration of Egypt, though an object of great importance to us, was

postponed as long as there was any chance of success in the general cause ; but when the Austrians were defeated, though they lamented their reverses, he said they did not neglect our own interests, and the expedition to Egypt took place. Mr. Grey thought this sum was advanced to Portugal to induce her, against her judgment, to continue the contest. "We do not desire Portugal (said Mr. Pitt) to brave danger ; but we say, if for their own sakes they think it more wise, more manly, more dignified, and more safe, to meet the danger, rather than to agree to unknown concession, indignity, and insult, then Great Britain will be true to her engagements ; and though we absolve them from their promise to us, we will not make that absolution a mask for our avarice or our pusillanimity, as long as they have spirit and courage enough (which no subsidy could give them) not to compromise with an oppressive and perfidious enemy."

Mr. Grey, in reply, observed, that, at a moment when dangers surrounded the country on every side, he could not as an Englishman fail to take a retrospective view of the measures of the late administration. Mr. Pitt had endeavoured to vindicate the conduct of the ministers with regard to the violation of the treaty of El-Arish : the orders which left lord Keith no alternative respecting the evacuation of Egypt were sent out *on the 28th of December 1799. Bonaparte was then but newly installed in his office, and soon after his proposals for peace were received, but contemptuously rejected.* Did not these ministers tell us the French were bankrupts in resources and in power ? that their armies were annihilated ? and, so confident were these ministers of

success, that he who dared to doubt this was liable to be loaded with the foul charge of jacobinism. But Mr. Pitt accused him of being a doubting and hesitating politician. Mr. Pitt had consumed our resources, diminished our comforts, impaired our enjoyments, and, after nine years of contest, left us exposed to all the dangers which threatened us at its commencement.

Mr. Jones conjured the noble lord (Hawkesbury) not to pass this horrible subsidy, and conjured the chancellor of the exchequer not to favour this system of subsidising at the end of a nine years' war. "I," continued he, "conjure him by the bloody ghost of the brave Abercromby, by the manes of the noble army of martyrs in Egypt." These honourable gentlemen will certainly repent it.

The motion was then put and carried.

When Mr. Bragge brought up the report of the committee of supply, for the purpose of granting a subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Portugal, Mr. Robson objected to the measure. The house ought to have known that Portugal had last year 263,000*l.*, besides a variety of other expenses incurred by this country on her account. His imperial majesty had had a remittance of 150,000*l.* sent him by ministers to replace his magazines. He had wished for an account of the distribution of the vote of credit of one million and a half, but that had been refused. He objected to granting this subsidy, from the dear-bought experience of the effect of subsidising the allies. Mr. Nicholl also objected to bringing up the report, and inferred from the example of

Austria, Russia, and Prussia, that no dependence ought to be placed on Portugal: he said that the ex-ministers laid the foundation for this application by their violating the convention of El-Arish; and concluded by entreating the house not to suffer the subsidy to proceed. Mr. Grey spoke a few words, and the chancellor of the exchequer replied. The report was then received, agreed to, and a bill ordered to be brought in upon the resolution.

In the house of lords on the 20th of May, the order of the day having been moved, and his majesty's message read, the secretary of state (lord Hobart) rose to move an address which he hoped that house would be unanimous in voting, viz. to thank his majesty for his gracious message, and to assure his majesty of the cordial support of that house with respect to the relief that Portugal stood in need of. It would not perhaps at this moment be convenient to this country, with so many expensive engagements upon her hands, to grant a very large subsidy; but if we could not assist an old ally with a great sum, we ought to vote her some assistance; and therefore he trusted that no noble lord would object to the address which he was about to move. His lordship concluded by moving the address.

Lord Holland said, he cordially agreed in wishing to give Portugal every assistance that Great Britain could administer in money, and by other perhaps still more effectual means; but there was another, and a very different consideration, which occurred to his mind; and which he, at the same time that he concurred with the noble secretary in the main point of his argument, had

had a right to keep in view; viz. the use to which the subsidy about to be voted would be put, and whether it might not ultimately come into the pocket of Bonaparte. He was warranted in entertaining a suspicion, that Portugal had been brought into her present situation through the interference of his majesty's ministers, on a recollection of what had been the conduct of his majesty's late ministers in respect to Austria and Holland. They had encouraged those countries to forbear a timely treaty of peace with France, only the more effectually to ensure their destruction; and from the bad use that had been made of the large subsidies voted for Austria, Sardinia, and Naples, he dreaded the idea of granting subsidies to other powers; lest, by the baneful advice of his majesty's ministers, the same ruinous and disastrous effects might follow, that had uniformly resulted from the mischievous interference of Great Britain.

The marquis of Sligo said he had long resided in Portugal, and witnessed successive instances of the fortitude, the firmness, and the honourable adherence of that court to their alliance with England.

They had repeatedly refused, at every hazard, to make a separate alliance with the enemies of England; they had armed their fleets to join ours, as in a common cause; and the late king of Portugal had declared, that he would see his palace in ruins, and his coffers stripped of the last shilling, before he would violate a single principle of his alliance with England. The people of Portugal, man, woman, and child, in an honourable and enthusiastic spirit of attachment to this country, had one and all declared their readiness to spill

the last drop of their blood in maintaining the connection. Having been a witness of these facts, he felt it his duty to state them. He could wish that the subsidy voted had been considerably greater; but he should sanction the principle of aiding Portugal at all hazards, and of supporting the motion.

Lord Moira fully coincided in all that had been said of the value of our alliance with Portugal, and the duties of aid and protection which this country owed to that; but he begged the house to consider for a moment what sort of proportion the proposed subsidy bore to the occasions of Portugal, at a moment when the hostile armies of France and Spain were upon the borders of her territories. A sum so utterly incommensurate to the occasions of Portugal, at such a crisis, was as *three halfpence*, compared with her wants, and what we ought to give. Did the noble secretary, whose predecessors had boasted so pompously of the inexhaustible resources of this country, mean now to acknowledge that those resources were so utterly exhausted, and the country reduced to so low an ebb, as to be merely able to afford her only, her best and truly faithful ally, the paltry aid of 300,000*l.*, after squandering so many millions in subsidies to false friends who had deceived us, and lavished so many thousand gallant lives on fruitless acquisitions, untenable conquests, or abortive expeditions? For St. Domingo alone 15,000,000*l.* were expended, and to what purpose? And how had the remainder of the troops fallen? Not gloriously in the field, fighting against the enemy, but victims to a pestilential climate. The earl of Suffolk rea-

soned in the same manner. The marquis of Townshend and the earl of Westmoreland defended the conduct of his majesty's ministers in withdrawing the troops from Portugal to send to Egypt. The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. Tierney, on the 17th of June, rose to move his annual resolutions respecting the state of the finances of the country. He said he could have contented himself with simply moving them, without making any previous observations respecting their nature or their object, if an event had not taken place since last year, when he followed this plan, which had introduced many gentlemen into the house who had never heard him state his object or his plan, and who might therefore be at a loss to understand the resolutions if simply moved. His first resolution he stated to relate to the amount of the funded debt at the commencement of the war; the second, to the consequences which had resulted from the war in increasing the funded debt; the third, to the amount of the funded debt. At present, altogether combining that which existed before, and that which had been created by the war, Mr. Tierney said, the whole funded debt of the kingdom might be fairly estimated at 500,000,000*l*. The fourth resolution related to the unfunded debt as it now stood, which he estimated at 21,000,000*l*. more than its amount last year. He considered it alarming, that so great an increase of it should take place in one year, and in a year in which 45,000,000*l*. of funded debt was contracted, and additional stock made. The fifth resolution, relating to the sinking fund, which was in the most flourishing situa-

tion, was of a more consolatory nature. The sixth resolution related to the permanent charges incurred by the increase of the national debt; and it appeared, that the debt contracted in the course of the war had subjected the country to an additional permanent charge of no less than 16,000,000*l*. The seventh resolution related to the amount of the produce of the permanent taxes for the year; and it resulted from it, that there was a deficiency in the produce of this year, from that of last year, of 1,500,000*l*. The eighth resolution contained a statement of the total amount of the value of the exports and imports for the year. Nothing could be more gratifying to the house or the country than this statement, as it appeared that the real value of them amounted to 90,000,000*l*. The amount of the expenditure for the year formed the subject of the ninth resolution; and that amount he thought should be estimated at near 70,000,000*l*. sterling. The result of the whole was contained in the tenth resolution, and related to the probable amount of the future establishment. The peace establishment in 1791 amounted to 16,800,000*l*. Calculating from the establishment at that time, he estimated, that a future peace establishment would amount to about 29,000,000*l*. sterling. Mr. Tierney then stated the nature of the three last resolutions. From these resolutions it would appear, that the burdens imposed on the country since the commencement of the war exceeded the whole amount of those which existed in 1793; that the sinking fund was increasing; that there was a deficiency in the revenue, from what it amounted to last year; but that the commerce and trade of this country had

had increased beyond all example. Some strong measure of finance appeared to him to be necessary; and at the present time he thought it would be more practicable to carry it into effect than perhaps it might be at any future æra. He concluded with moving his thirteen resolutions, which were to the effect already stated.

The first resolution being read from the chair, Mr. Addington rose, not to make any observations on the resolutions proposed by Mr. Tierney, but to suggest the propriety of doing what was done last year, adjourning the debate for a few days to give time to any gentleman who might wish to propose resolutions on the same subject. He would therefore move, that the debate should be adjourned till Monday; and, on that day, he would lay before the house *his* views of the debts, revenues, and expenditure of the country.

On the 22d, therefore, Mr. Addington said he meant, after laying

before the house his resolutions relative to the income and expenditure of the country, to submit certain other resolutions respecting the system for the reduction of the national debt. It was necessary just to mention to the house that his first resolution related to the amount of the public funded debt prior to the war; the second, to its amount since the year 1793; the third, to its present amount.—The amount of the national debt laid before the house of commons by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Addington had become an important fact for the country: in order, therefore, to have a just idea on this interesting subject, it would be necessary to reduce those to the same form, by which means an opportunity would be afforded, not only of ascertaining their accuracy, but of examining the principles on which they were founded. Resolutions, therefore, to the following effect, were then proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and agreed to be received; viz.

That the total amount of the public debt, after deducting the sum of 52,281,656 <i>l.</i> redeemed, and the annuities fallen in to the commissioners, and 16,083,802 <i>l.</i> transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of February 1801, together with short annuities to the amount of 545,333 <i>l.</i> , and long annuities to the amount of 1,007,613 <i>l.</i> , after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland,.....	£. 400,709,832
That the life and short annuities were 545,333 <i>l.</i> per annum, worth	3,408,331
That the long annuities were 1,007,613 <i>l.</i> per annum, worth at 5 per cent,.....	21,989,703

Whole debt was £. 426,207,865

The statement submitted to the house of commons by Mr. Tierney,

in the form of resolutions, was to the following effect:

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That

That the total amount of the public funded debt, including the Irish and imperial loans, and deducting the stock purchased by the commissioners, and 16,083,802 <i>l.</i> transferred to them on account of the land-tax redeemed, was, in February 1801,	} £. 484,365,484
That the life and short annuities were about 540,000 <i>l.</i> per annum, worth at 6½ years purchase	} 3,375,000
That the long annuities were 1,007,000 <i>l.</i> per annum, worth at 5 per cent.	} 21,978,132
	<hr/>
	509,718,596
Deduct the Irish loans	19,708,750
	<hr/>
Debt remaining, exclusive of the stock redeemed for the land-tax,	} 490,009,846

On this and the other propositions of Mr. Tierney the previous question was put and carried on the 29th of June.

On the motion of Mr. W. Dundas, the 12th of June, the several papers relative to the revenue, charges, and other statements on the affairs of India, presented on the 8th of May, &c. were referred to a committee of the whole house. Mr. Dundas then rose, and said, that, though no longer in office, it fell to him to discharge a duty he had exercised for seventeen years. During that period, the controul over the affairs of the East-India Company was placed in a board of commissioners. For the first eight years, the financial system relating to India only was the immediate object of annual investigation before parliament. On the renewal of the charter in the year 1793, it was specially enacted, that the accounts both foreign and domestic should be brought under the same review. "The accounts upon the table," continued Mr.

Dundas, "comprise recent information of the financial transactions of the company during the following periods. Those which may be termed foreign for the year 1799-1800, with estimates for the year 1800-1801; the home for the year 1800-1801, with an estimate for the following year." The arrangements which he now proposed would be exactly in the order practised for several years, as it appeared best calculated to give the most distinct and clear idea of the whole concern.

He next stated the account of the presidency of Bengal; which, on an average, was found to amount to 614,731*l.*, exceeding the average of the three years 1796-7 to 1798-9 in the sum of 266,944*l.* The revenues were estimated to amount to 6,196,733*l.*; their actual amount was 6,504,738*l.*, exceeding the estimate in the sum of 308,005*l.* For the sake of brevity, we shall combine the several accounts of the debts and assets, under the *general comparative view*, as follows:

The

THE DEBTS AND ASSETS BY THE PAST AND PRESENT YEAR'S ACCOUNTS.

The debts in India have increased in the sum of £.1,644,876
 Deducting therefrom the decrease of the debts at home, amounting to..... } 436,233

The net increase of debt will appear to be.... 1,208,643

The assets in India have increased..... 1,310,446

Deducing the decrease of assets at home, amounting to } 781,214

The increase of assets was 529,232

To which was to be added the net improved balance at China and St. Helena, as follows:

China improvement..... 1,446,101

Deduct St. Helena, which is less than last year..... 3,869

The difference was 1,442,232

And the total shows the net increase of the assets to be } 1,971,464

Deducting the increase of debt above stated from the increase of the assets, an improvement would appear in this point of view to have been made in the state of the company's affairs, generally, in the course of the year, to the amount of } 762,821

But as, on a nearer examination of the statements from which these computations were made, it appears that, at the period for making up the stock accounts at home, those from India were not received to the date on which the state of the debts and assets abroad was made up, he found it necessary, in order to bring this very material part of the calculation to as near a point of accuracy as practicable, in a general review of so extensive a concern, to make several adjustments. In the view now given, the amount of the debts in India, on the 30th of April 1800, should be deducted from the improvement, being certainly a debt owing by the company: It was } 391,915

On the credit side of the account, it appeared necessary to make exactly the same kind of adjustment as the last year on the value of the cargoes from England not arrived in India at the date of the several quick stocks on which the home accounts were made up. As the state of the assets abroad was calculated in quick stocks of a later date, and included a part of those cargoes, it was necessary to deduct their amount, which was } 280,441

The total sum to be deducted was £. 672,356

The

The difference then remaining amounted to 90,465*l.*, which was the sum in which the general state of the whole concern appeared, on the principles of this examination, to have improved in the course of the year of account now before the committee.

He next stated the words in which he concluded the account of last year. "The reduction of the debts, and the increase of the assets, were to an amount exceeding 11,100,000*l.* sterling. It was true, that within that period money had been raised on additional capital to the amount of 3,740,000*l.*; but it must likewise be taken into consideration, that the remainder might be termed a net improvement, under the events of an Indian war, at one time threatening serious disasters, though finally concluded highly to the advantage of the company: under the events likewise of the present European war, which, during four years of the period, caused enormous additions to the expense of freights, of provision, and of every article of equipment; and occasioned also great expenses by several expeditions, by which our rivals were deprived of their possessions in the East. But," added Mr. Dundas, "I have carried the comparison three years further, which will take in a great part of the immense expenditure of the late war with Mysore; and find, that the improvement during these thirteen years, on the same principle, is 11,880,000*l.*"

He then stated, that it was with the most heartfelt satisfaction he contemplated the amazing change in the political relations in the East at the present moment, compared with what they were in 1784. He next mentioned the

prosperous state of the company's alliances with the several powers in India. "First, the Nizam, although allied by treaty, during a long series of years the advantages to the company were frequently problematical, from the fluctuating politics of his court; and although his highness furnished some assistance towards the object of the late war with Tippoo, and reaped his proportion of the advantages from the successful termination of it, very soon after an influence prevailed in his councils threatening serious consequences." He then mentioned the treaty with the rajah of Travancore, "which, though not productive of advantages to so great an extent, might still be considered as an event, within the period alluded to, tending to strengthen our influence." He then alluded to the connexions on this side of India, particularly the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nabob of Surat.

He next began with the treaty of alliance with the nabob of Arcot. The treaty under which our present relation with him stood was dated in 1792, and was entered into with his father on terms extremely favourable to him. The treaty of alliance with the rajah of Tanjore was concluded in the year 1799. At the close of his Indian administration, he thought it necessary to state, that the presidencies of India improved every year. The numerous tributaries under this government were now happily brought to such a state of subjection as to furnish the hope that the insurrections of which he had the mortification to hear by the late advices would be no more heard of. Their expectation of support, and indeed the main spring of every revolt, being effectually removed by

by the death of Tippoo, every hope might be entertained of the perfect establishment of the quiet of the country. This had in part been already obtained amongst some of the most refractory, the southern poligars, who were now reported to be changed from an armed and lawless banditti to a peaceful and industrious peasantry.

He had upon a former occasion brought to the notice of the committee, that the improvement under the operation of the present system, to the period of account then under consideration, was found to exceed eleven millions sterling; the alteration since not having been to any great amount, the amelioration might, on the same principle, be now taken at about the like sum. The additional capital must, as then noticed, be taken into the account, and some further adjustments would be required. If such had been the event, under the circumstances of two wars in India, and of a general European war, from the year 1793, the inference was highly favourable to the mode of administration; and the more so, when the great additional revenue, and the complete conquest of every enemy in the East, were taken into the account. The debts abroad were certainly much greater than at the first period of this comparison; but the assets exhibited an excess still more considerable. If the loss of the surplus revenue operated so quickly in an unfavourable degree, the acquisition of revenue must be allowed to have an equal effect in the recovery of the system.

The grand and leading features of this plan were:

1st, An arrangement abroad; so that a full million from the surplus of the revenues should, at the

commencement, be applicable to the purchase of investments.

2dly, That the investments from India and China should amount at prime cost to four millions annually, in equal proportions.

3dly, That, during the first four years from this time, the company should avail themselves of the power they already had, under the act, for augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually, which, it was supposed, would realize one million sterling.

4thly, That the additional money, so raised, should be applied exclusively to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest, either by increasing remittances in bullion, or export to India to that amount, or by defraying additional bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

5thly, That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fourteen millions sterling, should be carried on at the rate of one million annually, till the part of it termed the decennial loan should become payable, which was expected to take place on or about the year 1807-8, which was stated at 3,500,000*l.*, and would be discharged in that year; on which supposition the debts at interest abroad would then be reduced to 4,500,000*l.* at which amount it might be thought expedient to keep them stationary.

The gradual reductions of the debt would add to the surplus of the revenues by the diminution of the interest; and, in the year 1808-9, the sum of two millions sterling might be applied to the investments. The application of the surplus, thus increasing from year to year, would of course lessen the demand of India

dia upon the home treasury, so that the balance of cash could not fail of increasing to an immense amount. He had stated the great difficulty to lie in the outset; his estimate was so calculated. He ended his labours by reposing the most entire confidence in the talents and integrity of those whom his majesty had appointed to succeed him in this important charge: and it only remained for him to apologise to the committee for engrossing so much of its time; and that the result of the examination of the statements

might, as usual, be placed on the records of parliament, he had formed the motion into resolutions.

On the resolutions being put, Mr. Lushington made some inquiries respecting the probable price of freight in time of peace, which produced a short conversation between him, Mr. Dundas, Mr. D. Scott, and sir Francis Baring; after which the resolutions were agreed to; and, upon the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received.

CHAP. III.

Discussions on the War and the Conduct of Ministry. Motion in the House of Lords for a Call of the House. Motion in the House of Commons for an Inquiry into the Failure of the Ferrol Expedition. Lord Darnley's Motion in the House of Lords for an Inquiry into the State of the Nation—Mr. Grey's Motion to the same Effect in the House of Commons. Motion in the House of Commons for an Inquiry into the Breach of the Treaty of El-Arish. Motion for the Production of the Duke of York's Letter.

THE conduct of the war, and the breach of treaty with respect to the convention of El-Arish, underwent a severe scrutiny in the course of the session. The first signal for the attack of ministers was sounded in the house of lords by the earl of Darnley, who, very early in the session, gave notice of a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. On the 10th of February the subject was pressed by the earl of Radnor, who moved that the house should be called over on Friday, the 20th, as the present was an awful crisis; and lord Darnley was to bring forward an important inquiry into the state of the nation and conduct of the ministers.

Lord Grenville said it was very unusual to require such a measure unless in very particular cases, as the trial of a peer; and therefore he hoped his noble friend would not persist in a motion calculated to create alarm and dismay throughout the nation. In this he was seconded by lord Mulgrave, who thought it could answer no beneficial purpose to diffuse awe and solemnity on any common occasion, and excite needless apprehensions in the minds of the people.

Lord Holland strongly recommended the measure: he conceived it absolutely necessary; the situation to which ministers had reduced the country could not be treated with too much solemnity; their

their dismissal could not be considered as an evil if the mode of their going out, and the causes assigned for it, did not add to our embarrassments, and increase the necessity of an inquiry.

Had their dismissal been occasioned by loss of confidence in the parliament, or had it produced a change of system, it would have been the greatest benefit and blessing to the community; but they were absolutely the victims of that very system to which they had so long prostituted their talents, and under the influence of which they had supported the American war. The first moment ministers had hesitated respecting the question of liberty, when they who had sacrificed the happiness of Ireland seemed disposed to make a concession to the people, they were discarded. The first appearance of the love of freedom, in one solitary instance, cancelled all former obligations, and had raised the indignation of this narrow-minded, cruel, and destructive policy:

*Perlerunt tempora longi
Servitii—*

and they were dismissed with the same scorn and contempt as all others had been whose principles or measures were hostile to that detestable faction. The occasion of their dismissal added a motive to inquiry, and one more calamity to the country, by endangering the tranquillity of Ireland.

The earl of Clare deprecated the idea of a call, as well as a premature discussion of a subject of so delicate a nature, and at the same time of such magnitude, that it ought not to be alluded to before it came regularly under consideration. With regard to

catholic emancipation, he advised their lordships to make use of the opportunity which the union afforded, to inform themselves of the nature and character of Ireland, with which they seemed but slightly acquainted. Catholic emancipation had already been found to imply rebellion in that country: ninety-nine Roman-catholics out of a hundred did not care about it; others understood it to mean the abolition of tithes, and a more equal division of property. The Irish peasant, for instance, conceived, when this measure was granted, every one of them was to have his tythes taken off, and a grant of ten acres of land allotted him. In short, so various were their opinions, and so violent were their passions, that he could not but shudder at the consequences of rashly diffusing insinuations upon the subject amongst them, and perhaps lighting up a flame which only more torrents of blood could quench. His lordship was enforcing his reasons, and stating the agitation it would occasion—confusion much greater than had been yet experienced, and of which no adequate idea could be formed by those who were not intimately versed in the character of the people—when he was called to order by the earl of Suffolk, who said, this appeared doing himself what his lordship advised others to avoid, and kindling the flame he had so deprecated. The earl of Clare answered, that the question, though not before the house, had been alluded to in very strong terms; and he meant to point out the danger of discussion in this unparliamentary manner. He would however drop the subject, which he was persuaded was fraught with infinite

infinite mischiefs, and the agitation of which would prevent the advantages otherwise to be expected from the union. He was proceeding to illustrate its evil effects, when lord Suffolk again interrupted, and begged the learned lord upon the woolsack to confine the noble earl to the question now before the house.

The lord chancellor then entreated the earl of Clare to abstain from all mention of catholic emancipation, which had been so irregularly introduced: at the proper period it would be considered in all its bearing and relations, comprehensively, accurately, and dispassionately, and with a seriousness proportioned to its importance. He lamented that an idea had been thrown out by lord Moira, that not any thing like the sense of the house was to be collected from the hasty and loose conversation which had taken place. It would not be doing justice to such a momentous concern to let an opinion prevail, that it could be affected by such slight and casual observations. With regard to the critical situation of the country, and the great loss it had sustained, no one deplored it more deeply than himself. Connected, as he long had been, by public duty and private friendship with those of whose services the public were to be deprived, and knowing as he did their great abilities, their strict integrity, and their unremitted application, he extremely lamented that an occasion had arisen which made them feel they could no longer hold their employments. Subjects on which men of honourable minds would entertain a difference of opinion would occur under all governments. The partiality which

he had ever experienced from the house, afforded him reasonable hope that they gave him credit for acting to the best of his judgment, on the genuine conviction of his mind, wherever he stood, and in whatever situation he might be placed: indeed he could do no good to the public were he to act otherwise; nor should he be qualified to stand at that great tribunal, before which he must in a short time, by the course of nature, expect to render up an account of all his actions in this sublunary state.

Lord Moira thought it necessary to rectify a misapprehension respecting himself. It was not, he said, to the question of catholic emancipation he had alluded, when he remarked that the mind of the house had been so strongly manifested that it must have an effect: his reference was to the impression concerning the sort of ministry likely to be formed, and which inspired the country with dread, at a time so critical and full of danger: the old ministry was to be the root of the new one, and those principles to be continued which had reduced the country to this extremity. He hoped, therefore, that the spirit of the house would be roused; that they would act like men, and exert themselves in its defence. If they failed to do this, the storm impending could not be averted: their weight and authority over the people would be lost; an evil anxiously to be deprecated, because they could only render service to the interests of the empire whilst they retained it. A call of the house (except in the trial of a peer) was not unprecedented. There were several instances upon the journals. Such a measure had not been indeed of late

late years necessary ; but the present situation of the country required references to old times, and similar cases of difficulty and danger.

The earl of Westmoreland said, that, unless some precedent from the journals could be stated, he wished the motion to be withdrawn.

The earl of Radnor immediately produced four instances in point, which he read from a paper on which he had written them down : three on record in the journals were about the year 1678, and the fourth in 1704.

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His majesty's indisposition, and some other causes, prevented the public business in general from proceeding for some time after this motion, except with respect to the necessary business of the supplies ; and consequently lord Darnley's motion was deferred. In the house of commons, however, an inquiry was proceeded upon, which is of some importance in an historical point of view.

On the 19th of February Mr. Sturt rose to submit a motion to the house, which he said he trusted every member would feel it a duty to support.—He meant not to hurt the feelings of the honourable general who had conducted the expedition, or of the honourable gentleman who planned it ; but to contend, that when a vast and expensive armament had brought disgrace upon the country, an inquiry ought to be made into the causes of its failure.—He said, that blame lay somewhere, and with whom it was necessary to ascertain. After having spent the spring and summer in total inactivity, an expedition, consisting of about eighty sail, set off for the coast of Spain.

Eleven thousand men were landed at Ferrol, and ascended the heights above the town without resistance. The official dispatches had stated, that they had landed to inspect the strength of the place. But why employ 11,000 men for this? Would not 2000 or 200 have done as well? They met only with skirmishes. Their success was complete. An officer of engineers assured the general that he would be master of the place in a few hours. In Fort St. Philip there were not more than fifty men, and it might have easily been taken. The 52d regiment wished also to take Grana, and would have done it, but that their colonel was wounded. In this place large arsenals and provisions would have been found ; and, had they taken Fort St. Philip, the work would have been accomplished. Yet the troops lay idle on their arms.—What happened was disgraceful to the English name.—After Bonaparte's march over the Alps, were a few rocks to be considered as an insurmountable obstacle? He knew that great difference of opinion existed among the officers concerning the orders to re-embark. The naval officers said they could have taken most of the forts themselves, and entered the harbour without much resistance. No wonder—the alarm in the town was extreme, and the municipality had resolved to surrender on the first summons.

It did appear strange that the honourable general had never summoned them. He was not slow in doing so at Cadiz, which he did not attack, and where he had no chance of success. He confessed, however, that he was not sanguine as to the success of his motion. Yet, if the house regarded their duty to the officers of the army and navy,

navy, and to the public, they ought to support it. When a council of war was called to consider the propriety of giving up the enterprise, this officer of engineers, who had undertaken to put the general into possession of the town with the loss of 200 men, was not summoned to attend it. Why was he not called, and his advice followed? The place was worth 200 men, however shocking the expression. There were in the harbour 34 sail of the line, beside several frigates, and many merchant vessels richly laden. The enemy were quite unprepared, and this rich prize was within our reach. A regiment marched near Fort St. Philip gave three cheers when they came in sight of it: but instead of being allowed to follow up their advantages, they were ordered to take shelter under a stone wall. The naval officers offered to take a fort which much retarded the operations of the army, but their offer was rejected. When the men were ordered to re-embark, their indignation almost broke out into mutiny. These statements were generally credited; and if false, they ought to be proved so. When the troops were re-embarked, they sailed for Vigo, and there the tars cut out a privateer, as they said, "to show their commander how to take a thing." One of them being asked what he thought of the expedition—"Why," said he, "I don't think as how a French general with 500 men would have left Ferrol without taking it." Before the destination of the expedition was known, the general is reported to have said, they were going to gather laurels! What then must have been their disappointment! Mr. Sturt then read many letters from officers employed in the ex-

pedition, confirming his statements, and concluded by moving, "that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to inquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition to Ferrol."

Sir James Pulteney said, he trusted that, after the speech the house had just heard, it was unnecessary to apologise for taking the earliest opportunity of presenting himself to their notice. After all that had been said upon the present motion, the clamour which had been received, and the unfounded insinuations spread abroad, parliament could not be astonished at his anxiety to state the grounds on which he had acted. He apprehended meeting no contradiction when he affirmed that all expeditions similar to that against Ferrol were undertaken with more hazard and difficulty than any other military operations. He was still convinced they were frequently connected with the views of this country, and necessary to be undertaken on some occasions, however hazardous. But while he felt the necessity of such attempts, he must acknowledge that man would ill discharge his duty, who did not thoroughly weigh the danger of the service, and the risk of the enterprise he was about to undertake. He meant not the danger of losing a number of men, for this, however lamentable, was the inevitable fortune of war; but he alluded to that extensive view of the subject which belonged to the commander in chief, who must regard the danger as connected with the general preservation of his corps, considering whether the object warranted the extent of the risk. Had he conceived the chance of taking Ferrol fairly to have been calculated, and refrained from the attack merely on account of losing

200 men, or even a much larger number, he should have felt, himself deficient in his duty to his country, and deserving much of the imputation which had been spread abroad; but when, after mature deliberation, he found that an attack had no chance of success, and that a failure involved the loss of most, if not the whole of the corps under his orders, he clearly perceived it to be his duty not to hazard an enterprise, when the prospect of success was desperate, and the event of a failure would not have comprehended the general safety. It never could be the intent of a government to expose to imminent hazard a body of troops, whose loss would not only have defeated every other object of the campaign, but have been a severe blow on the country. To state to the house the success with which our landing had been effected was needless; or that all opposition in our progress to the heights above Ferrol was defeated by the gallantry of our troops. The possession of these heights afforded him a full opportunity of observing the whole situation, and the result was decidedly not to hazard the attack, as the nature of the works prevented the possibility of a *coup-de-main*, and the troops defending them were more numerous than he had expected. The number of them, from his own observation and the reports of other officers and of prisoners, was ascertained to be 6000 men; a number much greater than was necessary completely to defend the works round Ferrol; and this number he had stated in a letter to Mr. Dundas the day after he re-embarked. The town he saw was covered on three sides by the sea; the fourth side, an extent of about 2000 yards, was regularly fortified in masonry, having seven bastions, beside other flank defence: 1801.

the whole was in the best order, having been lately constructed.

Although on the e sides covered by arms of the sea, the shore was formed by a ridge of steep rock, yet the rock had been scarped away, and every opening built up with great labor: this might serve to give an idea of the other works, and he formed his judgment upon it. Such being the actual situation of Ferrol, and the force to defend it such as had been mentioned, independent of other corps which could have been thrown in before night, there appeared no probability of success in any attempt against it.

But he had since had his opinion confirmed in every point by authorities who could not be supposed interested in supporting either the character of his majesty's arms, or in sustaining his individual reputation—he meant his majesty's enemies.

In an official report published in France, signed by the officer who gave it, and countersigned by the maritime præfect of Brest, the following was the state of the place at the moment of debarkation:

“ The garrison consisted of part of a battalion of the regiment of Africa, and of another of Zamora, 200 soldiers of the marine, and a battalion of the militia of Orense. If we join to this small number of troops, those composing the flying camps of Siria, amounting to 1000 men, and that of Ayres, composed of a battalion of the *immemorial del Rey*, and another of Guadalaxara, (these two camps were situated a league and a half from Ferrol) we should see that the total number of troops which could be collected amounted to 4000 or 4,500 men. If we take away what were necessary to guard the forts and the town, there would remain about 1800 disposable men.”

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That is, the enemy had 1800 men more than were necessary, and more than they wanted for the defence of the place. This was the state of the troops at the time when he landed.

The account proceeded to inform us, that another regiment from the Spanish fleet, that of Asturias, was landed, and also the rest of the marines, of which only 200 were reckoned before.

The account also mentions a third camp, that of Juia, which might have been drawn into the town, if wanted. It probably consisted of 1000 or 1500 men. Besides this, we learn from another account published at Madrid, that a battalion of the regiment of Africa, and the volunteers of Arragon, came from Corunna. These battalions were quite distinct from all the other troops. It appeared then from the lowest calculation, that the enemy must have had in and near the town at least 7000 men.

The general account, published at Madrid, entered into no detail of numbers. The letter of the French ambassador talked of 4000 disposable men, which must mean the number of men beyond that necessary to guard the town and forts; and the account itself says that the garrison amounted to 3000 men.

He hoped that, after this, it would not be said that the town of Ferrol was defenceless, or deficient in point of garrison. That it would not be argued a place was assailable by a *coup-de-main*, which even the enemy, with all their natural solicitude to diminish their numbers and means of defence, acknowledged to have been over-garrisoned. And the conduct of the enemy was the strongest confirmation possible of the most material part of this account. For these 1800 men, who came to oppose or attack us,

were not formed between us and the town, but were sent round by water, thus putting us between the town and them; which proved that the enemy thought themselves strong enough to defend the town without the assistance of that corps.

Was Ferrol deficient in point of works? This question was decided with the former by the enemy themselves. If 1800 men could be spared out of 4500 or even 5500, it followed that the place was strong in itself.

It therefore appeared that the enemy themselves confirmed most strongly the idea he had given of the works, and of the force to defend them; and consequently it could not be said that he either proceeded on grounds lightly established, or which had proved ultimately fallacious.

Though he took the whole responsibility of the retreat on himself, yet he should have been much to blame had he not attempted to profit by the knowledge and advice of the general officers who accompanied him. He therefore spoke with them individually and collectively on the subject. They attentively viewed the place, and were all of opinion that an attack was likely to prove unsuccessful, except one general officer, who had not at that time sufficiently made up his mind on the subject, but who had since informed him that he was confident the attack would have failed.

The honourable gentleman had spoken much of an officer of engineers; him he had also consulted, and he gave it as his best judgment that the place might be taken by *escalade* in the night; that there would however be considerable risk of failure; though it was possible the attempt might succeed.

His opinion was that Ferrol, although

although not a strong fortified place, was as safe from a *coup-de-main* as any stronger fortified town, especially when it was considered that the garrison was double to what the works required for their defence, and that we could not be supplied with the means for such an attempt, which an army in a regular campaign would have provided.

He must observe on this occasion, that if any engineer of rank had proposed a plan for a siege, and offered a calculation of the time which such an operation would take, or the means most necessary to be employed, his opinion as an engineer would certainly have had greater weight: but an *escalade* is an operation of a very different nature, and of which any other officer of experience must be as good a judge as an engineer.

Having no prospect of success in an immediate assault, what remained to be considered was, whether the place could be taken by a siege. He judged such an attempt impracticable, because, first, he must have gotten possession of the several forts commanding the entrance of the harbour on both sides, which could not be done without bringing heavy cannon, and opening batteries against it. And here the opinion of the principal engineer agreed with that of every other officer of rank. From the nature of the coast, which was formed of steep mountains, the conveyance of cannon must have been a tedious work; and until we had possession of the forts, the fleet must have lain on the coast, so hazardously situated, that it could never have remained there a moment whenever the wind should change to the westward.

But had he gained the forts, and brought the fleet to a safer place, he must have occupied both sides of the harbour to protect it. He did not over-rate the detachment necessary for that purpose, in saying that only seven or 8000 men could have remained as a besieging army, after covering the fleet, and keeping up the necessary communications.

This was nearly the number which the enemy had the day after he landed. The whole force of the province was in movement. The troops from Vigo (the most remote garrison in Galicia from Ferrol) were actually upon the march; and they could have assembled ten or 12,000, added to the garrison, before he could well have opened the trenches. To attempt a siege against equal numbers is a very unusual operation in war. It is common to have three times the number of the garrison; but to attempt it in any case against such a superiority as this, was entirely out of the question.

It had been said by the honourable gentleman, that an universal panic prevailed among the enemy. As far as they showed themselves in the field, there were no symptoms of panic or confusion. In the town they seemed busy in making arrangements for their defence; and the march of troops, dragging of guns, and universal movement in every quarter, was the natural consequence of an apprehended attack; but how it is to be construed into the effect of panic and confusion he did not see. That the merchants were afraid was likely; and he knew not where the inhabitants of any town, apprehending attack, would not be alarmed; but certainly

those symptoms of terror were not observable in the garrison.

It had been asserted that the admiral had remonstrated against the retreat, and that the navy offered to do the rest with ships, if he would only take the forts. The admiral never made the slightest objection to the retreat, nor ever made any proposal of making the attack with the fleet.

It had been reported that he retreated in consequence of private orders from the commander in chief. Why any one could insinuate so absurd and wicked a falsity, he should not presume to say. If with a view to apologise for his conduct, no such apology was needed—if with a view to throw odium on the illustrious person alluded to, the uniform tenor of his life offered a most unanswerable testimony, that he never could give any order to any officer which did not tend to the interest of his country, and to support the character of his majesty's arms.

The names of officers had been often mentioned, who he was confident had never delivered the sentiments imputed to them. But the letters read by the honourable gentleman having been written by officers, these must have been either of the navy or army. As to the navy, sir James said he was not called to examine whether officers in that service were judges of military operations; and, excepting one officer of rank, who could not be quoted on the occasion, not one of them ever saw the place or approached it.

The naval officers were occupied in their own business, which they executed, as he had stated in his public letter, extremely well; but he meant not to infer from thence that they were competent judges

of the military defence of any place, far less of the strength of a place they never saw.

Officers of inferior rank in the army were not much better enabled to judge of this operation: they undoubtedly saw, or might have seen, the place, but most of them at a considerable distance, without any plan or information on the subject; and, fully employed in the duties of their stations, their views and accounts must have been very imperfect. Did the question then rest on the testimony of experienced officers accurately informed, or on those of another profession, who never saw the place at all, or only had a distant casual view of it? But it would naturally be asked, how came those reports to be generally believed? and this he could answer in a few words. The expedition against Ferrol was not the only service in which the troops were to be employed. This consideration weighed much throughout the business, and might have induced him to adopt the plan he had followed, even had the nature of the works and the force of the place been different from what he found them. His determination was to attack the town if it was advisable, and otherwise to re-embark immediately. It had been affirmed that a difference had arisen between the two services; but till the re-embarkment there had arisen none. The principal charge appeared to be, that fort St. Philip was not taken, as it contained only fifty men. The troops who disputed the heights with us came from and retreated to that fort; which proves how far it was garrisoned. It is very probable there were boats ready to convey such men as were not wanted immediately for the defence.

defence of the fort; but we were now told the 52d regiment would have taken it, and the opinion of the chief engineer is again brought in. Here let it be observed, that the 52d regiment was under the orders of an officer of high rank and approved character, who, had he found the garrison either evacuated, or left with a few men in it, would surely have reaped the advantage of such a circumstance; and as to the engineer, his opinion was in fact totally opposite; he declared in the most unequivocal manner, that to attempt Fort St. Philip either by assault or any other way was unadvisable.

Sir James Pulteney said, he had been accused also of calling a council of war when the officer at the head of the engineer department was not present; but at the only meeting of general officers he was present, and delivered the opinion above stated in their hearing.

He had been accused of forgetting to summons the town: the summons was ready; but, on reviewing the place, he saw strong reasons for not sending it.

Many gallant offers, it was said, were made by the seamen; especially one—to take a redoubt which checked our progress to the town. All these offers were kept a profound secret from him.

The conversation respecting the French privateer he should be excused for not mentioning: That some might expect to make their fortunes, he believed; and their disappointment had probably occasioned the clamour that had been raised.

Although he had taken up much of the house's time, he begged to add one word more.

By an accident, which perhaps

no human prudence could foresee, and for which neither ministers, admiral, nor himself, were blameable, he was disappointed at Ferrol of intelligence on which he had fully depended. As far as he could judge, ministers were fully justified in employing the troops as they had done. Before his quitting Ferrol, he was apprised of the information received upon the subject, which, although incorrect, justified the enterprise so far as it was intended to be pushed.

Notwithstanding the outcry which had been raised, he should have felt no regret on this account, even had he not been supported by the opinions of other general officers, and if the enemy had not published accounts confirming his statements, being conscious of having done his duty; and should have thought himself unworthy of the situation in which he had the honour to be placed, if he had hazarded, even for an hour, the safety of any part of his corps, or thrown away the life of a single man under his command.

Mr. Jekyll said, that this country was under great obligations to his honourable friend for bringing forward this motion. The army in particular was obliged to him, as the aspersions on them would be wiped off. Above all, the honourable general was obliged to him, being thus enabled to exculpate himself. The charge must now be brought against ministers. The motion had a double object to censure—the manner in which the expedition had been conducted, and, if there was no misconduct in those who executed it, to condemn the imprudence and wickedness of those who sent an expedition with an ill-digested plan. Ministers had the most ample

means of information. To what purpose were the immense sums annually voted for secret services applied? This expedition had merely formed a voyage of discovery, and had very much resembled that to Holland. We had now learned that Ferrol was surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth that its strength was considerable. Why were not measures taken to ascertain its internal strength? He was at a loss how to address ministers. They were men of straw. One of them, whose ingenuity no one could question, could not define himself. The right honourable gentleman was indeed a non-descript in politics. A right honourable gentleman had often said, that the day would come when he would justify the conduct of the war; but he would be only three or four days longer in office, and then would cease to be responsible. Why had he sent a brave officer on an expedition without informing him of the dangers he had to encounter? Why did he not say that the landing-place was difficult, that troops could be poured in from Spain, and that the works could only be taken by a regular siege? Our troops were sent merely to exasperate the Spaniards against us. He disagreed with the honourable general on the last topic to which he adverted. He thought ministers unjustifiable in employing a large body of troops thus. What had been the loss by our attempt upon St. Domingo? and we trembled every day to receive disastrous news from Egypt. He hoped that ministers would not be allowed thus to slink out of office. They were afraid of the responsibility they had incurred. Unless the present ministers were made to feel the effects of their mis-

conduct, probably the 28,000,000*l.* which the house had voted would be expended in such projects. Upon the whole, the public had a right to satisfaction on this subject; the motion therefore had his hearty support.

Mr. Dundas said, the honourable gentleman who had just sat down seemed to have forgotten what was advanced by the honourable gentleman who opened the debate, as well as what was said by the general who followed him. From the letters read by the first honourable gentleman, it was the opinion of many officers that the place might have been easily taken. But this honourable gentleman reprobated the expedition; and, turning his indignation from those appointed to execute it, poured it forth against those who had planned it; accusing ministers of folly, imprudence, and cruelty. He was glad the debate had taken that turn. His former anxiety was, lest an inquiry by the house of commons should make a breach between the two services. A military inquiry might be better made elsewhere. But the conduct of the officers had been unexceptionable; and every clamour fell to the ground. Now, ministers alone were accused for sending out such an expedition. But had not the honourable general said that he was furnished with all the intelligence that ministers possessed, and that he went out with a well-grounded hope of success? The honourable gentleman might indulge himself in these declarations; but after what had been said, he must not expect to make any impression upon the house.

He had no objection to state the grounds on which government had directed such operations. In the beginning

beginning of the campaign, Ferrol was not the principal object in view. It was the intention of government to employ a force in the most effectual way to assist our allies on the continent. It occurred that much good might be done by occasioning a division of the enemy's force; by annoying them in the Mediterranean, and constantly alarming the coast of France. Belleisle was the place whence our operations would have been continued in the north, and the possession of Minorca would have enabled us to execute important enterprises on the Mediterranean. This splendid design was disconcerted by the fatal battle of Marengo. We had then two sources of uneasiness. It was to be feared that Spain and France had formed the plan of marching an army into Portugal, and the northern confederacy began to dawn, which had since shown itself formidable. Our true policy was to counteract these projects; and what better method could be tried to defend Portugal than to distress the power which threatened her? If we were to defeat the object of the northern confederacy, what way so sure as attempting to take or destroy the ships of war which would have added to its strength? Who then would question the policy of attacking Ferrol and Cadiz? And how was this to be done? Why, by laying all the information before the general officers, and asking their opinion of its probable success. This was done. The honourable general had told the house that he had had all possible information, and had sailed with a well-founded hope of victory. The officers were not sent out blindfold. Their instructions left them

a great latitude of discretion, of which they made a prudent use. Much had been said about the rapidity of the retreat; but it was not fair to take advantage of both sides of the question. If they retreated with undue precipitation, it could not be said that they had been sent out blindfold. Our information proved to have been false; but it was as good as could be procured in such circumstances. He might have examined many persons in England, but it was impossible even to ask a question without raising suspicions, and exciting mischievous curiosity. The general was to consult with lord St. Vincent, who would be allowed by them capable of giving sound advice.

He was glad to think that no one had found fault with the manner in which this expedition had been fitted out; that the civil part was unimpeached. The military he had fully explained and justified. He sat down satisfied with the manner in which the honourable general had been vindicated, and resolved to give his negative to the present motion.

Mr. Horne Tooke rose and spoke, in favour of the inquiry. He said, in supporting the present motion, he was about to do what was no doubt frequently done in that house—about to sacrifice interest to duty. Surely the house would never trouble themselves about Old Sarum and its member, or enter into an inquiry about what was, or what was not, a priest, if they refused a committee of inquiry upon this great question, which involved the honour of the nation. In his observations he should sacrifice his wishes to the cause of truth; for it would not be supposed that inclination prompted him to

the defence of the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down.

One honourable gentleman, after admitting blame to exist somewhere, said that ministers were exculpated by the statement of the honourable general who commanded the expedition. On the other hand, the right honourable secretary justified the general in the execution of the plan. This sort of mutual apology and defence might suit the parties liable to accusation, but, when a question was so discussed, truth was lost.

Some gentlemen had been satisfied with the honourable general's explanation of his conduct; but this very explanation induced him to think that something was wrong in the execution of the plan. The principal authority of the honourable general's defence was the Madrid gazette, and the letter accompanying it. A free statement was there given of the preparations to receive attack, and the excellent position of every thing that could exalt his own reputation; but surely ministers well know that such pompous accounts are not to be relied on as true. But consider whither this species of justification would carry us. Would the house acquiesce in the compliments which a Spanish minister pays himself, when this would infer a censure on our own? If the ministers of Spain had every thing in so good a state of defence at Ferrol, the ministers of this country must have been deceived when they resolved on the expedition. The house then must choose whether they would acquit the honourable gentleman upon a defence, which, if well founded, implies that the planners of the expedition were deficient in information. And supposing a general who had not done his duty to have

been arraigned of misconduct, could he not, though guilty, have made the same kind of defence? Who were to judge of an officer's conduct? Not the navy, says the honourable general, for they could not see the place. Not the inferior officers, for they were doing something else at the time. Thus the general is the only competent person to decide on the merits of his own measures. Therefore he had not fully justified himself. He hoped the question would be carried, though the precedent might prejudice his personal interest in the sequel. If the house refused a committee of inquiry, how could they plunge themselves into inquiries and discussions concerning the essence of priesthood, and whether thirty years quarantine was not enough to guard against the infection of its original character? But here again he sacrificed his interest to his duty, as he had done his wishes to truth, in defending the right honourable secretary—a service he never had done, and he ventured to say never would do, for him.

Lord Belgrave opposed the motion.

Sir James Pulteney said; in explanation; it had been affirmed that he relied on foreign gazettes for his information concerning the enemy's force. This was not the fact. He stated to the house his idea of the enemy's strength, and the grounds on which he founded the opinion; which he had communicated to the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Dundas). He had mentioned the enemy's account in their gazettes only to show that their force was not less than had been calculated; and he still thought that their acknowledgment of more men than he stated was a strong

strong proof that the grounds on which he proceeded were true.

It had been said that his explanation rested solely upon his own assertions. He should only remark, he had unreservedly stated the grounds on which he went, and the opinions which were given, and which could not be materially controverted.

The corps under his command consisted of 12,000 men, after receiving the reinforcement. They landed with about 10,000.

Colonel Gascoigne contended that the expedition to Ferrol called for inquiry. It had been said that the army was disgraced. The inquiry was therefore necessary to restore its credit; and the army itself desired it, to allay the jealousies which had arisen between the naval and military services.

General Norton said a few words.

Mr. Ellison supported the motion for the inquiry. He thought a military court would be best for examining a subject best understood by military persons. In the navy, a ship could not be lost without an inquiry into the conduct of the commander. This had been of great use, and ought to authorise inquiries into military failures. He thought ministers had cleared themselves from blame.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose; he agreed, that when blame was justly supposed to exist somewhere in military operations, a military court was most proper for public investigation. But though he admitted that every thing equivocal ought to be cleared up, yet he could not admit that mere failure afforded any ground for inquiry. It had been stated that doubts and reports had gone abroad on the subject of the expe-

dition. These must be removed by the candid and distinct statement of the honourable gentleman who commanded it.

With respect to the plan of the expedition, so far from its being presumed unwise, most of the arguments on the other side proceeded on the idea that the object was a fit one. The good effects that would have resulted from it were extolled, to magnify the failure. The capture or destruction of eleven sail of the line, and of a great naval arsenal, would have been a glorious achievement.—Ministers are said to have wanted information. They had enough to justify an experiment which could be made without risk, and whose success would have produced so much solid advantage. If however it be thought, as it was stated, that the failure of the expedition was a fair presumption against the officer who conducted it—if it be said that the object could and would have succeeded—surely it was unjust to infer that the ministers who planned the expedition were deficient in prudence, and without information, in its adoption. The fact was, however, that the information satisfied not only ministers, but also the judicious officer who conducted it; and who, by his justification of himself, had enhanced the just opinion of his understanding.

The information was sufficient to satisfy a noble lord who had distinguished himself in every branch of service—lord St. Vincent gave his suffrage for the plan.

If, then, an expedition of this kind was undertaken on good grounds, and was relinquished when there was no chance of succeeding without more than adequate risk, how did ministers skulk from

from responsibility when there were no fair presumptions against them?

The honourable gentleman talked of a *non-descript* character; but if so, it was because his abilities, though more than equal to the task, declined the description. Whatever responsibility attached to administration would follow them in a private station, and they were ready to meet any inquiry which the house might institute. As the inquiry now proposed would be attended with great inconvenience to the public interest, he felt himself bound to vote against it.

Mr. Grey said that he disagreed in some respects with almost every gentleman who had spoken on the subject. Above all, he protested against the doctrine of those who represented any place better fitted than the house of commons for an inquiry, either naval or military, civil or judicial. The house, he thought, would fail in its duty to the public by refusing an inquiry. He was unwilling to give any opinion upon the propriety of the original design, but he was convinced censure was due somewhere. He thought that the honour and interest of the nation had suffered in the expedition to Ferrol; and, therefore, for the sake of the public and also of the honourable general, he should support the motion for inquiry.

He proceeded—"I cannot think the honourable general's explanation conclusive and satisfactory. Persons of acknowledged abilities have given statements different from his; therefore it became the house to compare these discordant statements. They would require better authority than the Madrid gazette, and the letter of a French resident, to acquit the honourable gentleman.—In the war

during the late lord Chatham's administration a naval and military expedition against Rochfort failed; and, though the general had the sanction of the general officers, a court of inquiry, and afterwards a court martial, was held."

But what were the objects of ministers in the equipment of the expedition? According to the honourable general, it was not only Ferrol. It was to distract the operations of France, and to assist the emperor of Germany. But what is the fact? In last September, ministers, who had obtained a disposable force by disbanding the militia, obtained further means of increasing it. Even before the return of the chief consul from Egypt, how did they employ it? After the fatal expedition to Holland, what assistance did they give the emperor? After they had rejected overtures of negotiation, they allowed that government which they refused to hear, to be consolidated by its own exertions. After they had pronounced it bankrupt in resources, we find (in April) the French armies crossing the Rhine, and taking general Kray's magazines. In June they crossed the Alps, and gained the decisive battle of Marengo. Where were the armies that ministers had raised and equipped at such an expense during that critical moment? But when ministers knew not whither to direct the force entrusted to them, they pitched upon Ferrol as an object of their exertions.

As to the policy of the expedition, he doubted whether Spain was not an active and efficient foe. If there was a design of marching troops against Portugal, the attack on Ferrol was calculated rather to irritate Spain into a concurrence with the views of the French.

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It was admitted that 15,000 men were employed under the honourable general. They landed without opposition, and they made a precipitate retreat without effecting their purpose. In the circumstances under which the army retreated, it was clear, that either the intelligence of ministers had been erroneous, or the object ought to have been accomplished. What that intelligence was, the house ought to know. The right honourable gentleman said, that the plan was approved by lord St. Vincent; but was the opinion of that eminent personage pronounced upon a knowledge of the whole plan, and the information upon which it was grounded? Were ministers ignorant of the state of Ferrol, its strength, situation, and the number of troops it contained? And we ought to know whether the Spaniards had increased their force in expectation of an attack, or that attack was resisted by the ordinary means of the place. If an extraordinary number of troops had been collected, that would have been a defence; but nothing of this was alleged.

But it is contended that it was safe to send 15,000 men to examine the state of Ferrol, and to attack it, if practicable!—Was this a fair experiment? In this war, so profuse in every thing, the bloodshed was a trifle if the slain did not exceed thousands; as in expense nothing less than millions was noticed.

It was said that the expedition was not fitted out for Ferrol. What then was the inference, but that all the money intended for the support of the emperor was thrown away?

It was also affirmed, in justification of the plan, that it was attended with no risk. But how did this agree with the honourable ge-

neral's statement? "that the naval station off Ferrol was so insecure, that, had the wind shifted, the re-embarkation might have been rendered impossible; and thus, had the Spaniards been in force, the army might have been cut off, or been compelled to capitulate for its return."

Let the house reflect that our past successes and former spirit might justly be ascribed to vigilant controul and strict inquiry. Had the present motion been more general, ministers would have been obliged to explain their whole plan, and could not have defended one particular operation by making it dependent on a consideration of the whole subject. Nevertheless he approved the limitation of the motion, which combined so many arguments for inquiry, that he trusted the house would see the necessity of concurring in it.

Lord Temple was of opinion that no blame belonged to ministers, though blame rested somewhere. The house had heard but one side of the question, and therefore he should vote for the inquiry.

Mr. Dent supported the motion.

General Norton said, he conceived that the honourable general was justified by the opinions of the other generals on the spot with him.

Mr. Pierrepont did not know where the blame attached; but he had heard the honourable general spoken of in the highest terms, both for skill and courage.

General Loftus opposed the motion.

Sir James Pulteney said, that the loss had been stated at 100 men, but only sixteen men had been killed. 130 were the whole of both killed and wounded.

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Mr. Sturt contended for the inquiry, on the principle that the number of the English far exceeded that of the enemy.

The question being called for, the house divided. For the inquiry 75. Against it 144.—Majority 69.

On the 20th of March lord Clifton (earl of Darnley) rejoiced that he was at last permitted to submit to the house the important motion of which, he had so often given notice. Before he stated the reasons, which he hoped would induce them to accede to it, he thought proper to mention those which occasioned its delay.

It would be recollected that he once deferred his motion without solicitation; at that period he thought it would have been impolitic, and could have been productive of no good. The removal of that objection was indeed a source of joy; and never did an event occasion more to a people. If a sentiment was ever universal throughout the British nation, it was grief at the indisposition of their sovereign, and delight at his recovery; fully had it proved that he was considered as the father of his subjects, and that he reigned in their hearts.

The other grounds of delay were of a different kind. He yielded to the solicitations of ministers, and the unequivocal sense which their lordships declared, though he perceived no reason himself why an inquiry should not be instituted. A change had taken place in the national councils; but the objects of his motion were such, that the complete formation of the new ministry was not necessary to the discussion of it: he wished an investigation respecting the conduct of the war, the state of our finances, our relations with foreign powers,

and the presence of either the old ministers or the new would have been quite sufficient when those points were examined. Indeed he could not persuade himself that any real difference existed between them; their persons were not, but their principles were, the same: the chief actor had withdrawn behind the scene, but he played still the part of prompter; and those whom he had substituted in his stead spoke and acted as he directed. To the general character of the late appointments there certainly were a few exceptions: no one cherished a higher esteem for the abilities of earl Spencer than himself: under his auspices we had triumphed in every part of the world; and the British flag had been raised to a pitch of unexampled glory. He could not, therefore, be supposed to undervalue his merits, when he asserted that his lordship's successor was still better qualified to preside over the admiralty: with equal diligence, assiduity, and zeal, he possessed many advantages from his knowledge of maritime affairs; still better must he be able to judge of the manner in which fleets must be equipped, of the quarter to which they must be sent, and of the person who should be chosen to command there.

The first reason for this solemn inquiry was, the conduct of the war: its events were fresh in the recollection of the house; and he had more than once solicited attention to them. Though he had approved the principles on which it had been undertaken, he could not approve the manner in which it had been pursued, and expressed that disapprobation to their lordships. He had stated his sentiments on the expeditions to the West-

West-Indies; and more particularly on the unfortunate attempt made on St. Domingo—an attempt which had cost millions of money, and proved destructive to the flower of the British army. Forbearing to enter into these details, he meant to confine himself to the two or three last years. The period most proper to commence the inquiry appeared to be when we were told it was necessary to break down the old established constitutional force of the kingdom. By a measure thus violent and unprecedented, a large disposable army was created; and it was supposed some great achievement would be performed. The first thing attempted was the expedition to Holland; the fate of which was too well known to need discussion. It probably might be remembered that he then had opposed an inquiry; and his present conduct might not be thought consistent: he wished to explain his reasons. At that time he conceived it would have been discreditable to the troops, who had behaved in the most gallant manner; and that the inquiry at such a period would cast a slur upon them. He likewise gave credence to the protestations of ministers; they objected, that a disclosure then would frustrate other grand enterprises in contemplation, and which otherwise would certainly succeed. He had also hoped that our troops in future would be better appointed and better equipped, and ample amends be made for our former mischances. When he mentioned these hopes, he need not add his great disappointment at their frustration. A train of disasters and disgraces had followed, exceeding all that the most diffident and despondent could have apprehended. Our forces, instead of defending our possessions, assisting our allies, and annoying our enemies, had been cooped up in transports, and conveyed from place to place without any rational object. Such a cloud hung over Ferrol, and so much doubt yet remained respecting that expedition, that he was surprised the general himself had not insisted on an inquiry. Part of our army were intended to have been sent into Italy, where they might have been of the most essential service; but they were too late in being dispatched out, and had nearly been taken by the enemy. Thus all our measures had wanted promptitude, and all our schemes were ill concerted, or ill executed. The two armies met afterwards, and ours met the success we deserved. Much grief and disappointment he felt at the result at Ferrol; but he had no words to express his indignation at our disgraceful attempt on Cadiz. It affixed an indelible stain on our national character, and rendered us at once the detestation and derision of Europe. Yet the men who occasioned it remained unpunished and unknown! Here his lordship referred to some accounts of this expedition given by a French general: he confessed it was most painful to him to read them; but, if they were true, their contents ought to be made known; and, if false, to be disproved.—It was said, that our forces were endeavouring to wrest Egypt from the French: this would be an important conquest; but, alas! it might now have been in our possession, had we not infringed a solemn convention. To the immortal honour of our commander-in those seas, he was the only man that had been able, even for an instant,

stant, to check the victories of Bonaparte; but perhaps he deserved less praise for the defence of Acre than for the treaty of El-Arish. By the latter, without further bloodshed or expense, the French would have been deprived of Egypt, and our eastern possessions placed in security.

Lord Darnley next lamented the conduct of government in the late overtures for peace. That they were not at first accepted, he said, was not strange; Bonaparte was not then established in his seat; and it was highly probable he might soon meet the fate of his predecessors. But those overtures ought not to have been rejected with gross and unmannerly abuse. Ministers manifested littleness of mind, and total want of foresight, to commence a pitiful war of words against a man who had raised himself to the most elevated situation, undermined all their schemes, and joined the sagacity of a statesman to the valour of the hero; and a superior mind, as well as talents, must he possess, if, when he had it in his power, he did not resent these insults.

The manner in which our resources had been exhausted was a subject of very serious inquiry. Our subsidies had been ruinous to the emperor; yes, he would assert it, they had reduced him to a more deplorable situation than he would have been in without them. The folly of making him recommence hostilities it was not easy to describe in terms sufficiently strong. Computing the superior numbers of the French, taking into consideration, that they were flushed with victory, were guided by the councils of Bonaparte; that the Austrian army was broken and disheartened, the Austrian cabinet

distracted, and the state of the Austrian monarchy exhausted, it was absolutely nothing less than madness in the emperor to try again the fate of war. Yet we were told that he received this advice from the British ministers, and we know he was encouraged to the attempt by British gold.

Their lordships were bound, he thought, to go into a committee, were it only to investigate this matter.

The next important point which ought to be the subject of it was, the conduct of government towards the powers of the north. He did not mean to discuss the matter of right, whether it were divine and inherent, or conferred by positive institution: admitting all our claims to be well founded, and that the privileges in dispute certainly belonged to us, had those rights been exercised leniently or rigorously, with mildness or with oppression? We had treated the governments of the north according to their respective power. The insults of Russia we endured with tameness: she dismissed our ambassador, she seized on our ships, confiscated our property, and insolently refused to make satisfaction for these aggravated injuries; but our behaviour was mean and dastardly. Had we acted in a spirited tone, and sent a squadron to the Baltic, we not only should have saved our reputation, but might have prevented all the calamities which were ready to burst upon us. He firmly hoped that the bravery of our sailors, and the skill of our admirals, would enable us to defeat the efforts of all our enemies, and to maintain our empire on the seas. But why were we precipitated into these dangers? Why did ministers put such language
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into the mouth of the sovereign? They must then have known the hostile dispositions of Prussia: from the notes of count Bernstorff and count Haugwitz, it was long before notorious that the king of Prussia was a party to the northern confederacy. But Prussia, like Russia, was a powerful state, and capable of doing us much mischief: it would not have been quite convenient to go to war with him, who was the real sovereign of Hamburg; and, therefore, to him also ministers had meanly truckled. Upon their own principles they ought to have declared war against him long ago. But Denmark and Sweden, particularly the former, were the objects of their resentment. To these powers their language was bold and menacing, because they considered them as weak and defenceless. He was far from desponding; still he gloried in his country, and thought of its resources with pride and exultation. If they were properly applied, we had nothing to fear; but he doubted the safety of confiding longer in a government which had brought us into this situation.—His lordship then alluded to the scarcity; censured the measures which had been taken to alleviate it, and maintained that they had rendered the sufferings of the people more severe. Parliament ought never to have interfered: the committees had trusted to ignorant self-sufficient men, who had completely misled them. He next adverted to the catholic question, and seemed to think it had been prematurely agitated. He condemned the Irish government in the severest terms; and maintained, that from their measures had sprung all the sedition and treason which had appeared in that country. He touched upon the

change in the cabinet; disapproved the conduct of the ex-ministers, whatever might be the causes or nature of that change: it was most probably nothing but a juggle; and, if it were not, they had criminally relinquished their posts in a time of danger. His lordship concluded with an energetic address to the bishops and nobles. He called upon the right reverend bench to support him, when, year after year, they saw the human race wasted by the ravages of war, and no prospect held out of a termination of those horrors: he entreated them to take pity upon their brethren, and to show themselves animated by the benevolent spirit of the religion they professed. He appealed to those who had taken their seats in the house from the sister kingdom: those who, in a peculiar manner, had witnessed the effects of a blind confidence, let them be the foremost on this occasion to vote for inquiry. But his great reliance was upon the ancient nobles of England, whose ancestors had for ages supported the cause of liberty in the senate, and bled for it in the field. He would not doubt their contending for the rights of parliament, and evincing a jealousy of the executive government. They knew that, though ministers must be trusted, they were called to give an account of their trust, and to be punished if they had abused it. He implored them to agree to this motion, as they valued their property, their happiness, and their glory.

The duke of Montrose said, that he did not question the right of any lord to move an inquiry, such as the present; but that right was restrained in its nature by discretion, and the utility of its object: before the house subjected itself to the

the inconvenience of an inquiry, it ought first to ascertain the necessity of the measure, and to estimate the magnitude of the undertaking: it would require the attendance of many officers to go into an investigation which embraced such a variety of topics, and employ ministers in idle speculations, when the most important national affairs so peculiarly demanded their labours. But there was another objection—an objection of the greatest weight—it would alarm the country. Failures in the conduct of the war were no reason for an inquiry to that extent: the Ferrol expedition might require it, but not the state of the nation. There might be reason to agitate the question for Ireland; but a specific motion would be the proper mode to answer any good purpose. The subject of the neutral powers had been discussed on a former day; and so ably discussed by lord Elgin, that he should not touch upon that point any further than to remark that the difference seemed to be forgotten when we complained that ministers went to war with Denmark, and did not attack Russia: we could not come at Russia for the ice, but Denmark we could reach. It might be more sounding and magnanimous to say, “We will not take you, Danes, for you are weak, till we have attacked Russia; whom it is difficult to attempt.” Ministers, in his humble opinion, had taken a wiser method: they had seized upon those of our enemies whom it was in their power to seize, and maintained the country in its rights as long as it could be maintained. The scarcity of provisions, and their high price, were mentioned also as objects of inquiry: his lordship had not spoken very cour-

teously of the committee employed on this occasion, for which he thanked him, in the name of them all; perhaps lord Darnley could have given much information had he been a member of it: the committee, however, were diligent, had dedicated a great part of their time, and he hoped their labours would not be useless, though they were not so fortunate as to hit upon plans which might rival the celebrity of those his lordship might have laid down. The system of alliance, and the system of the war, were recommended to consideration: he would merely suggest the difficulty of the proceeding so strenuously enforced. Their lordships could not summon general Bellegarde to their bar: he should be glad himself to ask the generals of the allies a few questions to satisfy his curiosity, but the house must be contented without possessing that power; nor were their lordships made acquainted with those better schemes which resided in the mind of the noble lord. The money expended was to be another object of inquiry; and he ever would maintain, that it had been wisely expended in drawing the enemy from an attention to their marine and colonial interests, to oppose the allies which we had subsidised. It was a policy adopted by all former ministers, even by persons who decried the practice when they came into office. The danger of invasion would have been great, had there been no allies to divert the immense force of the enemy. With the resources of that prodigious state, and 300,000 men in arms, and no enemy on the continent, what might not France have attempted? and it was too well known how much it could accomplish.

plish. There was reason rather to lament *our too great economy both of blood and treasure*. His grace maintained that the last campaign was a plan of the greatest wisdom and policy: the object of England was to divert the attention of the enemy; in that the success had been complete; nor did the troops remain in the manner stated at Ferrol. They were disembarked at the various garrisons by which they were relieved. He would add no more than his decided negative to such a perplexing motion.

Lord Holland rose—not, he said, with an intention to follow the noble duke through his vein of pleasantry, lest he should mistake it for argument: indeed he feared common minds now might mistake what had been meant as joke, as what was intended in earnest.

The right of the house to inquire, is acknowledged; but it would be unwise to inquire in a time of danger: it was necessary to defend the country, but improper to take counsel on the occasion, or devise measures by which impending evils might be averted; interference was only needed when no difficulties embarrassed, and no emergencies arose. The noble duke seemed to insinuate that lord Darnley had fallen into a contradiction, and blamed ministers for going to war with some nations, and not for going to war with all; but his lordship had complained, not that ministers did not go to war with other nations, but that they directed all their vengeance against the weak. It was indeed matter of reproach, that, while all Europe was against us, on the pretence that our policy was so narrow, and confined the commerce of other nations, we should have justified these accusations, and fallen upon those only who had most com-

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merce, though weakest in resource. Doctrines had been held in that house by a noble lord, fortunately no longer in office, the tendency of which was to show to Europe that, during every war between England and France, there could be no neutral nation at all. Was it just, was it wise, to hold forth such doctrines? Let the policy of maintaining what is considered as our naval rights be what it may, there was ample ground for inquiry, were it only to ascertain, at this critical moment, by what means we had been drawn into the present hostile discussion.

The duke had indulged himself in a strain of mirth, on the idea of bringing the Austrian generals to the bar of the house, to give an account of their defeats: this railery, however, did not disprove the fact, that we had instigated the emperor to maintain a hopeless contest; that our subsidies had been large in their amount, unsuccessful in their application, and had ever been attended with calamity.

The various expeditions which ministers had undertaken, we were strangely told, had been advantageous to the country: one advantage was very clear; it was this, the constitutional defence of England was broken down to form armies for these enterprises. Ferrol was adduced as a singular instance of the benefits of our diversion: we went there, we were told, to make a descent, and found an army ready to receive us. This afforded a curious illustration of the wisdom with which the expedition was planned;—but it had a further destination: was this Egypt? and had our troops been kept on ship-board for almost sixteen months, and carried round so many parts of Europe, in order to be prepared for

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it? The change in his majesty's councils he should have considered as fortunate, if the cause alleged for it did not allay the satisfaction. If a minister, who had conducted a country to its ruin and disgrace, chose to retire on the pretence of a popular question, which for a moment he had taken up, ought this pretence to shield him from inquiry and censure? It was necessary to inquire, to censure, and to punish the authors of past calamities, that we might prove our confidence was at an end; so that in future such a system of vigour might be expected as a past wasteful superintendence was calculated to produce. Respecting Ireland, he had no hesitation to say, there ought to be a total removal of those disabilities under which the catholics now laboured: but he could not give credit to those men who were formerly inimical to their claims (for he did not choose to use the term emancipation); men who opposed all concession, brought on those misfortunes and proceedings which had desolated Ireland, and now affected to befriend milder and more popular measures. It was not that they had been convinced by truth and justice; it was the battle of Marengo, it was the battle of Hohenlinden, which had produced the change: the rights of the catholics had been decided by the army of Bonaparte; and because the late ministers had judged it politic to resign their offices on pretence of attachment to a popular question, ought the criminal to escape? Must the disgraces of a bad and long administration immediately be forgotten? The entrance of the new ministers, occasioned by their being hostile to the Irish catholics, was of itself a circumstance sufficient to raise

doubts that they could not carry on the affairs of the nation with success. If, however, they were willing to show themselves seriously disposed to treat for peace, willing to repair those breaches which their predecessors had made in the constitution, they would soften much of that opposition which he was determined to support: the best pledge they could afford of their sincerity would be to vote for the inquiry.

The earl of Westmoreland said, catholic emancipation had long been the watch-word of *rebellion* in Ireland: it seemed not to be considered that the catholics were now admitted to a participation of all the privileges of the constitution; that they were only excluded from holding about thirty places of public trust, and from sitting in parliament. Their lordships ought well to weigh how much they would have to do if they proceeded to take off these inconsiderable disabilities. Were they aware that it would then be necessary to meddle with the toleration act, the bill of rights, the act of settlement, and probably the union of Scotland? Much had been said of the failure of our expeditions, and the bad success of the war. Any one ignorant of the real state of our affairs would imagine that our nation was reduced to the lowest ebb; that our armies were defeated, our colonies taken, our commerce destroyed, and our fleets shut up in their own harbours; but the fact was the reverse of all this; our commerce was increased, our colonies extended, and our navies triumphant on the ocean. Those who were so severe on the expeditions of this country never imputed any mismanagement to the French government, though no less than four of their attempts upon Ireland had failed:

failed: nobody blamed the enemy for the many fatal irruptions into Germany and Italy, and their disastrous retreats. Even Bonaparte passed without censure, though he had deserted the army in Egypt—an army which had been reduced to a disgraceful capitulation, which had not been carried into effect, not, as alleged, through the bad faith of England, but that of France. His lordship contended that our rights, in regard to neutrals, were not only important, but justified by the practice of Europe, for centuries: from *El Consolato del Mare* to the Northern Confederacy it had never been questioned. France had gone so far as to confiscate vessels, on board of which was not merely British property, but British or colonial produce. The Swedes had captured neutral vessels having enemies' property, and confiscated it, as going to an enemy's port as an instrument of war. The Danes had likewise departed from the principles of armed neutrality; and by a particular treaty with Russia they were wholly given up. The question of ships under convoy was a new one; and, so far from pressing the Danes to hostility upon it, it was reserved for amicable discussion. He thought ministers justifiable in rejecting the overtures of Bonaparte, from the novelty of the government and the revolutionary principle of its character. If the present motion passed, it would lead Europe to think less highly of the firmness of parliament, and to suppose the country was disheartened.

The earl of Carlisle supported the late administration, from a conviction, he said, that the measures they pursued were the best that could be devised to save the honour of the nation, and promote the welfare of the people. If the present

inquiry was to be on points already discussed, he should have voted against it; but there was a mystery in our situation which ought to be cleared up; we had seen a strong administration broken down, but not the reason: our difficulties were increasing every day; new ministers were untried; nor was an emergency a fit period to make an experiment.

The earl of Fife thought the only way to judge of the conduct of ministers was by comparing it with reference to the humble line of life in which he moved. "If men," continued his lordship, "who had the management of my affairs, had run me in debt, loaded my tenants with heavy burdens which they could never pay, involved me in contests at law with every neighbour—and, in this situation, the person who directed the rest comes to tell me that he will leave my service, but first means to start a question which will raise disputes amongst my tenants; that he had however left several of his fellow servants who would support his measures, and to whom he would still give his advice—in such a dilemma I should directly send, and desire them to hold no communication with that gentleman, whom I should order never to approach my house. Whatever is wise and prudent in private life must be so in public. Far advanced in life, I can have no object in troubling your lordships but a sense of duty; never shall my voice be heard in a scramble for place and power. From my local situation I have more opportunity of witnessing the unfortunate state of many individuals than most people. I shall give but one instance: Some time before I left the country, a poor man brought a paper to me, left him by the surveyor of taxes: he has

about two acres of ground and a ferry boat: his rent is about forty shillings: he has one horse, one dog, and a house with two windows eighteen inches square: he joins with a neighbour in the same situation for ploughing their small farm. They charged this man six shillings for his horse, four for his dog, and half-a-crown for his house. He has nothing but his wife and children untaxed. Judge from this what many feel! Long and eloquent speeches have done much mischief. If they could have guarded our shores, and manned our fleets, England would never flourish more than now!"

Lord Suffolk, in support of the motion, took a brief view of the different expeditions which had taken place during the war, and maintained, that, for the honour of the army, and the advantage of its service, an inquiry was essentially necessary. His lordship spoke with much warmth on the expedition to Ferrol; for the failure of which no explanation that could satisfy the house had hitherto been given: it had been urged that the place could not be taken without an assault; but this was no reason why it should have been abandoned, since there had been frequent instances, during the present war, of places having been taken by *escalade*. The engineer was the proper person to judge on such an occasion; but it did not appear he had ever been consulted upon it. By bold and decisive measures very valuable arsenals might have been seized in the port; and ships which were on the eve of joining the enemy's fleet might have been destroyed. In another point of view, also, an inquiry was highly necessary: the house ought to know in what manner the secret-service money

for the last ten years had been employed. During that period 90,000*l.* had been expended; and, if this was not a fit subject for investigation, the constitution was at an end.

Lord Moira said that he had waited with great patience to hear some answer brought to the charges alleged against the new administration, and the manner in which they had entered into office. He was astonished that no attempt had been made to explain the mystery under which they were advanced to the conduct of the public affairs. This explanation they owed to their country, which could not fail to be sensibly struck with their assuming a station of responsibility in a way altogether unprecedented. The people had a right to know what had given rise to arrangements equally dangerous and unconstitutional. Nothing could be more destructive to their best interests than a blind system of confidence in times of difficulty and danger; and therefore the house was called upon to proceed with all possible dispatch in an inquiry.

But it appeared by direct acts, that the new ministers were determined to follow up all the violent and precipitate measures of their predecessors. Instead of making any attempt to conciliate the northern powers, they had permitted the fleet to sail from the Baltic, and thus superseded the future use of conciliation. The northern powers indeed might not be very formidable enemies; but, though it was not the actual force of these states from which we had anything to apprehend, we had much from the injury we must sustain from the interruption of our commerce. The shutting up the ports of the Baltic at this moment of distress

was

was an object of the greatest concern to us. This kingdom, in his opinion, now stood on the brink of ruin; by ruin, he meant the total subversion of society, and the dissolution of those bonds by which it was held together. If it was demanded what was to be done, his answer would be, An inquiry. In the customs and excise there was a deficiency of near 2,000,000*l*. Having investigated the state of the finance, it would be right to address his majesty, calling upon him to afford consolation to his people, and to relieve their too well grounded apprehensions.

Lord Grenville contended, that nothing could be more unjust than the assertions which had been made, of the house being required to shut their eyes to the state of the country, lest they should see its danger. Their lordships were merely recommended not to listen to exaggerated representations and idle alarms. It was at all times the duty of parliament to look at our situation, but more especially in seasons of difficulty and apprehension, whether those apprehensions were ill-founded or not; but to consider it as shutting their eyes to the present state, because they refused to go into a committee, was a notorious error. Whatever were the words under which the motion was couched, the real effect would be to hold forth to the public that their lordships were dissatisfied with the measures which had been adopted—no possible advantage could result from it; and, in fact, it would only tend to realise danger, and open a door to harassing speculations.

Whatever charges were brought forward against ministers respecting expeditions, the minister under

whose immediate direction they had taken place would always be ready to discuss them. The noble lord had noticed a deficiency in two branches of the revenue—the excise and the customs: in the first place, that deficiency would be more than made up by the general produce of the revenue. It could readily be proved to have arisen from temporary circumstances—the defalcation of the duties upon malt, beer, and spirits, was in consequence of the unfortunate season which we had experienced. The noble lord had recommended it to the consideration of the committee, that his majesty should be addressed to hold out consolation to his people. In what manner could such an address be understood, and how could it be complied with? The earl of Carlisle had agreed to the proposition of a committee to clear up what appeared to him a mystery in the change of administration—he, for his own part, was not aware of any thing mysterious: it could not be said that ministers had retired from any idea of the difficulties of their situation: if this had been their motive, their resignation was somewhat late, and they would have withdrawn without making themselves responsible for an impolitic measure, as some of the house had thought it. The present ministers had entered into office as public men ought to enter it, with a view of rendering service to their country, and consequently credit to themselves. Respecting the northern powers, when the documents were laid upon the table, it would appear that ministers had conceded perhaps too much, to avoid extremities. Our enemies had entered into a convention, by which they bound themselves

themselves to carry certain regulations, involving the interests of this country, into effect by force. To these pretensions we ought not to submit; and if we did, our ships ought to be immediately paid off and relieved from a burden which could be of no use to us in peace or war, which inevitably must be the case if these rights were once abandoned. Our not attacking Russia sooner was easily accounted for by the season of the year, which afforded it protection by the ice. The distinction which we made between that country and Prussia had also an obvious reason. Prussia had not proceeded the same length; but if the court of Berlin should attempt to enforce these extravagant claims, it would be the duty of government to consider her in the same light as Russia. His lordship concluded with vindicating the language of his correspondence with the French from the charge of asperity; contending that Bonaparte had never evinced a desire for peace, except on grounds on which he knew it could not be accepted. Thus, when we were engaged by treaty with the emperor, he proposed a separate peace, afterwards a naval armistice, as the preliminary: when he found we were likely to agree to it on certain terms, he broke off the negotiation, and, lastly, mixed the question of peace with that of neutral rights. Peace, however, was a desirable object, and ministers would take the first opportunity to procure it. The house could not more effectually enable them to do so than by resisting the present motion.

The earl of Carnarvon observed, that if the alarm (which certainly was general) was ill-founded, the

inquiry would remove it; if it was not, parliament ought to advert to the public situation, and convince the country that its interests were not neglected. Those who opposed the motion seemed to think that no circumstances of failure or success, of resources fresh or exhausted, profusely or economically expended, should make any difference in the confidence of parliament. They considered it as stepping out of the regular course of their duty into meddling and dangerous curiosity, if the house hesitated in measures to overwhelm the people, already burdened beyond their patience, and felt it necessary to examine into the cause of our failure, of our loss of friends and allies, and of the universal hostility against us. His lordship then went at length into the misunderstanding subsisting with Great Britain and the northern nations, asserting, that if Great Britain had by treaty with any one nation conceded the right of supplying France with any specified goods deemed contraband in war, in return for some commercial advantages to Great Britain, every other neutral nation had an equal right to trade with France in those articles as the nation procured by treaty: for, if our safety was not compromised by France being supplied by one nation, neither could it be so by the supply of the same articles by another. We had no right to *sell*, for a pecuniary compensation, a monopoly of any article in trade to the prejudice of the trade of other neutral powers. The law of nations had not subjected the trade of neutral or independent states to belligerent powers, that they might become the arbiters of trade. The right of self-defence necessarily conferred upon

upon us claims over all or over none: by our attempt to *sell* it, we proved it was not necessary to our defence, to which necessity alone the independence of neutral nations submitted. If, during our warfare, we could *sell* licences to trade in goods contraband in war at our pleasure, war would soon have commercial motives for its continuance, which would force neutral powers to become principals in it; and indeed if such contracts were admitted, the statement of the learned and noble lord, 'that the law of nations only asserted the *right of defence* given by the law of nature,' was inapplicable; for no law of nature had given to belligerent states the right to *sell* preferences in trade on pretence of self-defence to one favoured nation, after the example of the Algerines, whilst they act as pirates to others who had not bidden high enough for such licence. His lordship next adverted to the profusion of the war, the removal of ministers, unnecessary pensions, and the exorbitant remunerations of dependents on government, all which cried loudly for an inquiry: for, if ever the duty of parliament prescribed it, it was at this calamitous moment, when we were at the eve of a formidable war, with the accession of all our friends and allies as enemies.

The marquis of Lansdown highly favoured the motion; and that an address should be presented to his majesty, entreating him to develop the principles on which the war had been carried on. The question was not whether ministers had acted with diligence, but whether they had acted with information and wisdom: certain it was, they had shown a degree of perseverance and vigor, which the

country would long have cause to remember. If ever there was a time when investigation was necessary it was now, when the distress of the manufactures was at such a pitch, and the people had scarcely any thing but paper to subsist upon. To state the actual situation of the country to a committee was a fair proposition—not that any information could be conveyed which was not already known; but, by meeting such an inquiry, we should prove to the world that we were not afraid of beholding our real state. He approved also of recommending an address to the king. It had been asked what was meant by consolation from his majesty: the meaning was, an assurance of peace. Peace alone would raise our commerce, which could not be done by the assertion of rights, whose basis was power. Commerce was a vast organisation, which one nation could not violate without injuring the whole system. He hoped the period was approaching when the world would become more civilised. He alluded to the miseries of war, and its aggravations by cruel and unnecessary delays in the exchange of prisoners; and adverted to the barbarity of that system by which the property of a gentleman, whose faith in our government had induced him to place it in our funds, had been violated by the operation of the alien act: he wished England to act on a more enlarged principle. Why should it suffer France to set an example of all those liberal ideas which had of late emanated from that country? Let the house of lords, that great council of the nation, decide for peace, and he cared not what or who was appointed minister afterwards. The pacific

declaration of the house would be of more effect with the enemy than any thing a minister could do or say, and there was no time to be lost.

The lord chancellor said, that, from his experience, he was not unacquainted with the nature of motions on the state of the nation. The effect of them always was to introduce every possible topic of dissatisfaction which could enter the human mind, and to enable the mover to travel over all the scenes past, present, and to come, without deep investigation of any. The statement of the deficiency of the excise and customs was far from being accurate: instead of being 2,000,000*l.* it did not amount to 300,000*l.* Of the question of catholic emancipation, he should only observe that the church of Ireland and the church of England were identified by the union: they must stand or fall together. The fabric of the British constitution, supported by our navy, was shaking under their feet while they were debating on the law of nations. We owed it to our navy and to the gallantry of our seamen to evince that we were not acting unjustifiably. He therefore invited the noble lord to bring forward the discussion and enter into the subject, which would prove beyond contradiction, that the power of search, in time of war, was founded in the law as well as in the rights of nations. These laws and rights were antecedent to any of the modern treaties which had so frequently been alluded to; and our maritime law upon that subject went earlier than the time of Edward III, consequently before we became a naval power. This law, which for the benefit not only of themselves, but of all civilised nations who had in-

terest at sea, the British nation had vigorously maintained for two centuries, would admit of full examination as to its justice and validity. It was never more clearly stated than in a very able American state paper, in answer to a demand of the French convention. He referred the house to that paper. He wished this question to become the subject of a specific motion, that there might remain no doubt respecting rights which government thought it a duty to the country to support. The greatest absurdities must ensue on a desultory debate, and therefore he must oppose it.

The marquis of Buckingham was for a committee, because former committees had been productive of great good. The administration at present did not possess the confidence of the country: but, in observing this, he meant not to insinuate a doubt respecting the right of the crown to select such advisers as it might think proper. Instead of apprehending that a committee would increase alarm, he thought it the only means to remove it.

Lord Eldon highly praised the American state paper mentioned by the lord chancellor. He reprobated the abdication of the late ministers; said it was unworthy their talents, their virtues, and their former services, to abandon their country, on any pretence, as they had done.

Lord Auckland wished to rectify a mistake of the earl of Carnarvon; to the general accuracy of whose statements he paid much deference. But in this instance it was otherwise: the war had not added 300,000,000*l.* to our national debt. When the war began in February 1793, the capital was 230,000,000*l.*

230,000,000*l.*, and in February 1801 it was 356,000,000*l.* This sum was exclusive of the loan on account of Ireland, of the capital charged on the income tax, the capital reduced by the sinking fund, and that reduced by the sale of the land-tax.

Of the deficiency in the accounts of excise and customs, the printed accounts of the duties on malt, beer, and spirits, would explain above 1,060,000*l.* of the difference; and there was a further deduction to be made of about 250,000*l.* for the stoppage of the Scotch distilleries.

As far as any argument could be drawn from comparative accounts of our revenue, the best method would be to call for the comparative statement of the produce of the taxes before the war, and the same taxes since. Such an account would show that, after making fair deductions for alterations in the revenue, the produce of the permanent taxes for the year 1800 was above a million and a half higher than in 1792. The change in his majesty's councils, which had so much agitated the public mind, he could not but acknowledge he beheld with affectionate respect and unfeigned regret—sentiments not to be attributed to the personal impression of a long friendship, which no events or changes could tear from his recollection, but to a nobler motive—to gratitude for public services, for services which, in a period of sixteen years distinguished by so many wondrous events, had not only preserved the British empire from destruction, but raised it beyond example in power, in glory, and in prosperity. He could not refrain also from lauding the energy, the wisdom, the intrepidity, of that mind, which

alone could have enabled us to struggle against multiplied wars, repeated invasions, the danger of bankruptcy, impending famine, and, above all, the spirit of rebellion. His lordship proceeded to some remarks on the catholic question, which had been termed “an ablation of all odious distinctions in religion.” It had been proposed to give the Irish and English catholics every judicial, executive, and legislative privilege. He expressed much concern and surprise that a speculative proposition of such extent, not called for by any pledge, nor urged forwards by any pressure, should have been entertained for the people who did entertain it. It certainly was not foreseen nor expected by the parliaments of the two kingdoms: nor as a corollary or postscript to the union was it taken: nor ever stated to some individuals who contributed essentially to that arduous transaction, and who assuredly had claims to the fullest previous confidence. In this matter he was constrained to acknowledge there was a mystery; time and circumstance might remove the veil; it could not be drawn aside by the committee which the present motion sought to establish.

One remark he must yet make on the discussions of the night. The new ministers had been called untried men; and, as such, could not be entitled to the confidence of the public. It was a strange discovery to make that a new minister was an untried one; but these individuals were not untried in other important situations which they had filled with great honour in the service of their country. Confidence entire was the work of time; but they should have his support from attachment to his sovereign, and in the hope and expectation

expectation that they would prosecute the war with energy and perseverance (if it was necessary to prosecute it), and seek pacification by means equally distant from national humiliation and national insolence.

Earl Spencer, adverting to his own resignation, said, that he had concurred in a measure which he had conceived calculated to be beneficial in the new state of affairs: not being able to effect that measure, he had tendered his resignation to his majesty, who had been pleased to accept it.

Lord Fitzwilliam addressed himself to the house on the subject of the law of nations respecting the northern powers. In the unfortunate year 1780, their lordships must recollect the armed neutrality, and the conduct of the British nation upon the neutral code. This country tacitly acquiesced in their claim of exemption from research.

Lord Grenville said across the house "Never! the noble earl is utterly mistaken!"

The marquis of Lansdown whispered the earl Fitzwilliam, and soon after rose to explain to the house that his noble friend was certainly in an error. The fact was (which he had good reason to know), that, in adjusting the preliminary articles of peace, Holland insisted on the claim of the British, under the law of nations, to search neutral ships in time of war, being abandoned; and even went so far as to declare, that she would not negotiate unless it was abandoned. Holland was immediately informed that Great Britain would not give it up on any consideration, and she afterwards signed preliminaries of peace which were subsequently ratified. The reason that Holland did not persist in our resigning our claim probably was, that the other

belligerent powers at that time in hostility against us did not consider it to be of so much importance as to postpone the advantage of obtaining peace. In fact, the relinquishment of this right had been more than once demanded by the powers at war, but always answered with a denial; nor could any foreign minister say that there was to be found a single document to prove that our government had ever intimated a disposition to yield the claim in question.

Lord Hobart professed himself embarrassed in delivering his sentiments in his present situation; it was certainly not such a one as would be chosen by any one who valued personal ease and comfort. He thought himself deserving confidence till his conduct forfeited it; and he and his colleagues only wished to be judged by their actions.

He avowed his approbation of the expedition to the Baltic; professed his strong desire for peace; and hoped that desire would not be questioned, at least till he should have an opportunity of evincing it. He opposed the motion.

The house divided—

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The same subject was agitated in the house of commons on the 25th, when Mr. Grey brought forward his motion to inquire into the state of the nation. He was sensible, he said, of the arduous task he had imposed upon himself in the present circumstances of his unhappy country: it was usual in submitting questions of this nature to the house to take a general view of our situation and our prospects:

spects: and he now solicited attention to a great variety of important subjects; to the conduct of the war, to our relations with foreign powers, and to our internal state. If, in the best times of our constitution, when the principles of freedom were well understood and uniformly acted upon in all emergencies, parliament had instituted an investigation into the causes of our misfortunes and the best means of removing them, would an investigation now be rejected? During the last war, indeed, this salutary measure had been strenuously opposed; but the present was the first war in which no part of the conduct of government had been inquired into or censured—surely it could not be alleged because no error had been committed. Retrospects, we were told, were useless; discord added to our difficulties; unanimity was the most effectual mean to rescue the country from impending danger. This common-place advice was miserably deficient in true wisdom: in politics, as in morals, there was no sure way to prevent the future commission of failings, but by exposing those already committed, and striking conviction to the authors of them: without this process, reformation must be precarious, and a speedy relapse would prove it. We were now in the ninth year of a war with France, and threatened with a war against all the maritime states of Europe, if not actually involved in it. We had added 270,000,000*l.* to the capital of our national debt, and above 17,000,000*l.* to our annual taxes. We found ourselves opposed to France, which was now extended in territory beyond the hopes of their most sanguine friends, increased in population, and sup-

ported by all the states of the north. We were opposed to her with diminished means, exhausted strength, and stript of every ally. Was it not then incumbent on the representatives of the people to enter into a serious inquiry into the means most likely to restore to us security and happiness?

Mr. Dundas had often declared that he wished the war might be strictly scrutinised: and that every part of it he would defend year after year, month after month, nay, hour after hour. The opportunity was now arrived; and this gentleman would eagerly embrace it, if his protestations were not empty boasts. His conduct was blamed by the army, by the public, and by all the world; and, if he shrunk from the investigation, it must be inferred that it was blamed with justice. When it was discussed by the committee, he would bring the detail into consideration, but at present must confine himself to a few leading features. The honourable gentleman had affirmed, that the war had been eminently successful. He wished to know in what manner success was to be estimated: compare the causes for which it was begun with those with which it was carried on; look at its particular operations and general result; and say, if these deplorable effects were produced by victory, what would have been the consequences of defeat? But we had made important conquests!—not any that would counterbalance the losses which the war was undertaken to prevent; conquests which only served to extend, divide, and weaken our force: to attempt them was highly impolitic in ministers, even upon their own principles. Whatever force was sent to the East or West Indies was taken from that which was to
be

be employed against France, which was to root out jacobinical principles, and prevent the aggrandisement of the regicide republic. France had attained a pitch of grandeur to which Lewis XIV never, in the maddest dreams of his ambition, had aspired. Her frontier reached to the Rhine, to the Alps, and to the ocean: all these possessions we had consented to abandon as the price of peace; for peace, which our ministers might have made with France confined within her ancient limits, while our own country was prosperous and happy. Thus all our losses were irretrievable, and our triumphs empty. It had been said, with truth, that there was no shore from the Texel to the Adriatic which had not witnessed the defeat of our forces, and the disgrace of our arms. The unfortunate attempt upon Dunkirk, the shameful retreat through Holland, the evacuation of Toulon, the abandonment of Corsica, and the expedition to Quiberon, all were fatal proofs of ill-concerted schemes! But he would confine himself to more recent occurrences: four years ago it was found necessary to raise a defensive force of 100,000 men: soon after, things assumed a new form, and the confederacy against France was revived. Ministers, uninstructed by experience, and unhumbled by adversity, entered into their former projects, and called for a disposable force: accordingly, the militia were reduced, and an immense army placed at their command. Their first exploit was the expedition to Holland; and one more impolitic in the design or humiliating in the issue never was attempted. Yet all inquiry into the failure of it was peremptorily re-

fused. A British army, the greatest that ever left the country, supported by a strong auxiliary force, after many disasters, and one defeat, capitulated, gave a ransom for its safety to a general commanding an army inferior in numbers! He did not pretend to decide whether the failure originated in the plan or the conduct of the expedition; but one or other must have been faulty, and the committee was bound to declare which.

When the first consul made overtures for peace, we were told that the power of France was at the lowest ebb, and nothing could save her from unconditional submission but listening to her proposals: her armies were ruined, her finances deranged, rebellion raged in her provinces, and her inhabitants agreed in nothing but abhorring the government. Our allies and ourselves, on the other hand, were in the most flourishing circumstances, and our situation so high that it could not be affected. When these overtures, therefore, were rejected, it behoved ministers to prove their assertions, and make good their promises. The French armies had penetrated into the heart of Germany, and the fate of the house of Austria was decided in the battle of Marengo, before an attempt was made on our part.

Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived off Genoa, and found it in possession of our enemies. Spain next became the object of our enterprise, and an attack was made against Ferrol. Our failure there was lately under debate; and, notwithstanding the speech of the general, seems to have been disgraceful to the British arms, and detrimental to the interests of the British empire. Of Cadiz, he knew not in what terms to speak. Ministers,

ministers, to prove they deserved not censure, must prove that they were not informed of the disorder which raged there time enough to countermand the expedition. These two expeditions had been called reconnoitring parties; but, as things stood at present, they had brought lasting dishonour on our country. This army was now employed against Egypt: what might be the result he would not pretend to predict; but, when he considered the obstacles to be surmounted, he was not sanguine. To all these attested proofs of mismanagement and imbecility what could ministers reply? That they had not money? No! with cheerfulness had their most extravagant demands been supplied. That they had not a sufficient number of troops? In the days of our greatest glory, when we extorted the admiration of Europe by our behaviour at Minden, and humbled the house of Bourbon by our victories at Quebec, our effective force was not so great by one half. In the present instance, we had 168,000 rank and file. Was the enemy then so far superior? Had he hinted such a thing last year, the idea would have been treated with contempt and indignation. The simple fact was this—the *incapacity of our ministers*. If such had been their misconduct in the war, their impolicy was not less apparent in rejecting the overtures for peace. Without comparing their haughty dismissal of M. Chauvelin with their mean solicitation to M. Otto, omitting various opportunities of treating with France whilst she was confined within her ancient limits, and without expatiating on the folly of expecting to subjugate an armed nation struggling for liberty, he should con-

fine himself to the offer made us in the beginning of the last year. Though he thought France had a right to insist on a naval armistice, before she would admit us to a joint negotiation, our ministers were certainly wise in rejecting it; but here Mr. Grey said his commendation must end. Why was the offer of a separate negotiation rejected? They tell us, that good faith prevented: it was incumbent upon them to prove that the emperor required us to perform this stipulation. Did he ever show any anxiety lest we should desert him, or once remonstrate? On the contrary, it was notorious to all the world, that he was pacifically inclined, and that he was stirred up by our government to revenge.

Alas! it was to our ministers he owed all the misfortunes which befel him subsequent to the commencement of hostilities, the disgrace of his arms, the loss of his dominions, and the ruin of his house! In any one plan, indeed, to judge merely by events, was uncandid; but where on an immense and varied scale of operations every thing miscarried, it was not likely there was much chance of success with the same people at the head of affairs. Investigation on a subject of such importance was not merely to censure old ministers, but to instruct new. We were assured they were desirous of peace. He hoped the report was true; but it ought not to be forgotten that the present administration had supported their predecessors, and all of them applauded the sentiments of that honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who thanked heaven for the failure of the negotiation at Lisle.

Mr. Grey next adverted to the defection

defection of our allies. The sudden change, he said, was without a parallel. One principal argument used for rejecting the overtures of Bonaparte was a long list of the powers with which France was at war, and it was an argument of great weight: but what direful consequences might be expected from the present reverse, when these enemies, formerly our allies, who so lately were combined against France, had now joined a confederacy against us! Ought we not to inquire into the cause, examine the circumstances from which such a confederacy had arisen? Sound policy was founded upon justice: had our conduct to the northern nations been guided by it? The Swedes and other neutral nations had complained that their trade was molested, their ships detained, and justice refused them in our courts, or so long delayed that it was useless. We might then have provoked the neutrals to assert their dormant claims, and produced a rupture which might terminate disastrously. He should enter into this question more fully in the committee, and content himself now with observing, that Prussia had not been a whit less offensive than Denmark and Sweden, though we did not declare war against her, or seize her vessels in our ports. No: we meanly manœuvred with the senate of Hamburg, when Cuxhaven and Rutzbuttle were seized by the Prussian troops, in consequence of a Prussian ship being taken by us carrying contraband goods to our enemy; and, on our restoring the ship, lord Carysfort said, it was no longer necessary to occupy Cuxhaven. From Denmark and Sweden we had not much to fear; but the king

of Prussia might shut up the port of Hamburg, and seize (if he had not already) the electorate of Hanover.

The internal state of the country came next under consideration: 270,000,000*l.* had been added to the national debt, exclusive of imperial and other loans, and the reduction by the sinking fund; and yet we were assured by the ex-ministers, that they left the country in a flourishing condition! And did not every Englishman, whether from diminished comfort, or from positive distress, feel this declaration to be an insult? Ask the ruined manufactures of Yorkshire, Manchester, and Birmingham, ask the starving inhabitants of London and Westminster! In some parts of Yorkshire, formerly the most opulent, the poor rates had increased from 522 to 6,000*l.* a-year, though the whole rack-rent of the parish did not exceed 5,600*l.* In Birmingham there were near 11,000 who received parochial relief, where the number of inhabitants are 80,000; and this of a town accounted one of the most flourishing in England. It was said, that, although one half of our property was gone, it was well sacrificed, as it preserved the remainder. This he positively denied: one half of our property indeed was gone, but the remainder was in greater danger than before; and how long it might remain so was impossible to say. The power of the crown had been increased, but the British constitution had proportionably suffered. In a country where such a revenue was collected by the former, the people could not enjoy political freedom. The addition to officers had been far beyond the reduction effected

fects by Burke. Laws had been passed which had made ministers absolute; they had annihilated the freedom of the press—that last and best guardian of the constitution. The effects which the union would produce, at present it was impossible to calculate; but that they would be important, there could not be a doubt. A considerable change had taken place in the other house of parliament: eighty new peers had been added to it during the administration of the late minister, and those of the hereditary peers, who did not hold offices, were a minority in the house. The honourable gentleman had acted on jacobinical principles, much as he professed to abhor them: he had destroyed our privileges, put our property in requisition, and tried our fellow-subjects by a military tribunal.

The situation of the sister kingdom was alarming in the extreme. Since the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, Ireland had been the scene of transactions shocking to humanity. Was it now tranquil? A few days ago a bill passed the house, which we were told was necessary for its safety: though rebellion had been crushed in the field, it was said to lurk in secret; the mass of population was disaffected; and nothing prevented the separation of Ireland from us, but the inability of France to send a force to the rebels. *Prima facie*, wherever a government complained of constant plots and conspiracies, that government was bad. Whatever any one might assert, he could not persuade himself that there was any innate depravity in the Irish nation. He must believe, that, if they were well governed, they would be sober, industrious, and orderly. He appealed to those who, after four

years' experience, had supported the oppressive system, whether they would support it now. When a measure was rejected, which was declared by marquis Cornwallis to be the only thing which could save Ireland from being deluged with blood; when an administration went out, because they could not carry this measure, and another administration came in, hostile to it; was not this change itself ground for inquiry? Inability to bring forward the emancipation of the catholics would be a justifiable reason for resigning any office which involved a degree of responsibility connected with this measure: but what were the obstacles which opposed it? either a majority in the cabinet, or the immediate influence of the crown. He could assure the house that he was at all times unwilling to introduce the name of the sovereign into a debate; nor was it now introduced for any unparliamentary reasons. If any bad effects resulted from it, to his majesty's late ministers it ought to be imputed: they ought to have been impressed with the strongest conviction of the necessity of the measure before they endeavoured to force it on the acceptance of a sovereign, whose pure mind might have been influenced by scruples respecting its propriety. It had been asserted, that they were engaged to the catholics to bring it forward, and that the support of the union was secured by the prospect of emancipation. Was this engagement founded on fact? and had they authority from the crown to say that it would be finally ratified? He did not believe they had; and then it was one of the greatest crimes of which they could be convicted. He could not suppose, if such authority had been given, that

that the benevolent nature of his majesty would have afterwards refused ratification, much less when it was a measure calculated for the comfort and happiness of a great proportion of his people. It was therefore an act of the highest criminality to place the opinion of the sovereign in direct opposition to the wishes of his ministry, or the welfare of his people. If this engagement was actually made with the catholics, was lord Clare acquainted with it? No one dissented more than himself from the principles of his lordship, and what was called the high protestant party in Ireland; but, in a measure of a general nature like this, in which all parties were so materially concerned, they were at least entitled to good faith; and, if the agreement was made without their knowledge and concurrence, the criminality was not inferior to that by which it was made without the consent of the crown.

To conclude:—If the new administration (many of whom had been in subordinate situations under the old, and all been known to support their measures) were persuaded that the country was in a state of prosperity, if they were satisfied that the war had been successful, and the former system beneficial, they would stifle inquiry: if, on the other hand, they considered the contest impolitic in its conduct, and disastrous in its consequences, that the country was labouring under the extremity of distress, and a system subversive of all that is venerable in the British constitution, they would that night renounce the system of blind confidence, and accede to a motion whose object was constitutional inquiry.

Mr. Dundas rose:—He said he

should confine his remarks to the manner in which the war had been conducted, and in which he was considered as particularly implicated. He had told the house, and repeated it now, that he was anxious to make known the principles on which he had acted; and that, with reference to these, the contest in point of success might be compared with the most fortunate wars ever carried on by England.

The principle which he laid down as one which never ought to be departed from was, that war ought to be directed to the destruction of the commerce and colonial possessions of the enemy: in this he included their maritime power, which must entirely depend upon their commerce. But this was not the only reason: it was hardly possible for England to be long at war with France without being involved in disputes on the continent, which might deprive us of many of the markets which we had for our goods; and therefore it was peculiarly our interest to gain these colonies, that they might remain open for our commodities. In order then to judge how far this war, conducted on this principle, has been “disastrous and disgraceful,” he would state its progress and success. Hostilities commenced against France in February 1793; in that year Tobago, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Pondicherry, part of St. Domingo, and the fleet at Toulon were taken; besides the possession of the Newfoundland fishery. In the year 1794 we took Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, the Saints, Corsica, and Marie Galante. In 1795, Trincomalé, and the Cape of Good Hope. In 1796, Amboyna, Berbice, and Demerara. In 1797, Trinidad; with four ships

ships of the line, either taken or destroyed. In 1798, Minorca. In 1799, Surinam. In 1800, Gorée, Malta, and Curacoa. Such had been our successes. Now to revert to our failures:—Respecting Holland, the first object was, to effect a diversion in favour of our allies by drawing part of their force from Germany; the second, to lend assistance to our friends in Holland, and afford them means of rescuing themselves from the yoke of France; and the third, to prevent their becoming tools in the hands of our inveterate enemies. In the first and last instance we were completely successful; in the second, he admitted, that, from causes impossible to be foreseen, we had not been equally fortunate. In consequence of a dreadful storm, the expedition remained for several days on the coast of Holland before it was practicable to effect a disembarkation; and by this means the enemy were enabled to guess where the attack was to be made, and to prepare means of defence. Could this accidental delay be attributed to the misconduct of government? or could that expedition be said to be completely unsuccessful which terminated in our bringing away ten sail of the line and thirteen frigates, which would otherwise be now employed in augmenting the force of the northern confederacy?

Respecting Cadiz and Ferrol, he would trespass on the patience of the house but a few minutes. Ministers were censured for delaying so long to use the great force with which they were entrusted in the year 1800. The army returned from Holland November 1799. It was here necessary to remark, that, from the dispatch with which we were unavoidably obliged to send

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that army thither, it sailed without many requisites with which, under other circumstances, it would have been provided. When it came back, it needed considerable preparation to fit it out again for service. It was the opinion of all the officers, that it should be trained to act together in a body; but such was the severity of the weather, that it was impossible for them, till the middle of March, to go through their exercises in the field. On the 22d ministers advised his majesty to send 20,000 men to co-operate with our allies in the Mediterranean; and the very next day his majesty gave his approbation to the plan. An application was made the 28th to the duke of York for the necessary force, who stated that it would be two months before it would be fit for service; it could not therefore leave this country before the 28th of April. A second application was then made to his royal highness, stating, that it would be expedient to send five or 6,000 men as soon as possible to Minorca, where they might be trained and instructed till the rest of the troops arrived.

Accordingly 6,000 embarked in March, with a detachment from the garrison of Gibraltar and Minorca, which made up the force of 9,000. No avoidable delay took place in the sailing of the expedition after sir Ralph Abercromby was appointed. It happened unfortunately that, although he sailed the 13th of May, it was the 22d of June before he reached Minorca, owing to the wind, which could not be attributed as a *crime* to any administration. If this force had been sent earlier, we were told it might have prevented the loss of Genoa; but it was impracticable, from the imperious necessity of cir-

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cumstances, to send it earlier into the Mediterranean; and Genoa was not the proposed object of the expedition. Austria at that time was not anxious for our assistance in Italy. General Melas, at a subsequent period, applied for succour: the application reached Minorca the very day general Abercromby arrived, and he sailed the next; but the event of the battle of Marengo prevented him from any effectual co-operation with the Austrians.

This, Mr. Dundas said, was an accurate statement of facts; and let any candid observer determine, if a moment had been lost, or if any blame belonged to ministers for not keeping up a regular communication with Vienna, when the inclemency of the seasons rendered it impossible. Without enumerating the triumphs of the navy, he would briefly mention that, since the commencement of the present war, we had taken or destroyed eighty sail of the line belonging to the enemy; 181 frigates; 224 smaller ships of war; 743 French privateers; fifteen Dutch and seventy-six Spanish ships. The losses we had sustained were three sail of the line, one of which we had re-taken; one fifty-gun ship, which also we got again; and of the frigates captured by the enemy only the Ambuscade remained in their possession. He excepted those which might have fallen into the hands of their squadron which lately sailed from Brest.

A curious distinction had been made between the conduct of the naval and military part of the war; he was at a loss to conjecture on what ground. Both services were under the same councils, directed by the same men; and, unless it were supposed that the nature of the elements affected the under-

standing of the ministers, it would be difficult to account for this marvellous contradiction. But to proceed:—One of the great advantages to be derived from the colonial possessions of the enemy was, the procuring markets for our manufactures. In the year 1793, the manufactures sent from this country to the West Indies amounted to above 1,800,000*l*. Before the war, our exports to the East Indies did not exceed 1,000,000*l*., and in the last year exceeded 1,600,000*l*.—a proof that we had not lost the markets of Europe, and that his principle had been sound policy, to destroy the commerce of the enemy, and direct all our forces to this end, excepting such a part of them as might be necessary for the defence of Great Britain and Ireland; and, when 400,000 men were applied to this purpose (which is actually the case), he left it to the house to judge whether ministers had paid sufficient attention to the security of the country. Some people, it was true, might not be disposed to feel the same confidence in volunteer corps as himself; but it would require more reason than he had yet found, to convince him that at least 130,000 British men, with British hearts in their bosoms, and arms in their hands, would not afford the most essential means of defence against an invading enemy; more especially when they knew they had nothing to expect from invasion but ruin and destruction.

The failure of an expedition was now considered as a decisive proof of misconduct in ministers; but in that glorious seven years' war which was in every body's recollection, there were expeditions attempted which completely failed, though the failure was not considered

dered as a proof of incapacity or neglect in lord Chatham. The conquests which we then made were Senegal, Louisburg, St. Lucie, Duquesne, Guadaloupe, Martinique, the Havannah, Montreal, Pondicherry, Grenada, Belleisle, besides destroying the fortifications of Cherbourg: we took or destroyed thirty-two sail of the line, and fifty-eight frigates, besides a proportionate number of smaller vessels. We were now in possession of every place taken in that war, excepting Guadaloupe, the Havannah, and Belleisle; but, on the other hand, we had gained the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Demerara, Berbice, and all the Dutch possessions in the East and West Indies: added to Minorca and Malta; we had also destroyed the confederacy formed against us in the East Indies, and acquired a great increase of power and territory.

Our success in this war, therefore, had been superior to that of any former war, when we take in, besides, that we had to contend against a revolutionary government in France, and revolutionary societies in this country, acting in concert with our enemies. We had persons ranging every part of England, endeavouring to make the inhabitants dissatisfied with their constitution, and recommending in its stead Jacobin principles. In France they had the power of calling forth, by means of requisitions and conscriptions, the whole mass of its population; and, though these exertions were not of a nature to last long, they were dreadful whilst they lasted. In England, the war had been carried on by its fair resources, and its faith had been preserved.

These were the reasons that he called it the most glorious and suc-

cessful of wars, having gained splendid victories, notwithstanding these mighty obstacles.

Mr. Dundas thought it necessary, he said, to take notice of the insinuations thrown out against the late ministers. He was at a loss to know upon what appearances their retirement had been judged mysterious: the simple fact was, finding their continuance in office connected with a certain measure which they deemed essential to the interests of the country, and not being able to carry it, they asked permission to retire, and consequently had retired. For himself, he should retain through life the same veneration for his gracious sovereign, and give every support in his power, in common with the rest of his colleagues with whom he had acted, to an administration acting on the same principles of the constitution. The honourable gentleman would not give his confidence, it seemed, either to the past or present ministry: possibly he and his friends wished to become ministers themselves, fancying they were the only persons who had the means of saving their country! He did not mean to say any thing uncivil of them; but, as they spoke very freely of others, they ought to bear freedom; and he begged to ask if the people had appeared desirous to burthen these opposition gentlemen with the office of administration? He had heard of no such application, and was convinced the new ministers enjoyed the confidence of the country, and would receive support from all who wished really well to the constitution. It would be difficult to find a precedent of a committee having been appointed for such a vague inquiry as was now proposed, and which could not possibly procure

cure any advantage to the cause or country.

Lord Temple expressed concern at being obliged, by a sense of duty, to differ from those with whom he had uniformly acted since he had entered into parliament. He professed the greatest respect for the new chancellor of the exchequer; but acknowledged he much wished this gentleman had still continued to fill the chair of the house, which he had so long done with honour to himself and country. But he felt it incumbent on him to support the present motion, because he thought inquiry necessary to ascertain the cause and extent of the evils of our present situation, and because he conceived us to be in a state of difficulty and danger. To such an object it was worthy the character of the house to devote the most serious attention; and it was called upon in duty to institute it. The king, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, had appointed a new administration to direct the affairs of the country in this important juncture: he meant not to speak harshly of it, though it appeared a thing made up of shreds and patches; of men unknown and inexperienced, in whom he could place no confidence, because he had had no trial; who, whatever might be their talents, whatever their capacity for governing a great nation, had not hitherto been in circumstances to evince them; and this was not a moment to make experiments:—but, to return to the motion, “that suspicion was a sufficient ground for inquiry,” he conceived to be an excellent principle for a British house of commons to act upon. The motion had many precedents: committees for inquiry were granted during

the American war, the India bill, and at the time of his majesty’s illness. He presumed it would not be said that the labours of these committees had been nugatory. The subjects of inquiry in the present case were, the neutral law, and catholic emancipation; subjects of the highest importance in themselves, and intimately connected with the most valuable concerns of the country. He did not wish the decision upon these interests should be left to ministers who had given no proofs of abilities or experience.

Mr. Ellison disapproved of the manner of thus treating the new administration. If they did not, he said, possess the confidence of his lordship, they did that of the people; and, instead of esteeming them men of little talent, and a thing composed of “shreds and tatters,” he considered them as endowed with powerful talents and great political sagacity. If they had not yet been tried, *they had not failed*, and therefore merited the confidence of the public: they accepted their official situations for the public good, and consequently deserved the cheerful aid of every real patriot. Mr. Ellison objected to the inquiry; as did Mr. May of Belfast, who bestowed many compliments on the virtue and abilities of the new ministers.

Sir William Young supported the motion, because he declared he had no confidence in them: he had opposed former motions of this sort, because he had confidence in the late administration. These professed that they would act on the same principles as the former; but the house had no assurance that they would act on *all* the same principles. The inquiry he thought necessary for the salvation of
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the country, under new guardians.

Mr. Pitt said he should not have troubled the house with his remarks, if hints had not been thrown out, that, as some gentlemen had resigned their situations under government, it was sufficient reason to institute an inquiry into the state of the nation. He would willingly have passed over in silence every thing which related to his own personal conduct; but the question involved the honour of that parliament, and the character of the nation. It was not, as it appeared, a simple inquiry into the state of the country, but whether the house would retract all it had declared and done for these last nine eventful years; whether it had altered its views on the nature of the struggle in which we had been engaged, and in which not only a majority of the house had been so firm, but a great majority of the people had steadily supported them, considering it a contest for independence with the enemy abroad, and for constitutional safety with the enemy at home. On these points the decision of the house and the judgment of the people had been unanimous and invariable. If ever the moment should arrive in which those principles should have weight, by which opposition had encouraged the enemy—if ever the moment should arrive when those councils, which had so often embarrassed our proceedings and impeded our efforts, should be followed, and the house, being told it should tread back its steps to avoid a general havoc over Europe, should listen to this advice—then, and only then, he should begin to fear there was some ground for the prediction which had been

uttered of the downfall of the empire.

But he had cause to rejoice there was no probability of such a calamity, because none that the councils to which he alluded would be taken as a remedy for any evil alleged to exist.

Mr. Pitt, after expressing his respect for the new administration, observed, that no point had been more disputed than that of confidence in ministers. By some people it was held, that no person was entitled to it till they had given proofs of having merited it: here it never could be carried in substance to the letter; for, whoever entered into any employment must, at the first, be new to it; there could be no experience without trial; but when persons had been tried in one situation, and had acquitted themselves well in it, it was a rule to give them credit when they entered into another, till proof of their incapacity or misconduct appeared. The present ministers were called indeed to a new situation; but they were not new to the house and to the public, or to the love and esteem of both.

Mr. Pitt then launched out into an eulogium on the merits of Mr. Addington, lord Hawkesbury, and earl St. Vincent. He asked the gentlemen of the opposition if they knew any one amongst themselves superior to lord Hawkesbury, excepting one (Mr. Fox), whose transcendent talents made him an exception to almost any rule; but whose conduct also ought to be an exception; having withdrawn his attendance from the house; and whose councils, had they been followed, must have been injurious to the country. Of the other individuals

viduals composing the new administration much still might be said, but that he was unwilling to trespass on their patience. He would only add, therefore, upon this subject, that it showed little reflexion or consideration to affirm that the present ministers were unentitled to confidence—by which he meant of course no more than a constitutional confidence: and the house was bound by the best principles of sound policy, as well as by the true spirit of the country, to wait to see the conduct of the servants of the crown before they withheld it. Nor let it be supposed that a committee on the state of the nation could be of the least use, because nothing which could be there disclosed would afford more information than was already laid before the parliament: nor could any thing be done to change the present posture of the executive government, unless the committee should pass a resolution to make Mr. Fox and his friends successors to the present ministers; which would be a strong measure, and somewhat border on an encroachment on the prerogative, besides introducing opposite principles to those which had hitherto invariably obtained the sanction of parliament; principles which, by the constant course of its determination, had ever been reprobated. Nor could a committee on the state of the nation be connected in reality with the condition of the catholics in Ireland, though it might serve the purpose of engaging men's affections, and forming a party. Gentlemen were not such novices in parliamentary affairs, as not to know they might, whenever they pleased, move this or that question, independent of any other consideration; and that

there was no necessity for a committee respecting the nation on this occasion. It would cast no light whatever on the catholic question, and as little on the causes of his resignation and that of his colleagues. The house of commons itself had no right to require any man to state his reasons for resigning his place, much less could a committee demand it, nor was it a common thing for the public to inquire.

Often indeed a man made his appeal to the public on going out of office, and that with a wish to be re-instated; but it was a thing unheard of for a man to be called upon to exculpate himself from the charge of resigning. But, by being silent on the catholic question, we had brought the name of our sovereign into disrepute; and, after this construction, it was demanded of us to say whether the catholics in Ireland had or had not been deceived. All he should say was, that, though he wished to submit the catholic question to parliament, there were such objections stated, as convinced him it was impossible for him to bring the measure forward as a minister: these were the words he chose to use, and no admissions or denials should be extorted from him. Should the opposition infer that it was the sovereign who had impeded the measure, and therefore dismissed his ministers, or that the ministers themselves had desired to resign, conjecture would prove no fact; but, if they could establish a principle to prevent his majesty from parting with his servants, or the servants from retiring without explanations to the public, more would be effected towards the destruction of monarchy than perhaps these gentlemen would be willing to allow; and he

the most extravagant part of an oligarchy be erected that was ever seen in any state. To use the name of the sovereign, in order to influence the determination of the house, was justly deemed unconstitutional. The sovereign exercised his opinion on the sentiments as well as the capacity of his ministers; and, if he judged either unsuited or incompetent, it was the prerogative, nay the duty, of the crown to dismiss them. If a minister felt he ought to propose any measure, and yet was convinced that success was impossible, it was proper for him to retire; but in proportion to the reluctance with which his resignation was permitted, ought to be his love for such a sovereign. Towards the best of monarchs he trusted he was not deficient in gratitude or duty; nor did he doubt that the motive of his actions would be justified during the whole of his reign.

With respect to the assurances said to be given to the catholics, it was here necessary to add a few remarks. A memorandum had been sent in the name of a noble lord at the head of the executive government of Ireland, who thought it essential to communicate the grounds of our change of administration to persons more immediately amongst the catholics. Mr. Pitt said it had been at his express desire this communication had been made, and the motives explained to them which led to the change, to prevent any misrepresentation of that subject. Emancipation of the catholics was a term he disclaimed. He never understood the situation of catholics was such as to need what deserved to be called emancipation: but he thought the few benefits which they had not yet anticipated might safely have been added to those so bountifully con-

ferred on them in the present reign—not as a matter of right, but of liberality and political expedience, and in this sense of wisdom. Had such measures preceded the union, indeed, they would have been rash and destructive; and even now, if any attempt was made to press it, so as to endanger the public tranquillity or pervert the affections of any of his majesty's subjects, the late ministers would be firm in resisting them. But he hoped the day would come when such a measure might be revived and carried in the only way he wished to see it carried; which was, conformably to the general tranquillity of the empire. He acknowledged that it had appeared to him of such importance, that, being unable to bring it forward as a measure of government, he did not conceive it possible for him, with honour, to remain in the same situation; and, at the same time, he wished it to be understood that, whenever the same obstacles did not exist, he should do every thing in his power to promote its success.

It had been demanded whether any who had retired from office had so pledged themselves to the catholics as to be under the necessity of resigning their offices because they could not perform their promise. This he positively denied; and was authorised to deny that even the catholics supposed they had received such a pledge; an expostulation was natural, but a pledge was never given. Mr. Pitt proceeded then to make remarks on the other parts of Mr. Grey's speech. The details of the war, he said, as they had been the subject not only of the discussions but the votes of the house, needed no enlargements or repetitions. It was therefore sufficient

to remind gentlemen, that, if they were convinced their former opinions were wrong, it would be right to say so; but it was scarcely fair to expect that all which had already been answered and exploded should raise much doubts in any minds which had weighed and decided, merely because it was collected in one speech that night. The object of the war had been stated over and over again as matter of accusation, that it was carried on for the establishment of royalty in France: there was a mode of repeating a thing, however unfounded, so frequently, that a man at last might believe what nobody believed but himself, and thus become the dupe of his own obstinacy. It had been distinctly avowed that the re-establishment of the French monarchy was desirable, as one probable means of restoring peace to Europe; but it had never been made a *sine qua non* of peace.

The dispensations of Providence in the fate of empires had been propitious to Great-Britain, which possessed at this moment every foot of territory which she held at the commencement of the war, added to very large possessions from the enemy. On the subject of finance it was his business to dwell a little: and here he went into a succinct account of the finance of the country for the nine years' war; and stated the particulars in which the resources of the country had increased to the present hour: he then passed to the contest with the northern powers, and entered into a statement of the points in dispute, which he classed under five heads. 1st, Whether free bottoms made free goods; 2dly, Contraband trade; 3dly, Blockade; 4thly, The rights

of neutrals to carry on trade; 5thly, The right of search. Each of these he strongly contended for on our part, quoting the authority of the law of nations, and relying on the faith of existing treaties, as well as a series of judicial decisions of the highest authority to be found in our law books, lord Hardwicke, Mansfield, &c. He challenged gentlemen to argue these points at length; expatiating with much ingenuity, and concluding with observations on the necessity of resisting any encroachments on our maritime rights now, lest we should lose the best opportunity which ever had or might occur of vindicating them. But, as the confederates proposed it, we were not only to allow ourselves to be scourged, but kiss the rod: this was neither more nor less than a Jacobinical principle adopted by four confederate powers, by which the civilised world was to be overturned, and was in the true spirit of the French revolution; which had made such havoc in so many parts of Europe, and was about to be levelled against the rights and properties of Englishmen; who would, however, do every thing consistent with honour to preserve peace, but spend their last shilling, and shed their last drop of blood, rather than give up their independence, and barter their honour.

Mr. Fox began with remarking on the neutral confederacy, on which an answer had been challenged, and on which statesmen and lawyers had been called upon to decide.

That free bottoms did not make free goods was a doctrine recognised by the law of nations. He had no hesitation in saying this; but we were not called upon in this critical juncture to bring it into discussion,

cussion. In 1780, when the neutral confederacy was formed, it was not admitted, and lord Stormont had protested against it. The ministers of that day were too wise to bring the question unnecessarily into dispute. Mr. Pitt said they were too weak to contest it; be that as it might, the honourable gentleman who came then into parliament agreed that the postponing any discussion was a proof of wisdom. At that time as well as this the hired panegyrists and dependents of ministers, who ascribe every thing to a sinister motive, were ready enough to impute to the opposition all that was insidious, and accordingly called it a *fit of candor*. In the year 1782, in the short administration of which he himself made a part, he offered the empress of Russia to concede this right on condition of her entering into an active alliance with Great Britain to bring France to a fair and moderate peace; and the administration thought it a concession which they might safely offer as a *quid pro quo*.

The five points stated might be resolved into three—convoys, search, and contraband goods. If one state was to convoy the trade of another, it was a new doctrine, and a fit subject for representation, by which it might have been settled. As to search, if we were not content with the papers, and had ground of suspicion, we should search, and do the same with a convoy, in which we were fully justified. Suppose Spain, which was always at war with the Algerines, should demand the search of every British vessel passing through the Strait, merely under pretext of her being at war with Algiers, would we submit to it? Surely not—and yet we had demanded it of others: Respect-

ing contraband goods, it was curious to talk of ships, and timber, and naval stores, not being foreseen as implements of war in 1694. Great maritime powers were then in existence, and it was idle to compare them with the article of gunpowder, guns, and cannons. Naval stores were not in the number of modern inventions; and if it had been thought proper to have called them contraband of war, they would have been enumerated. Not one word had the honourable gentleman said of the king of Prussia when he spoke of four powers concerned in the confederacy; but the power of all others most capable of injuring us he had carefully avoided naming.

Mr. Fox, in a forcible appeal to the house, called to their recollection the various contradictory pretexts with which they had been amused from year to year, and the arrogant preposterous proposition which was made to Bonaparte's dignified and conciliating offer of peace in January 1800, when we had modestly proposed his delivering himself up to the Bourbons as the only means of procuring it.

We were then elated with a show of success, and had not spirit to act with magnanimity or politeness. Now that we were somewhat humbled, we were going to treat with those very Jacobins whom we had so ignominiously derided. It was no new thing for the opinions of the opposition to be exploded—lord Chatham had met the same treatment, and so might Mr. Pitt, unless he sat on the bench where he had continued so long. But though exploded, they were adopted; and if ministers had acted in season on those opinions, they would not now have the mortification to abase themselves to the dust in hope

hope of averting the same contemptuous insolence which they had shown. He believed Bonaparte was too wise, too great, to imitate their gross indecorum. Mr. Fox adverted to the successes of the war so amply enumerated by Mr. Dundas. To the navy he paid the warmest tribute of applause, and spoke of the late first lord in high terms of respect, assigning his merit as the reason for the constant and brilliant triumphs of the navy; whilst our military expeditions, though our troops were as brave as our seamen, had generally failed. In naval tactics almost every thing depended on the talents of the officers; whereas, in military movements, much depended on the original design. The boasted capture of islands was not the object of the war—our object was to protect Europe against France. How had we succeeded? Which of the two nations had been most aggrandised in the course of it?—We are told that only 160,000,000*l.* was added to our debt; so 56,000,000*l.* is cut off besides, for which the income tax is mortgaged; and a debt to be paid by instalments was to be considered as no debt at all. It now costs us 38,000,000*l.* a year in taxes, 10,000,000*l.* for poor's rates, and the whole land rent of the country was but 25,000,000*l.* A country paying double its land-rent in mere taxes was a state demanding inquiry. The war secretary had talked much about the diversion of war, and shown us its nature on his principles. He had sent his royal highness and an army of 30,000 men to the only neck of land, perhaps, in the world, where a fifth part of their own numbers was equal to cope with them. To make an effective force the supplementary militia was broken up,

and seven months afterwards found to be unfit for actual service—not only they could not be drilled and disciplined on account of the frost, but it seems they could not be made acquainted with their own officers! nothing could be done till the thaw. France may be said to be a little milder climate than England, but the difference of climate alone could not account for the difference of exertion. That frost which locked up our men warmed Bonaparte and his troops: he disregarded the frosts and snows of the Alps, and proved that no obstacle was superior to the energy of his example. And why was not Austria to be assisted after all this delay? Why, because Austria would have nothing to do with our troops. They thought 20,000 British troops would do them no service; they wished every thing belonging to us to be kept away, excepting our guineas; and so our ministers confederated with and subsidised a prince who treated a British army with this contempt. They were not so considered by prince Eugene under the duke of Marlborough; and yet, notwithstanding this degrading treatment, we were to have no inquiry! Of the memorable armistice of Hohenlinden, and the negotiation which followed, Mr. Fox spoke with indignation, reprobating the conduct of the minister, which had so fatally proved that eloquence was distinct from wisdom. Time had now evinced that all the great objects of the war were defeated, and our allies had deserted; and, when no prospect of success remained, we might resort to negotiation. The same men who had rejected the proposals of Bonaparte with insolence must approach with respect, suing for favour, to avoid participating in the disgrace. The people of this country

try ought to disavow the principles (through their representatives of parliament) upon which administration had proceeded, and manifest their sincere desire of peace. Was it for the credit of England that parliament should appear to sanction the rejection of the overture, or join in the humiliating application, necessary indeed for ministers to make who had so acted, but not for people who totally disapproved his conduct? It was by expressing an independent sentiment that this ignominy could be avoided. With respect to the catholic claims, he had understood that a pledge had been given them; but this was denied. Had not a promise, a hope been held out separately, and in such a manner as to produce the misunderstanding which had ensued? Thus, the catholics might have been told that the union would favour their demands; and the protestants, that it would render it easier to resist them. Could not the right honourable gentleman have brought forward a motion in the house which he could not in the cabinet? It was surely a reflexion upon parliament to say, as he had said, that he could not there propose a measure which he approved. For his own part, he strenuously believed in the original rights of *man*: he believed that all legitimate governments were founded not only in fact, but, in consequence, upon principles of liberty; and that no government was adequate to its true end which did not recognise them. Catholics had rights as well as protestants, and no man should be deprived of his rights, because he worshipped God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Mr. Pitt had declined bringing forward the question upon some supposition of obstacles in a

particular quarter of the constitution: he however was convinced that no obstacles of that nature could exist, because it was a case unjustified by the legal prerogatives of the crown. Whether the honourable gentleman adhered to office, or not, might be collected from the communications to the catholics. He might indeed wish to retire for a season, till overtures of peace were made, which he could not make without mortification to the man he had so insulted.

Mr. Fox reprobated the cant of common minds, that despondency would be excited by laying open our real situation. He thought the truth should be told. It was not by concealing the exhausted state of France that Bonaparte had been able to create armies, animate enthusiasm, and perform such prodigies as the last campaign had exhibited. He then proceeded to consider the state of Ireland, which must be very distracted and critical since the house had agreed to place it under martial law for three months. The mass of a people could never be disaffected without great blame being due to the government. Conduct which had produced such havoc, conflagration, and horror of every description, as that in Ireland, was the criminal cause of it. The recall of lord Fitzwilliam had been attended with the most fatal consequences; for it was then that the rebels began their correspondence with France, despairing of any mild conciliatory government. He represented the state of our relations with foreign powers, the decay of our manufactures, and the miseries of our labourers, many of whom were unable to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. Every thing therefore, he said, in our external
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and internal situation called loudly for inquiry.

Mr. Fox spoke of the change of administration as a fortunate occurrence. Some indeed might suspect, from the panegyric of Mr. Pitt, that the new ministers were the less gaudy puppets directed by those who had quitted their stations; and if they adopted the system of their predecessors, with the additional blame of being hostile to the catholic claims—acting in this point from their own motives—they would be unworthy confidence. He admitted that the chair of the house of commons was the first place that a commoner could fill; but it seemed a strange humility, a singular want of ambition, which had induced two gentlemen to descend—for the public good, *no doubt*—to stations of less dignity.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Addington, rose. In what degree the confidence of the house ought to extend to the present ministers, it was not for him to conjecture: they only asked for that portion of it which should be constitutionally reposed in persons duly appointed by his majesty, unless it was precluded by antecedent character and conduct. Of himself he should say no more than that he should be grieved at its being supposed he had been induced by ambition or interest to exchange the situation he had filled for twelve years for the present; in which, in obedience to the king's command, he was placed. A sense of duty and allegiance alone had directed his conduct, and to this he had sacrificed every other consideration. He commented on all the leading points in dispute between us and the northern powers; and, after ably stating the grounds of the principle asserted by this country, and re-

ferring to the exception made by existing treaties, gave it as his decided opinion, that the right for which we contended was vital and fundamental, and could neither be abandoned or compromised: at the same time expressing an earnest wish that it should be asserted temperately, though firmly. The naval pre-eminence, which it was the object of the present confederacy to subvert, had protected the commerce of Europe during the present war from piracy. Respecting catholic emancipation, he deprecated whatever might have the appearance of intolerance and proscription. No restraint ought to be imposed on any who dissented from the established church, but what was absolutely necessary for its security and permanence; and he anxiously hoped that dissenters of all descriptions would feel assured they were regarded in no other light by government than as truly valuable members of the community.

He felt it incumbent, lastly, to declare, that it was the determination of his majesty's servants to take such steps as appeared to them best calculated for the restoration of peace; that no form of government in France would obstruct negotiation; and if there was a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy, the grand object would be accomplished. He concluded with professing that he occupied no party ground, and wished no confidence that was not constitutional.

Mr. Grey replied he was happy to find the tone of the late administration changed to sentiments of more moderation.

Sir Gregory Page spoke against the motion—Mr. Dent for it. The house divided—Ayes 105—Noes 291.

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The discussion on the general state of the nation was speedily followed by a motion of a more specific nature; namely, an inquiry into the breach of the treaty of El-Arish.

On the 27th of March, Mr. T. Jones rose to bring forward a motion of which he gave notice on the meeting of parliament:—the subject was the evacuation of Egypt. To establish the proposition which he was about to make, he said it was necessary to call the attention of the house to the sailing of the armament from Toulon, and from that to the convention of El-Arish; and from the breach of that convention to the present consequent state of Europe. On the sailing of the armament, every one must recollect the dreadful suspense which hung over the minds of the people till the tidings of the brilliant victory of Aboukir arrived: on that victory he should not dwell, but on the result he must. He referred gentlemen to the debates, thanks, king's-speeches, and pensions, on that occasion. His present object was to prove, that, from this victory, every Englishman contemplated with joy the destruction of the expedition to Egypt, and the salvation of India.

Just at this period a memorable publication was ushered into the world—the “Intercepted Correspondence”—under the peculiar auspices of government, with an admirably written preface, of which it was the design to imprint an idea that the naval part of that expedition being destroyed, the military one would inevitably fall a prey to famine, disease, and disorganisation; and thereby our possessions in India would be secure.

That correspondence was *font et origo mali*. In the mean time, notwithstanding these intercepted letters, we could trace the progress of the French from battle to battle, from victory to victory, to the possession of the capital of Cairo. Nor was their career stopped but by the gallant and extraordinary defender of Acre—the negotiator of the convention of El-Arish, the preserver of the Ottoman and Indian empires, and the only man who had ever yet foiled Bonaparte: for all which services his majesty's ex-ministers, by way of a last act, recommended the paltry reward of 1,000*l.* per annum. Mr. Jones here observed, that, to all the plain questions which he had put to the opposite bench, he never had received one direct answer. Every paper which he had demanded had been refused, though these papers and questions were well known in London, in Paris, and in Egypt; and as to the sentiments thereon, of the ex-war minister (he mentioned it not as a matter of triumph to himself, but regret for his country), part of the answer of July the 8th to him had been sent by Bonaparte to the army of the east; it had been imprinted and emblazoned in the standards of Abdallah Menou; it had conciliated the French, the Jews, the Greeks, Syrians, Copts, and Turks, and animated them with one common zeal for glory—on the one hand urging them to threaten the Ottoman empire, and on the other to accomplish the destruction of our territorial possessions in India.

The breach of the convention of El-Arish had afflicted England and harassed all Europe; the existence of the Ottoman empire depended upon it; all Asia trembled at it.

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It had been agitated not only in that house but in most of the European courts; nay, it had convulsed most of the cabinets in Europe; and only in one point of view had it rendered service, by being the cause of the dismissal of Thurgot from the councils of the emperor of Germany, and having laid prostrate the most despotic and yet unpunished ministers that ever ruled in Britain. It had crippled and nearly destroyed our grand ally, Austria, subjugated Italy, acquired Egypt to the French, and postponed the general peace. It had aggravated the misery of millions, and confirmed the bondage of the whole human race. It was by the violation of this convention that Egypt was now secured to the French, which must be considered as a real compensation for her vast colonial losses. Europe complained of the breach, and he stood forth that day the accuser of the ex-ministers, and an advocate for humanity and the law of nations.

Sir Sidney Smith was commissioned to make the convention. He positively affirmed in his letter, *that the Porte would not fail to act in concert with the powers which he had the honour to represent*. Surely this proved the respective interests of the parties, and the diplomatic character of the agents; it established the right of England to interfere in the negotiation, not as an auxiliary but as a principal agent; and sir Sidney signed himself minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. In another letter (a further evidence of his powers) he cites the treaty of triple alliance of January 5, which he professed himself authorised to make. Thus, according to the letters, his powers are unlimited respecting Egypt, and only restricted as to a

general peace. The diplomatic character and the military appointment of sir Sidney were here fully exhibited; nor could any assertions of the ex-war minister remove facts. That honourable gentleman had stated sir Sidney to be a subordinate officer, though, as an excuse for the late arrival of his pension, he had inconsistently pleaded since, that sir Sidney *had given up the command*. How was it that sir Sidney Smith, before the convention a minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, should, since its violation, be turned into a subordinate officer, without powers and without instructions? It was asserted that lord Keith, alone, was authorised to negotiate; but if sir Sidney had not some powers, how could a reference be made to any capitulation? The ex-minister stated, that the first moment it appeared that a British officer had a share in the convention, *though unauthorised*, and though the treaty was contrary to the interests of Great Britain, they gave orders to acquiesce in it. What was this condescending acquiescence? — Why, that the army of Egypt, having, *in reliance on British faith*, suffered itself to be entrapped in the Delta; and having given up its strong holds, Damietta, Salabieh, Belheys, and the wells of the desert; and having opened the doors of Egypt to the Turks, and after having been weakened by the Turks and cannonaded by the English ships; then the British government allowed its admiral to permit the wretched remains of this gallant army to have a safe passage; that is, all of those who, in the horrors of a premeditated massacre, should be able to escape the fire of its ships, and the swords of Ottomans, Arabs, and Mamelukes.

lukes. Such was their glorious acquiescence!

The next subject of consideration was, the mission of Mr. Morier, secretary to lord Elgin at Constantinople: this was to induce sir Sidney to agree to a *ruse de guerre*, relative to the evacuation of Egypt. This mission proved again the appointment of sir Sidney as minister plenipotentiary. The letters to general Blanket and to Kleber, on the convention, removed all surprise; and none of the French generals expressed any, till Kleber read the old letter of lord Keith to his soldiers. This old letter (as Mr. Pitt called it), sent first to Kleber, and then to sir Sidney, occasioned the destruction of 20,000 of our allies! Now, let sir Sidney's letter of the same date, and on the same occasion, be well marked. How could ministers have the effrontery to withstand this proof? Was it not evident that former instructions must have authorised him before, since the contrary came on the 10th of January? "The intercepted correspondence" (in which ministers unfortunately confided) arrived at this period of time; and the representation therein made of the state of Egypt caused the former orders to be changed. It seemed to have been the opinion of ministers, that the army there ought to be made an example of (according to Mr. Dundas's speech); and having implored the protection of a British officer, they hesitated in sanctioning the good offices of sir Sidney Smith. Indeed lord Elgin was to answer one purpose, and sir Sidney another; and by this double embassy and double faith, the Turks were to cross the desert, and make themselves masters of Egypt. But when the French army were out of Cairo,

the *ruse de guerre* was to be put in force and supersede the convention. This convention, in defiance of humanity and the laws of nations, was to be immolated at the shrine of ministerial vengeance, by the combined efforts of the vizier and the English minister. One more observation he would make on sir Sidney's conduct. His local knowledge must have given him great advantages, and the army was much crest-fallen at the departure of Bonaparte. An essential reason for entering into the convention was, that Kleber had pressed the grand vizier much upon this head; and had it been concluded (which the orders sent to lord Keith prevented), how much of human blood would have been unshed! To England must be attributed the massacre of our allies the Turks!

Surely the grand vizier, fighting on his own territory to restore to the Ottoman empire one of the provinces conquered by the French, had a right to treat alone in the absence of its allies; and if he had this right, the stipulated conditions became a law, which England and Russia could not violate without injustice. On the part of sir Sidney, he would contend, that the convention of El-Arish was an act of grand diplomacy, and the breach of it as disgraceful as it was disastrous: but setting sir Sidney quite out of the question, ought two officers, each commanding brave, veteran, well-matched troops, to fight for ever, to fight to extermination, at a distance from their respective governments? What reason, what policy sanctioned such a waste of existence? Fatal would be the consequences of our violation of this treaty! Wherever, hereafter, it might be necessary for England to carry her arms, no power would confide in

in English faith. And for whom had this direful sacrifice been made?—For Austria—Austria, who had deserted us, and made a separate peace!

No military convention would now be secure against the orders of the English government to its admirals and cruisers: the evacuation of Egypt would be eternally before their eyes; and a general must fight for his army to the last, expecting neither faith nor mercy from us! It was probably the breach of this convention which gave rise to the northern confederacy, and raised a spirit to attempt the alteration of the maritime law. Mr. Jones then expatiated on the triple alliance between the emperor of Russia and the emperor of the Ottomans, and the different objects of the Porte and England, in this treaty. Russia he conceived to be a mere cypher in it. The object of England was the safety of India; that of the Porte the safety of the Ottoman empire, and the evacuation of Egypt: perhaps another object of England was, to induce the Turks to wage war with France; but Egypt, Syria, and the islands of Dalmatia, were the only points in the universe where England and the Porte could have one common interest. In this treaty, all objects but the expulsion of the French out of Egypt were foreign to it. It was not the war in England or in Germany, but the war in Egypt and Syria, which bound the Porte. The evacuation of Egypt was the only grand object; and that being accomplished (which it would have been but for the intervention of the ministers) all was over.

These ministers had imposed upon our nation, upon parliament, and upon all Europe; first by

giving sir Sidney orders, and then denying them; treating him as a military commander and a diplomatic agent, and then representing him as a subordinate officer. They had deceived our ally, trampled upon humanity, and the result was too well known—the possession of Egypt by the French! And what was our situation in consequence of this breach? Why, a vast armament was reported to have reached Egypt under the command of sir Ralph Abercromby. The Condéan army was also said to have received orders to embark for Egypt; they would not stir. Another co-operation was destined from Bombay to land at Suez; and *no doubt* sir Home Popham would bring them *safe* through the Red-Sea to Suez. Supposing they landed there 10,000 strong, they would have seventy miles of desert to march over, before the slightest co-operation could take place. English troops were not inured to the climate, as the French; and sir Ralph Abercromby was to land the same number of men as that to which the French was reduced. It was reasonable to expect that our army would decrease as well as theirs. The Copts, Greeks, Syrians, and Turks, had joined the standard of Abdallah Menou, and Reynier, in vast numbers, and embarked in one common cause. The French army was composed of 16,000 strong effective men, and the force of the natives trebled it. The army of Egypt was in the best state of discipline, and had re-inforcements amounting to six or 7,000 men, with supplies of ammunition and stores. The soldiers considered themselves as the children of Bonaparte—he addressed them as such, and they would preserve Egypt for him by voluntarily enduring

enduring the greatest privations. When Kleber concluded the treaty of El-Arish, Bonaparte's fate was not known, and this circumstance made them desirous to return; but, since the violation of faith on the part of the English, the darling object of Bonaparte was that of his whole army. The plague raged in the grand vizier's camp; and such was the jealousy of our allies, that, on sir Ralph wishing to lodge in Rhodes, he was refused. Nor was the breach of the convention only disastrous in Egypt: the internal state of our country was materially affected by it: 28,000,000*l.* had been already voted, while the ministers had been forging taxes and chains for the natives of Britain. Heaven had defeated their machinations by a famine, a famine which had reached the gates of the capital, and a committee upon it had sat within the walls of the parliament house! In this corrupted age, such conduct might escape investigation and impeachment; but it would not escape the righteous judgment of God. Mr. Jones then again recapitulated our misfortunes. Austria, our grand and best ally, almost demolished; Italy conquered; Portugal driven to war; Egypt in the hands of our enemies; Constantinople paralysed; and the government of India shaken to its very basis. The confederacy of kings was broken; that rope of sand, moistened with the blood of millions and the tears of Europe, from the Euxine to the Atlantic, was dissolved! The day which sent out orders to lord Keith was indeed a day of mourning to Great Britain—

*Ille dies lethi primus, primusque malorum,
Causa fuit!*

1801.

Our evils followed in terrible succession.

*Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.*

After the loss of several thousands of her soldiers, by drowning, conflagration, and rebellion—after having reddened the ocean and offered up human hecatombs as a sacrifice to the pride and intemperance of the ex-ministers—Great-Britain beheld a powerful and avenging conspiracy raised up against her. May the genius of her former prosperity not forsake her in this time of need! restoring peace and plenty to her impoverished sons, humanity and justice to the most benevolent (and, thanks to heaven! now convalescent) sovereign that ever sat on the throne of England! Mr. Jones ended with moving that a committee be appointed to inquire into the breach of the convention of El-Arish.

Mr. Dundas rose. He said he did not feel any resentment at the honest warmth, and even indignation, which the honourable gentleman had expressed, though much of it had been directed against his conduct in his late official situation. He assured the house, that he felt easy under the opprobrium heaped upon him as a minister of the late administration, and the threats denounced upon the country respecting the supposed breach of faith in that convention. It was a complete misapprehension of the whole. There had been no violation of faith on the part of England, and, in discussing the subject, he would prove it. Sir Sidney Smith had no powers to conclude such a convention; he had powers only to act as a military officer in Egypt. His brother, Mr. Spencer Smith,

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was then British minister at Constantinople; and when he was sent to take command of the British force in Egypt, it was judged proper, in order to add something to his dignity in his situation, to place him with his brother as British plenipotentiary for the definitive treaty of alliance between England and the Porte. Special powers were granted him for this purpose; but as soon as it was signed, these powers were at an end, and he had no commission to go beyond that single act. Indeed the thing spoke for itself. Lord Elgin had gone to Constantinople as representative of his majesty with the Ottoman Porte before the convention of El-Arish: consequently sir Sidney and his brother were superseded in any diplomatic character which they might have held before then. The strongest ground of accusation which had been brought forward was drawn from the French paper containing the correspondence between sir Sidney and general Kleber. From that paper (published by the French government for the purpose of attaching on this country a breach of faith) it did appear that sir Sidney signed himself plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty: but it did not appear that Kleber himself thought that sir Sidney Smith had any powers to negotiate; for he expressed his doubts about the efficacy of any passports granted by him. How sir Sidney imagined himself invested with authority to grant them, or by what means he had convinced Kleber of it, Mr. Dundas said, he did not pretend to know; but this he knew, and would declare, that he had received no such authority from this government. The point in question was then, Had sir Sidney

power to conclude such a convention at El-Arish, either as a plenipotentiary, or as a military officer? and had ministers received any information of this treaty being concluded when the instructions were sent to lord Keith? To this he should unequivocally answer No. The first time ministers heard that such a convention might be proposed was in December 1799; and immediately they sent instructions to lord Keith—not to sir Sidney, for he had not command in chief; only a detachment of lord Keith's fleet. This country was then in alliance with Russia and Austria, as well as the Porte, and it was the duty of ministers to take care of the interests of its allies. The evacuation of Egypt was certainly desirable; but it was incumbent upon them to prevent the return of the French army in Egypt to France, where it would immediately have been employed to act against the Russians and Austrians in Italy or in Germany. The instructions of lord Keith, therefore, were, that, if any convention for the evacuation of Egypt was proposed, he should agree to it; but, at the same time, not consent to the French army being sent back to France. Lord Keith did not receive these instructions till February 1800; and before that period sir Sidney had concluded a convention, which as ministers had not invested him with powers to conclude, they could not anticipate its ratification. With great propriety, he sent home sir John Douglas immediately with the intelligence. Ministers remained in the same opinion precisely as to the policy of the measure, and were all of one sentiment, that sir Sidney had acted without authority: but, as they found a British officer had interfered, and ratified the

the convention (whether with proper powers or not), they deemed it better for the honour of the British name to confirm it. They were guilty, therefore, of no breach of treaty; and they ratified this because they perceived that the French, trusting to its validity, might have given up some strong holds which could not be restored to them in the present state. He well knew that much pains had been taken to impress, and circulate through the nations of Europe, a belief that England had been guilty of a breach of faith, and openly violated a sacred treaty. But the statement he had given was the simple fact. He by no means disapproved of the zeal and resentment of the honourable gentleman, because it resulted from an idea that the honour of the country had been sullied, and from a laudable jealousy for the British character. But, if he would withdraw his motion, he should have no objection to produce all the instructions given to sir Sidney and lord Keith: as he himself knew what these instructions were, he knew that their publicity would prove the truth of his statement, and vindicate the conduct of England to Europe.

Respecting any justifiable fears for our East India possessions, they had been founded upon mis-apprehension, which he trusted he had fully removed; and that the bravery of the officers and troops now employed would soon relieve us from all apprehensions on the temporary residence of the French in Egypt.

Mr. Sheridan remarked, that it was somewhat extraordinary that the production of those papers, which was said to be, a few months ago, quite unnecessary and highly dangerous, and which upon this

ground was positively denied, should now be voluntarily offered to the inspection of the house. But those gentlemen were then in office; now they were obliged to lower their tone a little—

Projicit ampullas et sequipedalia verba.

Of all the reprehensible acts of the late administration, this he maintained to be the vilest, the most disgraceful, the most productive of public calamity. It must be presumed that sir Sidney Smith had acted according to his instructions, till it was proved that he had transgressed them. That this was not the case, was evident from the pension which had lately been conferred upon him. What! reward a man who had incensed our allies, dishonoured the British name, and brought calamities upon his country! Had ministers been in the right, they would have been forward enough in blaming him; but they must be conscious they were responsible for the dire consequences at El-Arish. Our commanders, both in the East and West Indies, had possessed and exercised the same powers with which it was believed sir Sidney was entrusted. It was this intercepted correspondence which had excited the rash presumption of ministers, on which, unfortunately, they had acted. They must have been aware that sir Sidney might have concluded such a convention. There could be no doubt that Kléber would have scrupulously fulfilled it on his part. The subsequent consent of administration Mr. Sheridan attributed not to good faith, but to the successes of the French in Italy, and to the representations made by sir John Douglas of the formidable position of the army in the East. After expressing ap-
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probation of the sentiments delivered by the new chancellor of the exchequer on a former night, he much regretted that notwithstanding these he had opposed an inquiry. It was strange he did not wish to examine the state of the vessel when he took the command of it, that it might have been seen whether he embarked in a sound ship, or a mere wreck with gaudy colours unable to meet the approaching storm. If he extended the broad shield of his own influence to save his predecessors, he would not act an independent part, but would become a sharer in the guilt which he had not originally contracted.

Lord Hawkesbury hoped the motion, in its present shape, would be withdrawn. The papers formerly moved, and which now he wished to be laid before the house, were not such as it was usual to produce, or call for (because there was always a considerable inconvenience in producing them); but he thought the present case demanded it, was it even to be attended with greater inconveniences.

Animadversions had been made on the change of administration. He was perfectly aware of the difficulties of the situation to which he had been called, and of the present dangers of the country; but he hoped, by wise and temperate measures, it might be yet delivered from the evils which impended. However desirable the office in which he now was placed might appear to the ambitious, it was not very enviable at this critical juncture. He certainly should have declined it had he consulted his own ease and comfort: but he had accepted it from a sense of duty to his sovereign, and a desire to con-

tribute to the good of the country. As to the language alluded to of the chancellor of the exchequer, he conceived it was only intended to express that they would be guided by no prescribed system principles; would not be blind instruments in the hands of any set of men; but spontaneously act as they should judge conducive to the welfare of the country; that they had all along supported, and would support, those measures which had been pursued for the suppression of jacobin principles, and the salvation of the constitution. He voted for the production of the papers of sir Sidney's instructions, instead of an inquiry.

Mr. Pitt said, it had often fallen to his lot to combat, perhaps unsuccessfully, charges of arrogance; but however that might be, he had never felt less humility than he did at the present moment, and he should be most seriously grieved if the house believed, that because he and his friends were out of office they were more ready to produce the papers in question. Never, whilst in another situation, had he refused the production of papers but on two grounds: one, when no parliamentary reasons had been alleged; and the other, when it was dangerous to the public to produce them. He hoped he should as firmly withhold his assent now as he did then, if the same motives for withholding it were in force. On this principle he had uniformly acted, and would continue to act. But since that time a difference had taken place, which, whether in or out of office, would have changed his views on the subject. Certain letters had been published, in which sir Sidney Smith was introduced as having given reasons for the idea that he
assumed

assumed the character of plenipotentiary, and as such concluded a treaty with Kleber at El-Arish. In favour of the motion of official information, there was now what was wanting before, viz. security against the public inconvenience of giving it; and, as this was so, he was as ready to grant as formerly he had been averse to grant it. He did not, therefore, depart from his rule, but adhere to it; for it was always his opinion, that, when information could be introduced without disadvantage to the public, it ought to be laid before them. The statement of Mr. Dundas was accurate, and the instructions given to sir Sidney, and also those to lord Keith, should be made known: it would also be proper to produce another document, he meant the proclamation issued by sir Sidney at Acre; on which it had been reproachfully said, that it was strange if sir Sidney acted without instructions, and that he certainly must know what he was commissioned to do. Mr. Pitt did not perfectly recollect the proclamation; but he should be glad the house should see it, and, if he was not mistaken, it was to this purpose:—Sir Sidney published a proclamation, signifying, that if any of the French besieging army should desert, and come to him, he would give them passports by which they might return in safety to Europe. Now, if this proclamation made sir Sidney a state minister, or minister plenipotentiary, then the argument was good, but not otherwise. Sir Sidney had no power to be a party to this convention so much talked of: he was commander, but not in chief; he had no special or full power; and the question (if there was any) would be, whether his general power gave him authority

to enter into any convention in Egypt. The instructions to lord Keith were given on the idea that the French might apply to the grand vizier for a treaty, by which they might have been permitted to return to Europe; which, if it had been granted, could not be binding to us: it could not dispose of the right we had to attack the enemy by sea; for they could not, by any treaty of theirs, render the seas neutral. We apprehended such an attempt would be made, and that the design of it was to take away a French army from Egypt to place it in Italy. There was no power to do this under any maxim of the law of nations, or of justice, because it was the act of two powers, by which the interest of the third was materially affected; and, therefore, instructions to prevent it were given to lord Keith. Yet, under these circumstances, we directed, that if passports should actually have been given, and the ships met, they should not be treated as prisoners of war, but taken to the army whence they came. If sir Sidney imagined he had this power as commander in chief, it was an erroneous idea; for he was no such commander, nor had he any such power. It had been asked, Why then did not government proceed criminally against him? that if he had so far exceeded his commission they ought to do so. Here he materially differed: he should be sorry if the house, or any part of the country, thought, that because sir Sidney (mistaking the extent of a British officer's power) had exposed ministers to unmerited opprobrium, they should feel resentment against him, or that any misapprehension, where the motive was honourable, could cancel the sentiments cherished on the conduct

of that gallant officer, who had added to the glory of the British arms and the British character; who had extended the British interest, and proved himself an honour to the most renowned class of British subjects. No; his majesty's servants had gratitude which was not so easily obliterated; and he wished it to be understood that the approbation of the sovereign, and the esteem of his subjects, testified as it was by parliament and the throne, to the noble defender of Acre, was not effaced by his having taken the power of a plenipotentiary, which did not belong to him.

—The glorious achievements of Acre were not to be set aside for the mistake of El-Arish: the one was a mere misconception of power; the other a brilliant display of military talent, superior even to the emergency which produced it, and extended the renown of an English naval officer both by sea and land, and added to the triumphs of the country. He wished the gentleman who had brought this motion forward in the house of commons might propose, and carry, in the India-house, a measure by which the pension of sir Sidney Smith might be doubled. Mr. Pitt ended with opposing a committee of inquiry, and concurring with the motion for producing the papers afore-mentioned; which would effectually silence calumny, and correct the errors which had too long prevailed upon the subject.

Sir W. Pulteney thought they would communicate very important information, but wished the noble lord would more clearly explain how far they would promote the object of the motion.

Mr. George Ponsonby admitted that they would explain all that was essential to form a right judge-

ment, but could not agree with several of the positions advanced by Mr. Pitt in the course of the debate. The French government (it was affirmed) had published letters which reflected on the character of this country; and that certain documents were to be produced to vindicate its honour. But what sort of language was this from the lips of the honourable gentleman, who had spent years in reprobating every thing connected with the French government? who had ascribed to it every thing atrocious, and represented its statements as utterly unworthy of regard? The fatal consequences of the convention of El-Arish, the expence of fitting out an army for Egypt, were not deemed a sufficient reason for the publicity of these papers; whilst the accusation of an enemy, and of an enemy the ex-ministers had ever treated with the most sovereign contempt, is the alleged cause of producing them before the house! Surely this was a singular degree of inconsistency! Mr. Ponsonby could not suppose that sir Sidney had no powers to conclude any treaty which he might judge advantageous to his country; he was not indeed commander in chief, but he had the chief command on the coast of Egypt. It was this gallant officer who had the principal share in the management of those troops composed of our Turkish allies; and if these allies were willing to enter into a treaty, he acted wisely and humanely in making the best stipulations which circumstances admitted.

Much had been said of the faith of this country, in observing the passports which were granted; but, for his own part, he differed somewhat respecting his ideas of this faith. After the French had given

given up, in the terms of convention, many strong posts which they had previously occupied; after a part of the troops had actually embarked on their return to France, and were intercepted by English cruisers; they were carried, not to Toulon, or any other port of France expressed in the convention, not to the place of their destination, but were landed again in the place whence they came. So much for the English faith so boasted! and such its honourable observance!

Mr. Pitt contended that Mr. Ponsonby had misconceived his arguments.

Mr. Fox, on the other hand, maintained that he had fairly combated them on the subject of our faith. It was impossible, considering the situation of lord Elgin, not to suppose he would be called upon by the Turks to give passports to the French who wished to return to their own country; and it was the duty of ministers to regard these passports as sacred, instead of sending back the unfortunate troops to the place they had agreed to evacuate.

Mr. Pitt explained, that this security related only to those who were included in a treaty which was not binding on us, but concerning whom we had given directions that they should not be treated as prisoners of war; and we acted mildly towards them in taking them back to the place whence they came.

Mr. Nicholls spoke at some length in favour of the motion brought in by Mr. Jones; pointed out the disastrous effects of our violation of the treaty of El-Arish; and said it was a fit subject of inquiry to ascertain the causes of an event which had entailed expence and trouble on the country.

Mr. Hobhouse expressed extreme surprise, in strong terms, at the reason the ex-minister had assigned for producing the papers which had so often been demanded before in vain. Could it be forgotten, that when any statements of the French government had been urged as reasons for inquiry, it had invariably been answered, that such statements could not be depended on, and were no fit subjects for investigation. And if they were, why were not the papers produced at an earlier period of the session?

Mr. Metcalfe observed, that as an allusion had been made to the East-India Company, he felt it incumbent on him to assure the house, that the East India directors had never entertained any apprehensions of Bonaparte's attempts in the east, or that the British dominions were in the least danger from him. Indeed he had never manifested any intention to proceed from Egypt to Hindostan; and such a plan would infallibly have been baffled without the aid of sir Sidney Smith, whose services at Acre he did not consider of half the importance commonly ascribed to them.

Mr. Hobhouse contended that sir Sidney was understood to have power to treat with the French according to his best judgment, and had thus himself understood his orders.

Mr. Nicholls said the question was discussed as if the only point was the powers of sir Sidney Smith; whereas the instructions to lord Keith appeared to him the principal consideration. The state of Europe at that time did not warrant such orders, and the result showed their impolicy. In consequence of them we were obliged to send out an army, and thus were

unable to defend Portugal. There was no place in which the French troops would be more injurious than in Egypt, and where they could be less so than in France, to which place they had stipulated to return. He denied our right of interference in any measure taken by the Turks to get the French out of Egypt, and pointed out the danger to which we had exposed that power, by the reduced state of Austria, and our dispute with Russia. On these grounds he voted for a committee.

The original motion was put, and negatived without a division. It was then resolved, That an address should be presented to his majesty, that the copy of the orders to sir Sidney Smith, and to lord Keith, should be laid before the house.

A conversation which had taken place relative to a letter from his royal highness the duke of York, produced on the 22d of April a specific motion for the production of that important paper. It was to Mr. Tierney that this business was committed. He began by saying, that he entertained almost a certainty of its success. If the professions of the late ministers were in any degree sincere, he doubted not that they would not resist a motion which would put their truth to the test. He should especially expect the support of the right honourable gentleman who was so materially interested in the motion, having procured the establishment of a new office, by which the military department of the service was to be more advantageously managed. It was at least a part of his duty to superintend the details of the service, and to provide for the maintenance of the force which national exigencies might demand. It was therefore proper to apply to him if

any gross negligence in the conduct of the public service should appear. If the letter of his royal highness the commander in chief should now be produced, in which he stated that on the 28th of February the state of the army rendered it impossible to have 20,000 men ready for foreign service within two months, he should make it a ground of serious charge against the honourable gentleman's conduct. He then described the state of the army before the letter was written; which, he said, amounted to 300,000; a great number of whom were not raw troops, but drafts from the militia. If, in February last, not even 20,000 could be found fit for foreign service, it was surely an object worthy the attention of the house to inquire where the criminality lay; and, therefore, to call for the letter in which this fact was disclosed. At the very time when the commander in chief stated this fact, ministers set their faces against a convention which secured the evacuation of Egypt, and would not hear proposals of peace from the enemy when we had not 20,000 disposable troops. Those who had formerly supported ministers had now their eyes open, and he trusted that they would punish their deceivers. He asked, whether, after seven years of unbounded confidence, and the largest army ever known in this country had been entrusted to them, those men ought not to be arraigned who had reduced the army to such a state. He said that the case regarded the character of the whole British army, the fame of the commander in chief; but especially concerned parliament, who ought not to suffer individuals to exhibit garbled passages from any paper,

paper, in their justification, while its general import was unknown. He concluded with moving that an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give orders to lay before the house the letter written by his royal highness the duke of York to the minister at war, on the 28th of February, 1800.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it belonged to the house to determine what degree of credit ministers were entitled to; but that he would never consent to obtain a temporary credit, by losing sight of his duty to his majesty's service and the public interest. He wished the house to consider the circumstances of the expedition to Holland, and the state of affairs at the time when the requisition for the troops was made. The first troops which sailed thither under sir Ralph Abercromby amounted to between eight and nine thousand men: these were regulars, not drafted from the militia; and by this force the Helder was taken. In the next embarkation there certainly were a great number of troops from the militia, who had offered their services in consequence of an act of parliament permitting them so to do, which was passed very late in the session. The object of government, and the expectations of the people, were founded upon the disposition of the people of Holland, and that there would be a mutual co-operation was generally believed. Had this been so, the army was in a state of sufficient discipline for that purpose. Although our hopes were disappointed, the season of the year, the weather, the roads, and the unavoidable delay in the disembarkation, afforded sufficient cause to repress our surprise at the failure. A suf-

ficient force was provided for the object intended, namely of co-operating with the people of Holland. Some unavoidable circumstances attending the embarkation of the troops at the Helder produced great inconvenience to the army. The stores and clothing of the 9th regiment were not in their possession till three months after their landing at Yarmouth. On the 28th of February his royal highness wrote to the secretary for the war department, stating that to prepare the army for foreign service would require two months. But the honourable gentleman had said that the then secretary represented the troops as being in a perfect state of discipline. This might have been asserted of those troops under the immediate command of sir Ralph Abercromby, but not of the whole army. After the return of the troops from Holland, a considerable number was added to the army, from the militia, of which the consequence was that many more were requiring to be disciplined. And in January 1800 an act was passed in the Irish parliament, allowing men to volunteer from the Irish militia into the regulars; and there was a great addition to the force which composed the second embarkation, and to them the commander in chief alluded in his letter. After the return of the troops from the Helder, several improvements in the military discipline were found convenient; and much practice was judged requisite for the men. It was necessary, he said, to remember, that the service to which the troops were destined, which were required in February, was very different from that which those sent to Holland were to perform; these latter being intended for the double purpose of military exertion,

tion, and of co-operating with the people of that country. The season of the year rendered a long campaign improbable; but what was the service which the troops required in February were to perform? They were to act against the best troops of France, and probably during a long campaign. There appeared therefore no parliamentary ground for the production of the letter required: for no blame had been proved to be attached to his majesty's then ministers because the army was not in complete readiness; for few instances had occurred in which an army was required for service sooner than that period when his royal highness stated that the troops would be quite prepared. He submitted to the house, whether there might not be passages in the letter improper to be made public, unless strong grounds were laid for its production. He therefore should vote against the motion.

Mr. Whitbread said that he was in no degree convinced that proper ground had not been laid for the production of the letter. Upon a motion on the state of the nation, the right honourable secretary (Dundas) had produced a part of it as a justification of his conduct. If he had a right to produce it for defence, the house had a right to have it before them; that a motion of censure might be grounded on it; especially since his hon. friend had pledged himself that, if the letter was produced, he would make it the foundation of a serious charge. The case was simply this: one servant of the public defended himself against a charge by reading an extract of a letter, which being called for, another servant of the public objected to its production, contending parliamentary ground to be wanting. If it contained senti-

ments improper for the public eye, the right honourable gentleman who had first quoted it was in fault; but, a part having been produced, the house had an undoubted right to see the whole of it, in order to determine fairly whether the conduct of the right honourable gentleman were proper or not. One of the grounds on which his honourable friend¹ rested his motion was, that the army sent to Holland was not in a fit state for that expedition; but this was not the only ground. Another was, that out of 300,000 men which we had at that time, not 20,000 could be found fit for an expedition which was then in contemplation. He could perfectly well remember, that when it was urged that the army was not in a proper state for the service in which it was employed, the right honourable secretary contended that it was completely fit for it. The expedition to Holland was said to have been undertaken in confidence of meeting with great co-operation in that country, but herein they had been disappointed. Then surely the late ministers were highly culpable for having undertaken it upon such imperfect information, and for sending out an army fit only to act in co-operation with the inhabitants of that country. Every one who had seen how the drafts from the militia were managed, must lament that so many brave men had been so exposed. They were in a state of constant inebriety; the country was in confusion; the men sent in waggons and carts to the place of embarkation, without knowing or being known to their officers, and many so drunk that they knew not the regiment to which they belonged. The right honourable gentleman should recollect that we had a force of 300,000 men, and all that

that were required amounted only to 20,000: so that there would remain 280,000; and even supposing our force over-rated, there would at least remain 250,000. In his opinion, the right honourable gentleman had not stated one reason why the letter should not be made public; and therefore he should vote for the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to state one fact, that in January and February near 8600 men had been sent to Ireland.

Mr. Pitt said, that the honourable gentleman, in moving for that paper, had laid what he imagined to be parliamentary ground for his motion, that, if the letter was produced, he would make it a matter of charge against his majesty's late ministers. He had heard many of those declarations and pledges, but in the present instance there was no difficulty, if the honourable gentleman was really serious in his intention. There might be a difference of opinion upon the propriety of producing the letter; but as to the supposed effect, namely, that of furnishing means of support for accusation against the late ministers, the honourable gentleman should meet with no obstacle. That part of his royal highness's letter which had been quoted, stated, that in February 1800 the requisite force could not be detached for two months. Upon the establishment of this fact, the charge was to be brought forward. The rest of the letter could not form any part of the charge, because he could not engage to found an accusation upon what he did not know. Now, though it might not be proper to produce the letter, yet ministers were ready to admit the fact which he wished to substantiate, though they would deny the inference proposed to be drawn from

it. The question then was, whether they should incur the inconvenience of producing the letter, when every advantage was obtained by admitting the only fact he knew contained in it, or whether they should call upon the gentleman (having obtained the admission of the fact) to proceed with his charge? Gentlemen had stated no grounds tenable by fair reasoning for the production of this paper. It had been stated, that there were not 20,000 men ready for a service to employ them for eight or ten months; and that this proved, either that the troops were not in a proper condition to be sent, or that, after their return, ministers were blamable for not having a larger disposable force. It had been stated, (and that truly, he believed) that there were 300,000 men in arms for the defence of the nation; but he thought that, before a candid or prudent man would censure ministers, he should try to ascertain more than the bare fact of the number of men in arms: they might have tried to discover how many of these men were necessarily employed out of the country, as they could not be supposed in a state proper for an immediate foreign expedition. And they might also have inquired how many of these 300,000 men could be sent out of the country. Both these points the honourable gentleman had either forgotten, or overlooked; for in this general statement of men they had included the whole force, volunteers and yeomanry, of the country, and might as well have included the whole mass of the population of the kingdom. It would have been but proper to inquire the amount of the regular army, and then how many of them were necessary for the defence of Great Britain, how many for Ire-

land.

land, Malta, Gibraltar, Minorca, the West-Indies, and elsewhere.—Gentlemen had assumed that the army to which the letter alluded was the same army that was sent to Holland, and then they inferred that that army could not have been in a fit state to be sent to Holland.

He maintained, that supposing the force sent to Holland was that alluded to in the duke of York's letter, and had been in the most perfect state, which it was not, still the same army could not have been in a state for service on the 28th of February. Gentlemen were very fond of comparing the army of the French republic with that of this country, and commented on the great exertions of the army of reserve. But it should be remembered that means had been used in France to give energy to their exertions, which in this country would be severely censured. However, the army of reserve of the great hero, who was the constant object of adulation, could not commence its operations till a later time than that at which it was stated in the letter our forces would be ready. But the chancellor of the exchequer had proved, that the army mentioned by his royal highness was a force widely different from that sent to Holland. The expedition was sent for three important objects to this country. First, to annihilate the remains of the Dutch marine; secondly, to effect a diversion in favour of our allies; and lastly, to assist an ancient ally of this country to rescue itself from its oppressions. The last object alone failed. But the magnitude of the object warranted the hazard incurred. The time of year when the troops were sent to Holland rendered a long campaign impossible; the difficulties attending new troops

arose not from their want of valour, but of experience. The danger to be apprehended was, not that they would fail to act bravely in battle, but that they could not contend with the severity of the season. Their conduct in Holland was a proof of the assertion. They were found in the field fully equal to the veteran troops of France, to whom they were opposed, and superior to those with whom they were most likely to have contended. That our troops should not be ready for service, after a severe winter, at an earlier period than those in the more southern and warmer parts of Europe, was a matter of criticism which might surprise him, if he could be surprised at any thing coming from that quarter. He wished that the statements of gentlemen on the other side, at different times, were compared together. At one period it was said that we had destroyed a whole army in Holland; but that statement was given up when we obtained accounts of the killed and wounded: but now the losses of that army were forgotten, and it was contended that it ought to furnish a greater number of men, after a severe campaign, than it had before contained. So that the statements of these gentlemen made completely against themselves. He concluded by objecting to the grant of a paper without parliamentary ground for its production; and if the crimination of the late ministers was the object, he said that, the fact they wanted being admitted, they could not desire further evidence.

Mr. Grey said, that the right honourable gentleman stood charged with gross public misconduct, and wished to draw off the attention of the house by attacking those who had opposed him, and was now for making

making an inquiry into their conduct. He indeed challenged inquiry in a high tone; but, whenever it was moved for, he frustrated it. It had been said that no parliamentary ground had been shown for the motion. This he would advert to afterwards. The right honourable gentleman had anticipated the charge, and entered into a defence of the expedition to Holland. In judging of that expedition, the objects ought to be distinguished, of getting possession of the Dutch fleet, creating a diversion in favour of our allies, and assisting the Dutch to throw off the French yoke. If, after the Dutch fleet was overpowered under sir Ralph Abercromby, the expedition had stopped there, he would have owned it successful, and that the planners were entitled to public thanks. But afterwards, a new armament was sent to co-operate with the Dutch, and to create a diversion. This totally failed. This diversion was a proof of the incapacity of the late ministers. It was sent late in the year to a narrow peninsula, where a few troops sufficed to check its progress. In a diversion against an enemy, the best method was to occupy as much of the country as possible with few troops: but the very reverse of this was adopted; and a large force was sent to a neck of land where they could not act, and where the enemy could oppose them with a handful of men. As to co-operation from the Dutch, how could we expect it, unless we could have given them protection? which was impossible till they had repeatedly repulsed the opposing force, till when they were entirely separated from those with whom they were to co-operate. It was asserted that the loss

was small. He wished that this could have been proved. The force sent on that expedition amounted at least to 25,000 men, and had been declared to be one of the finest that had ever sailed from this country. Yet, three months after its return, the commander in chief stated, that two months would be requisite to get 20,000 men into a proper state of discipline for a foreign expedition. Thus, Mr. Grey contended that the criminality of ministers was fully proved on their own grounds. Why did they come to the house year after year, to ask an increase of the military force of the kingdom? Was it not that a disposable force might be ready for every exigency? He would contend that it was unparliamentary to read extracts from papers not before the house, to justify ministers. But Mr. Dundas repelled a charge against him, by reading part of a letter from sir Ralph Abercromby after the taking of the Helder, in which that general described the men drafted from the militia as a superior race: this proved then, that to deny there were men drafted from the militia in that embarkation was false, and that they were not so unfit for military operations as they were represented. That there was no parliamentary ground for the motion, as had been asserted, was not true. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) contended, that it was no wonder if 20,000 men, fit for a foreign military service, could not be got ready in less than two months. But this was not a fair representation. A large force had been granted, to be always ready for the service of the country. 20,000 men returned from Holland: these were the best draughts from the supplementary

mentary militia, and the remainder of the regular army. It was then a strong ground for accusation against the late ministers, that, notwithstanding the means granted them, and that the army had returned from Holland in November 1799, there should not have been 20,000 men fit for foreign service at the end of February 1801.—The letter required ought, according to all parliamentary usage, to be produced, unless it were asserted that dangerous consequences to the public would follow: in such a case, he was convinced that his honourable friend would only move for the production of such extracts as should relate to the state of the army when it was written. But the right honourable gentleman had made no such assertion; and only stated, that the letter might contain matter dangerous to be revealed. If it did, what right had the right honourable gentleman, not then in office, to produce it at all, and to divulge any contents of the state deposit of state secrets? Ground of serious charge existed somewhere, which must fall either on the right honourable gentleman or the commander in chief. He should therefore support the motion.

Lord Folkstone said he would vote for the motion, to vindicate the character of the militia; for he thought it extremely hard, that those who had devoted their time to the forming and improving it should now be told that the want of discipline in men, drafted unjustly, and unwisely, in his opinion, was the cause of the failure of a great plan of government.

Sir James St. Clair Erskine observed that an erroneous idea of the word discipline had been formed: for that each man in a regi-

ment might be master of the manual exercise, and yet it might not be well disciplined. He agreed with the supporters of the motion, that if a force was not ready when it ought to be, blame belonged somewhere, and ought, in his opinion, to be fixed on the commander in chief. But in the present instance, on examination, no blame would be found imputable to the illustrious commander in chief, for not having 20,000 men ready for foreign service on the 28th of February last. The first troops sent to Holland, under sir Ralph Abercromby, consisted of almost all the old regulars in this country. Whatever of the militia was among them formed but a small part. The other two embarkations were composed mostly of draughts from the militia. What was most material in the present question was the time of the return of these troops. Most of them returned in November, but they had not all arrived before Christmas. The old troops were speedily sent to Ireland; and the remainder, consisting of militia, certainly required training. Some of the draughts from the Irish militia, which composed part of the force, had not even existence at Christmas; for the bill enabling his majesty to make that draught had not then passed. Therefore, it was neither surprising, nor blamable, that this force was not ready for a distant and foreign expedition by the 20th of February. He regretted that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had, on a former night, quoted either the present letter, or that from sir Charles Stuart: he was, however, pleased to see that the extracts had proved the true motives of his declining the command of the expedition to the Mediterranean, and that

that his refusal had occasioned no delay to the sailing of the expedition. He hoped, however, that the practice would not obtain of quoting confidential letters from officers to government, which might often prejudice the service; and concluded with expressing his decided opposition to the motion.

Colonel Alexander Hope adverted to what Mr. Grey had said concerning sir Ralph Abercromby's letter on the taking of the Helder; observing, that the men to whom he referred formed no part of the embarkation which sailed with sir Ralph, but arrived on the 9th, and were employed on the 10th; so that the chancellor of the exchequer's statement was still correct.

Mr. Bouverie thought the grounds of the motion parliamentary, and therefore supported it.

Mr. Nicholls thought that two facts were universally admitted: that in February 1800 we had not 20,000 men fit for a foreign expedition, notwithstanding the great number of the army; and that the army was deplorably deficient in discipline. He knew not what were grounds of inquiry if these were not.

The secretary at war said, that the small army kept here in time of peace had always caused much difficulty to collect speedily any military force for a foreign expedition; and that the state of the country, during the present war, required extraordinary force to be retained in it. He defended the Dutch expedition against Mr. Grey; and said he would always oppose the granting of a paper as a ground of charge.

General Tarleton thought no blame imputable to the duke of

York; but that a review of some facts would show where blame ought to rest. In the beginning of the war, the Irish militia force was inadequate to its designed object; and the common methods of recruiting could not supply that defect. Mr. Dundas thought he could do it by draughts from the supplementary militia: the general thought this an ineffectual method, and recommended that of draughting from the present militia of the country. This, he said, was the only sure way to procure an effective force. He censured the reading of letters from officers in the house; and complained that both sir Charles Stuart and sir Charles Grey had been unworthily treated, who would have performed much more essential service to their country had ministers granted them a proper force.

He concluded with calling on all officers to vote for this motion, as the best means of abolishing the practice of reading letters in that house, as ministers might do for their own justification.

Mr. Dundas rose to repel the insinuation that he had aspersed the conduct of the illustrious commander in chief, sir Charles Stuart, and sir Charles Grey; for all of whom, he said, he had ever entertained the highest respect. He said that he had never recommended any expedition to his majesty without also recommending to him to appoint one or other of these gallant officers to it. He denied that his opposition to this motion was to save the character of his royal highness the commander in chief; for that there was nothing in the letter but what was highly to his honour. He would not enter into discussion of the expedition to Holland, but only state, that on the return

return of the army, the flower of it was immediately sent to Ireland to defend it; and he would ask, whether it was blamable to advise that measure, at a season of the year when the long nights rendered an attempt at invasion more to be apprehended, because more practicable, and when Great-Britain expected a supply of 10,000 men from the militia of Ireland? As to the production of confidential letters in debate, he held, that a public man ought rather to submit to any calumnies, than to repel them by producing what might injure others; but when no injury could be done by producing such papers, he thought that a public man might use them in his own vindication.

General Tarleton explained.

Mr. G. Ponsonby said, that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) had, on a former evening, asserted the present to be the most glorious war in which this country had ever been engaged; in saying which he had thrown a heavy weight of responsibility on his majesty's ministers now in office, since the necessary consequence of

a glorious war was a beneficial peace. He thought that the whole of the letter ought to be read; and if the right honourable gentleman wished well to the illustrious commander in chief, he ought to produce it. If the letter were produced, it might appear that the commander in chief complained of not receiving sufficient notice, or proper supplies; and alleged these as reasons why a force for a foreign expedition could not be prepared in less than two months. The honourable gentleman had asserted that it might be wrong to produce documents unfit for public investigation; but surely it was more wrong to refuse those in which the conduct and character of others were concerned.

If the present motion was refused, it must be obvious that there was blame somewhere, or it would not have been met in so hostile a manner by gentlemen on the other side.

Colonel Porter said a few words in support of the motion.

The house then divided, when there appeared, ayes 45—noes 151. Majority against the motion, 106.

CHAP. IV.

High Price of Provisions. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on that Subject. Debate on the Report. Second Report, and Debate on the same. Further Report on the same relative to Ireland. Debates on that Subject. Lord Suffolk's Motion in the House of Lords on the high Price of Provisions and the Extension of Paper Credit. Lord Warwick's, on the same Subject. Mr. Horne Tooke elected Member for Old Sarum. Debates on that Subject. Clergy Ineligibility Bill. Its Progress in the Commons. In the Lords.

THE high price and scarcity of provisions, which had in part arisen from the failure of the crops of the preceding year, and which

still continued, engaged early the attention of parliament. On the 4th of February Mr. Yorke rose in the house of commons to move for a repeal

a repeal of the act which permitted the mixture of oats and barley with wheat in the preparation of bread; and the motion was seconded by Mr. Alderman Curtis, and carried.

On the 12th Mr. Dudley Ryder reported, from the committee appointed to consider of the high price of provisions, a resolution for the purpose of repealing the act of the former session: and on the 16th of the same month Mr. Ryder moved for the house to consider the report of the committee on the high price of provisions. It was necessary, he said, to state the reasons why it would be proper to rescind the act of last session: that act had been passed from a supposition that a great saving might be effected in consequence of mixing a coarser kind of meal with fine flour; but circumstances had since occurred which led the committee to think they were somewhat deceived in their expectations. The committee, however, would not have given up the measure, if the change in their opinion had arisen from temporary difficulties only; because, if it had been likely to have been attended with ultimate success, it was their duty to have continued it. But there were certain difficulties which could not easily be removed: one of these was, the partiality of the people to the finer sort of flour; and a notion that the coarser kind, as well as that manufactured from foreign wheats, could not be manufactured with fine flour. From these circumstances there was a greater demand in the market for the superior wheat; by which means the price of fine flour was raised far beyond a reasonable price; and the inferior was though as the best had been some
1801.

time before. The utmost deduction, in consequence of the late bill, was that of six or seven farthings in the quartern loaf; and, as the coarser bread did not go near so far as the white, the loss to the public was greater than any saving could be advantageous. The resolution of the committee applied only to the repealing of that part of the act which respected the mode of dressing flour, by which the bakers would be allowed to mix the bread without being subject to the assize regulations. But the operation of the act of the 36th of the king would be revived, by repealing it altogether; and thus the object of the committee would be attained.

On the 2d of March the house, on the motion of Mr. Ryder, resolved itself into a committee; to take into consideration the second report of the committee on the high price of provisions. After a debate which was little interesting, except for the pleasantries of Mr. Horne Tooke, (which however were irrelevant to the subject,) the resolution was agreed to; and on the 4th the report was received, and was in substance as follows:

That the united kingdom called Great Britain be divided into twelve districts, and premiums not exceeding £2,000^l. be offered for the cultivation of potatoes by proprietors and occupiers of land not being cottagers.

That the following premiums be granted in each district: viz. to the person who should cultivate on land, in the present year, the greater number of statute acres of potatoes, for producing not less than 200 bushels per acre, each bushel not weighing less than sixty pounds, the
I number

number of acres not being	£.
less than thirty	300
For the next, not being less	
than twenty	200
For the next, not less than	
ten	100
For the next, not less than	
seven	70
For the next, not less than	
six	60
For the next, not less than	
four	40
For the next, not less than	
three	30
To the next ten greatest, not	
being less than two acres each, 20l.	
each—making 200l.	

That premiums to the amount of 1300l. be offered for the encouragement of the culture of potatoes by cottagers in England and Wales, to be distributed in sums not exceeding 20l. for each district in which magistrates act at their petty sessions in the several counties; and to such cottagers who should raise the largest average crop of potatoes per perch, in not less than twelve square perch of land,..... £.10

To the second largest 6

To the third 4

That a sum be granted, not exceeding 3000l., for encouraging the cultivation of potatoes in Scotland by cottagers.

That a sum, not exceeding 2000l., be granted to the board of agriculture, to be distributed in honorary premiums to such owners of land as should allot the greatest quantities of land among cottagers this year, to be planted with potatoes. On the motion that leave be given to bring in a bill, Mr. T. Jones spoke in opposition.—He thought they would add to the evil arising from the high price of provisions, rather than diminish it.

Peace he conceived to be the only remedy, as the quantity of provisions consumed in expeditions greatly contributed to enhance their price.

Mr. Jolliffe supported the same opinion. He wholly condemned the proceedings of the committee, and of the board of agriculture; being convinced, he said, that the former had enhanced not lowered the prices of every necessary of life; and that the latter were ignorant of the subject for the discussion of which they were assembled.—What would become of all the pasture lands in the kingdom, together with the cattle and horses which fed upon their produce, since the whole of those lands would, in consequence of the premiums, be turned into potatoe grounds? These resolutions, therefore, would be productive of more evil than good, and cottagers had not sufficient time upon their hands to cultivate their own potatoes.

Mr. Buxton defended the committee; but it did not appear to him that the measure before the house was calculated to promote public utility; and, if carried into execution, would overthrow all the agreements between landlord and tenants.

Sir William Young thought it highly improper to favour one species of agriculture in preference to another, to the detriment of the public good.

Mr. Wilberforce conceived there had been too much argument on abstract principles, without sufficient attention to the cases of general convenience. He considered the proposed premiums as judicious, as a large stock of potatoes was needed, which there was not sufficient encouragement to cultivate.

To obviate the objections made concerning landlord and tenant, he meant to propose an amendment, that no tenant should cultivate potatoes on land (without the consent of the landlord) not used for that purpose. If the prior resolutions of the committee were rejected, he hoped the house would not reject the resolution of assigning premiums to cottagers.

A member objected to the resolutions, on the ground of the legislative interference relative to agriculture being unnecessary.

Mr. Whitbread also thought this interference ought to have proceeded no further than granting bounties for importations of wheat. He did not wish to arraign the committee on the high price of provisions, but he thought the sudden changes of sentiment which had taken place, particularly respecting the brown bread bill, tended to bring their opinions into disrepute.

He believed the premiums proposed (notwithstanding any amendments) would cause much dissension between landlords and tenants, arising from the clashing of opposite interests.

On the 10th of March the house went into a committee, to consider the further report of the committee on the high price of provisions.

Mr. Ryder said, the measure recommended by the report was the extension of the bounties upon grain imported into Ireland now payable upon that imported into Great Britain: though the price was not equally high in that country the deficiency was equally great: on this account, however, it would not be possible to make the same regulations, but every thing ought to be done to equalise them as far as was possible. The merchant should be encouraged to

send his cargoes thither, and ought to have a security against loss.—

After a few more observations of the same tendency, Mr. Ryder concluded with moving, that bounties similar to those granted on wheat, barley, oats, rye, and rice, imported into Great Britain, should be extended to Ireland under certain restrictions.

Sir John Parnell represented the scarcity in Ireland to be very great, and the necessity of relief urgent. He approved the measure of the committee, but thought no time was to be lost in waiting the slow operations proposed in the plan. It was a question of famine, and something was instantly to be done. Though the feelings of the Irish might be gratified by their necessities being thus taken into consideration, they would receive no essential service.

The resolution was then agreed to, and ordered to be reported the next day.

Sir John Parnell gave notice of an intended motion which he should bring forward, not doubting that the house would support it from justice as well as humanity. It was to suspend, for a limited time, so much of the charter of the East-India Company as prohibited the landing of rice in Ireland, brought from the countries under the East-India jurisdiction. A seasonable supply of food would then be procured. The first thing in the season produced by Ireland was milk; and if they had any thing to mix with it, they might live comfortably till the ensuing harvest. It would be easy to dispatch orders for some of the ships sent out to India to land their cargoes in Ireland.

Mr. Ryder expressed much pleasure to hear these sentiments from

the hon. gentleman; and he was sorry he had not expressed them earlier, as he would then have upheld the resolution just passed in the house. Rice was enumerated amongst the articles, the importation of which was to be encouraged; and the method pointed out had been from the beginning in contemplation, as the only one in which the importation of rice could be beneficial. If the worthy baronet had attended the committee, he would have known a bill of this sort was designed immediately to be brought in.

Sir John said, it was impossible to learn this from the resolution itself; and he had not attended the committee, because he found he could be of no service.

On the 18th of March a proposal was made, through Mr. Dundas, for the cultivation of potatoes on commons and waste lands, and a bill was ordered in accordingly.

The fifth report was made on the 1st of April. It contained a recapitulation of the principles already advanced; and the sixth report, on the 22d of May, related solely to an invention of Mr. Robert Ferryman, for blanching the outward coat of wheat, previous to its being ground, so that the whole of the grain might be used.

The passing of the bills confirming the above resolution was the principal business which engaged the commons relative to this subject. In the house of lords the inquiry was taken up upon a broader basis, and many collateral subjects were introduced. In that house, however, the proceedings commenced later than in the house of commons; and it was the 30th of March before any serious debate ensued on the subject.

On that day lord Suffolk called

the attention of their lordships to the high price of provisions; and enumerated, in a speech of considerable length, the causes, whilst he pointed out the remedies which appeared to him adequate to the cure, of so serious a public evil.

The first cause, he said, was the war, and the necessary waste of provisions which it produced. The number of troops in the naval and military service of the country might be calculated at four hundred thousand; and as a military man, who from the habits of life must have knowledge on subjects of this nature, he was convinced that they consumed what would be sufficient to the support of a million of subjects under common circumstances. In further illustration of this branch of argument, his lordship took a view of the different methods employed by the different contractors to procure the requisite supply, adduced several instances where they had been materially instrumental in enhancing the prices in various country markets, and contended that the price was by this means considerably affected. The influence of the war respecting provisions was further augmented by the increase of taxes, tripled during its progress; and hence arose a necessary reaction of every article of human subsistence. Having enlarged on this topic, he next animadverted with severity on the effect of a letter published last autumn by a secretary of state; and on the negligence of ministers in not making earlier arrangements for procuring supplies from the continent, and in not affording encouragement to those who were willing to have used every exertion for this purpose. But the influence of the country

country banks appeared particularly worthy of consideration: to the extensive circulation of their paper was he disposed to attribute the evil now so seriously felt and justly deplored. The number of country bankers, according to the most accurate information which he had been able to obtain, was about 400; and, supposing each to issue notes to the amount of 30,000*l.*, would form an aggregate of twelve millions of notes. The effect of this extended circulation, in increasing the price of every article of provision also, he maintained to be most pernicious, as it afforded dealers great facility in keeping it back from the market.— To prove these assertions were well founded, he quoted the authority of the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, and the evidence of lord Egremont, who had been examined before the select committee; to whose character he paid the highest compliments. The measures which his lordship proposed to remedy these evils were, that ministers should take into consideration the number of country bankers, and the extent of their circulation: the establishment of public granaries, and the equalization of measures of grain, which now varied much in different parts of the country: to substitute fish for other provisions, and above all, his lordship repeated, to examine how far these bankers might have actually raised the prices of provisions; which could only be done by administration precisely ascertaining their number and extent.

On the question being put, lord Hobart rose. He said the letter of the duke of Portland, on which so many censures had been cast, was fully justified by circumstances: the present high price of provisions

actually was caused by scarcity. When the nature of the last harvest was duly considered, there could be little doubt upon the subject: he confessed he had none. As to the bank notes, he should only observe, that, under the present system of commercial transactions, the country had grown to an unprecedented greatness in trade and manufactures; and before he would consent to infringe upon that system, he must be very well convinced indeed of the efficacy of the measure proposed. When so plain and palpable a cause of the dearness of provisions presented itself in a scarcity with which it had pleased Providence to afflict us, it was neither wise nor necessary to seek for other causes. The committee had already done, and were still doing, every thing in the compass of their ability for the public relief; and he hoped, when their final report was presented, it would meet with general satisfaction. But such motions as his lordship's had no tendency to benefit the public, and therefore he must oppose it. The country had endured this unavoidable calamity with admirable patience; and he hoped they would be rewarded by the abundance of the ensuing harvest.

The earl of Warwick supported the motion, as far as it related to country banks; and, in illustration, stated some instances which had fallen immediately under his own observation.

Lord Auckland confined himself to that part of the subject which detailed the evils arising from paper credit. It was a dangerous language in parliament, he said, to ascribe a popular calamity to a public cause ill understood by the people. It was natural for those who suffered to listen with credulity to rash and

ill-judged offers of advice; and, if what had been alleged that night of the mischiefs occasioned by country banks should gain general belief, it might produce a sudden and fatal explosion of the whole fabric of our national wealth and grandeur. It was a subject peculiarly open to mis-conceptions. Without being universally understood, it was undoubtedly true that gold and silver coins, in their relative proportions, are not more valuable than so many pieces of paper purporting to be current for a certain denominated sum of money, and circulating at that value without depreciation. Country bank notes had been contemptuously spoken of as so many bits of paper with stamps upon them: but it ought to be recollected that these bits of paper were issued for a specified value, in consequence of an equivalent received, and payable on demand in notes upon the bank of England, or in guineas; and therefore these country notes were not liable to be depreciated, and could never remain an hour in circulation. If the quantity issued should ever be overcharged, and beyond what the demands and industry of the community could keep afloat. The annual value of our exports and imports was now not less than one hundred millions sterling; and it was known that our annual public disbursements were not less than sixty millions sterling. To this was to be added an immense and active circulation in the various details of agriculture, mines, manufactures, shops, personal expenditure, &c. It was also to be observed, that above ten millions sterling had been sent out of the kingdom within the last eighteen months for the purchase of wheat and other grain. All this unparal-

leled expenditure, essential in many cases to the preservation of the empire, had been maintained by the aid and effect of our paper credit. If that credit was extended too far, the remedy would present itself, and the bills issued be returned to the banks which issued them. Without the aid of the country banks, the cultivation of lands would be checked, the ingenuity of our manufacturers be suspended, and multitudes would be starving who were now well fed notwithstanding the scarcity.

He had the honour (his lordship continued) of being of the select committee to examine the affairs of the bank in 1797. It had then been ascertained, that the bank notes in circulation on the average of three years, ending in 1795, had been about twelve millions sterling; and at present it was known that the amount was somewhat less than sixteen millions. This was an increase of near one fourth: and it was probable that the notes issued by the country banks might have increased proportionably—though this was mere conjecture. Their lordships would advert to the essential use of such a circulation; and at the same time look to occasional abuses, which must always happen through the avidity of individuals, in seasons of scarcity and high prices of provisions. He did not pretend, he said, to deny that these had not been carried beyond any just profit. But the grand cause of distress ought not to be out of sight. Fourteen months ago he had stated in that house, that the bad harvest of 1799, followed as it had been by a bad seed-time, would probably produce the calamitous effect so severely felt at present; and he then had observed that he saw no remedy but in a decreased consumption,

consumption, an increased importation, and in wise and timely exertions to obtain an augmented produce. Parliamentary interference on other principles and with other views would only aggravate the evil, and destroy that admirable patience with which the people hitherto had borne their affliction. It could only tend to impress upon their minds that they were suffering from the wicked combinations of men, and not from the dispensations of Providence.

The duke of Athol, in support of the same opinion, related some striking instance of the relief given by country banks in the north, in former seasons of scarcity. His grace also referred to a letter from the general committee of two hundred societies for the charitable importation of grain; stating, that they attributed their success in a great measure to the assistance they had received from the country banks. He likewise represented, that, in cases in which he had been personally concerned with the other landholders of Perthshire, for the supply of the scarcity, their endeavours would have been frustrated had it not been for the seasonable aid of these bankers.

Lord Darnley asserted, that the high price of provisions was to be attributed to the interference of parliament more than to any other cause.

The motion was negatived without a division.

This question was no sooner decided, than the earl of Warwick rose to move an inquiry into the scarcity of provisions. The price had lately risen, he said, to an enormous and alarming height; not only of wheat, barley, oats, flour, and all sorts of pulse and grain, but of butcher's meat, butter, and every article of food, so that it was im-

possible for a labouring man with all his exertions to earn enough to buy a sufficiency of bread to support his family, or even to render him capable of going on with his work from day to day. This evil had been rapidly increasing for many months together; and if the measures proposed by the committees of the two houses and adopted by the legislature had proved inefficient, it was high time that their lordships should apply some remedy which might strike at the root of the evil. It was with this view he had called for their attendance, as he meant to move a proposition which would, he thought, operate materially, though perhaps not entirely, towards the relief not only of the distressed poor, but lighten the pressure so severely felt by all ranks and descriptions from the same cause. Was the scarcity real or artificial? This was a question too important to remain undetermined; and he could not but suppose the committees had been under a material mistake in asserting that it was *real*. It had led to the most serious consequences. Granting the calculation of the board of agriculture to be accurate (for which he could not vouch), the quantity of wheat consumed by the inhabitants of Great Britain amounted to eight million quarters annually: the fair deduction was, that sixty-four millions of bushels, or sixty-four millions of pounds sterling were expended in the article of wheat alone, supposing each bushel to sell for twenty shillings. Estimating the price at ten shillings per bushel, the sum expended would be thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, making the half of what had been unfairly raised on the public, if the scarcity be artificial and *not real*. Whether eight millions was the amount of

the quantity consumed or not was very immaterial, because the argument remained unimpeached, as applicable to any other quantity.

Either the price of provisions must be reduced, or that of labour be raised. He was ready to prove at the bar of the house, that no industrious man could support himself and family by the utmost degree of exertion; and also that the deplorable condition of the various classes of society demanded effectual relief. His lordship gave it as his opinion, that the scarcity was in a great measure artificial; for, though the crops were partially defective, yet, from the general produce of the last harvest, and in consequence of the immense quantities imported, there was more corn in Great Britain at the present moment than had been in it for the last seven years. The seaports and rivers of the kingdom were full of ships laden with cargoes of wheat, flour, barley, and oats; and the Thames, in particular, had all the granaries of its banks full of corn of one description or other. Much of it had been damaged and spoilt in consequence of its having been kept for months without being brought to market, in order to raise and keep up the price. The corn ships in the river were now so numerous and crowded, that there was not space enough to accommodate them, and many were obliged to sail out to make room for others coming in. A deficiency could not be ascertained, when neither the quantity produced nor the number of consumers had been calculated. It was to be recollected that quantity did not regulate price, nor ever would, as long as the necessities of life were withheld by interested monopolisers.

The witnesses examined by the committee were chiefly interested

persons; and he should not choose to risk any question respecting his own property on the verdict of such a jury. He was ready to produce witnesses at the bar of the house, fully as numerous, and he apprehended more respectable (because independent men), to prove a contrary opinion.

The country banks (which had been the subject of a preceding debate) were, to his personal knowledge, instrumental in enabling the farmers to withhold their corn, who by their means obtained credit *ad libitum*, and the bankers acquired a certain means of circulating their notes. He had often thought the joint character of an attorney and a banker conferred too much power on any individual in a small town; it was an uncontrolled power, and ought to be checked. The produce on land fit for wheat should be thirty-six bushels per acre; the clear profit to the tenant would be thirty pounds per acre, or sufficient to enable him by one crop to purchase the fee simple of the land he rented. It was surely unbecoming the dignity of a British parliament to depend, on a subject of this immense magnitude, on the theory of any speculative writer. Adam Smith could not fairly be quoted as an advocate in a case which he had never witnessed, though he had expressed an opinion "that no society could long exist where the labourer with a wife and four children could not by his labour maintain his family." At present the price of the necessities of life was so great as to prevent a labourer from obtaining a sufficiency of bread alone for his family by the utmost exertions of his industry; and not one sixpence would be left for rent, clothing, fuel, and all the articles indispensably necessary to render life supportable.

portable. His lordship said he was aware that a single word on so delicate a subject dropped in the house might produce infinite mischief without doors; but nevertheless he must remind them, that, from all they had experienced since the subject had been first agitated in parliament, it was much to be wished some means could be found out to compel the growers of corn, and the corn dealers, to bring their corn to market; in which case the price must necessarily have decreased. On a former occasion he had made use of a term which met with disapprobation—he meant the word *maximum*. It was, however, a measure he had duly considered, and was convinced of the policy of adopting it. Generally understood, it might be dangerous; and there was no general rule without an exception. Corn being an article of the first necessity was of this description; respecting the application of a maximum; which might, without risk of mischief, be resorted to as a remedy in the present instance of general distress, and more particularly as there was no design to diminish the fair gain of the farmer in reward of his industry, his skill, and his attention as an agriculturist. On the contrary, if the maximum of wheat were fixed at ten shillings per bushel, the grower of corn would reap a profit of cent. per cent. It was not, however, his intention to bring forward a motion founded on the idea, but one of a preliminary nature, which would lead to the ascertainment of the quantity of corn in the kingdom, which it was necessary to take, previous to any strong measure on the subject. His lordship concluded with moving, “that directions be given to every mayor, bailiff, justice of peace, and other

magistrates, to cause a return to be made, on oath, of all the wheat, barley, oats, and pulse, in possession of any farmer, factor, and corn merchant, either in granaries or on board ships, barges, or boats, within their respective districts; and also a return made, on oath, of all that had been sold since the 10th of April, with the price charged for the same.”

The earl of Morton said it was impracticable. Being himself a justice of peace, he, for one, begged not to be included, at least; as he knew not by what power or authority he could compel the parties to make a return, or even to take an oath upon the subject. Nothing short of an act of parliament (in his opinion) could enable magistrates to enforce it.

The duke of Montrose observed, that the throwing out loose hints on the high price of provisions only tended to alarm the poor now suffering under the severest distress, and to irritate their minds against those who could not redress it. The fact was, that the scarcity arose from the visitation of Providence; and all descriptions of people being impressed with it, were content to bow with patient submission to an evil inflicted by the Almighty: but if they were taught by these desultory debates in parliament that it arose from monopolisers, they would, unhappily for themselves, combine to destroy the peace and property of those who dealt in corn and provisions, and aggravate their own sufferings. Much had been said of the cargoes in the Thames, &c.; but, if due inquiry was made, it would soon be found that the sailing of ships out was nothing more than the natural operation of the commerce of the kingdom.

At

At present, if one county had a redundancy of corn, and the next county had not enough for its consumption, the productive county did not supply the wants of the neighbouring one, but shipped its surplus off for the port of London, as the market where the owners were most likely to get the best price. This was now the case all over the kingdom, from Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, &c., so that it was not to be supposed that all the ships in the Thames were intended for the supply of the metropolis only; but of every part of the kingdom where corn was wanting, and accounted for the river being perpetually filled with cargoes loaded with grain of various kinds.

The duke gave Lord Warwick full credit for the purity of his intention. He was persuaded that a better man did not exist, and that his lordship thought to do good in the present instance; but, as he was of another opinion, he could not but oppose the motion.

Lord Clifton (earl Darnley) said, that if wheat was at ten shillings the bushel, as his lordship had affirmed, his labourers could not afford to support themselves, unless their wages were raised from eight to ten shillings a week.

Lord Hobart reprobated this sort of propositions, especially when a committee was diligently employed in inquiring into the high prices of provisions, and finding out the most effectual remedies. He had heard also of the corn in the river, and its being so long kept as to be obliged to be thrown overboard. A person had told him a story of a large ship then in the river, freighted with wheat, which the owner would not sell, to enhance the price; and this person desired his lordship not to give

credit to the matter till he had himself examined it, and conversed with a respectable merchant whom this person recommended. His lordship declared that he did send for this merchant, who assured him there was not the least foundation for the story, and no such unfair practices, to his knowledge or belief, had ever taken place on the river.

The duke of Bedford, without meaning, he said, to enter into various calculations, was convinced that, however productive from situation, superiority of soil, or cultivation, some portions of the kingdom might be, the average produce of the whole per acre was nearer to twenty-one or twenty-two bushels than to thirty-six. The obvious impracticability of the motion ensured its being negatived; but the question turned on two points: Was there a real scarcity, and not enough grown to feed the population of the kingdom? And what were the best means of alleviating the distresses of the people? Of the former there could be no doubt. As to the second, his grace would make no remark till the committee had finished their labours, and laid their report before the house.

The motion was negatived; and on the 14th of May the duke of Athol brought up the report of the committee, which contained only a recommendation to cultivate waste lands.

A circumstance occurred in the course of the session more connected with these debates in the order of time than with respect to the subject. As, however, it certainly has effected some change in the theoretical, though not much in the practical part of the constitution, and went to despoil perhaps the most

most moral and certainly the most learned body of men of the representative franchise, it requires that the fact should not be entirely overlooked. We account it the only bad and arbitrary act passed in Mr. Addington's administration, and it constitutes perhaps the only blot upon his public character.

A vacancy having occurred in the representation of the borough of Old Sarum, Mr. John Horne Tooke, a gentleman of most splendid talents, of various and profound knowledge, and well known in the political world, was appointed its representative by the proprietor of the borough, lord Camelford, who is first cousin to Mr. Pitt. Mr. Tooke had no sooner taken the oaths at the table, than lord Temple gave notice that he should move for his expulsion. The matter was however deferred, by various causes, till the 6th of May; and during that time a committee had been appointed to inspect precedents, and report on the case. On that day, therefore, earl Temple moved that the house should take into consideration the evidence respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the house of commons. It was a subject, he said, which required more than ordinary perseverance and labour, and the committee had bestowed much upon it. His lordship entered with considerable ability into a minute and historical deduction of facts relative to the rights of the clergy, and their claims to a seat in parliament. He dwelt upon that part of the English history when parliaments were called solely at the will of the monarch; and when, though the members were chosen by the people, it belonged to the king to appoint only such as would answer his special purposes. At

no very remote period the clergy composed a formidable power in this country: their influence was connected with the crown: they claimed a kind of monopoly of learning, and had an interest (which they had authority to preserve) in keeping the rest of the people in ignorance. They also had the exclusive right of taxing themselves. There was a decided line of distinction drawn between the votes of supply granted in parliament, and the subsidies voted by the clergy in convocation. This privilege was first confined to the superior, but afterwards it extended to the inferior orders of the priesthood, who were summoned to parliament. When the grants made by the lords and commons received the royal assent, they passed into a law; whereas the grants of the clergy were distinctly obliged to receive the assent both of commons and lords before they could receive that of the king. The custom was for the bishop to give orders to the clergy to send their representatives; but, though thus called, the privileges of the proctors of the clergy were very different from those of the lay members of the commons. The former sent proxies in their places when they themselves could not attend; thus laying down the fact, that they represented a distinct body, and not the commons of the land. In confirmation of this, they were styled representatives of the spiritual commons. At last the clergy, perceiving that the only object of the king was to obtain their subsidies, found this privilege a burden; and in the reign of Henry II. they made every endeavour to get rid of it.

When the power of summoning the convocation was vested in Henry the VIIIth, their parliamentary

tary interest received a complete blow; and from the hour that they renounced the pope's jurisdiction, and recognised the king's supremacy, might be dated their extinction as a legislative body of the realm. From that period their rights remained dormant, though continuing to exist. In the reign of Charles the First an act passed prohibiting them to exercise any temporal power whatever; and in the year 1668 their right to sit in parliament was given up, and in lieu of it they were allowed to vote for the members.

In no one instance had they ever claimed a right of sitting as representatives of the commons. They were in that house only as proctors of their own community. In the time of Elizabeth they presented a petition on this subject, describing themselves as the fittest persons to maintain the queen's prerogative. It was rejected. A similar petition was renewed by the clergy in the reign of James I., and again thrown out. Thus it was evident that they had twice solicited as a favour what he supposed he should hear this night had existed as a right. It was a privilege which had never been exercised or claimed as such; and the annals of the English history proved it. "But the clergy had now a right, because the convocation was no more." This was not a fact: the convocation still met, though their powers were dormant; and in forming a decision on the subject, the house was to regard the duty it owed to posterity, as well as to their constituents. The clergy now knew what belonged to them, and that the people were more indebted to them for the purity of their morals and their good examples than to all the intrigues of a former turbulent

priesthood. The country at large was as completely represented as circumstances would admit; but, if the eligibility of the clergy was allowed, the house would have half its number filled with clergymen. It would give the right of a double taxation—of themselves in convocation, and also of taxing members in parliament. This, if conceded to them, might be dangerous to the constitution in church and state; for, if once they had a right to vote in the house of commons, they would be tempted to desert their pulpits in order to wander in the crooked paths of politics, and to degrade their clerical characters into that of agents of prejudice and faction. But it had been said that this argument equally militated against their filling up any temporal office, such as justice of peace. No: the cases were widely different. To whom could the petty disputes in a parish be better referred than to those who had every inducement to maintain its peace? Or, by whom could justice be more impartially administered than by men who, from habits and inclination, were peculiarly qualified for its administration? It had been affirmed, that the rev. gentleman in question was no longer, however, in holy orders. Here the earl defied any law, civil or ecclesiastic, any authority, ancient or modern, to prove that the clergy possessed the right of divesting themselves voluntarily of their office. Indeed it had been declared by the 66th canon to be impossible; and this, with the other canons, still bound the priesthood. An abdication, if it was possible, involved the sentence of excommunication; and an excommunicated layman was not capable of possessing a seat in parliament. It was a matter of doubt whether

whether the spiritual court could divest a man of orders by any sentence of its own; much less could a man effect it by his own voluntary act. The divestiture was contrary to law, as well as to the solemn engagements entered into at the time of ordination; and in consequence of which he had enjoyed certain privileges, and was open to them yet; for, if any patron presented him now with a benefice, though he flung off his gown, he would be under no necessity of new ordination in order to accept it. He would then say, that no person was entitled to the peculiar privileges of two distinct situations: the present then must be considered, and should be treated as one connected with religion. Let the rev. gentleman recollect the oath which he swore at his ordination, to give up his life to God, and the service of the ministry; let him call to mind the words of the bishop when he imposed hands upon him; and let him pause before he again ventured to say that he hoped by a quarantine of many years to have got rid of the infection of the priesthood. His lordship proceeded to contend that the rev. gentleman could not take his seat in that house as a clergyman, and that as a layman he could not be; and concluded with moving, that a new writ be issued out for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of the rev. John Horne Tooke, who, being at the time of his election in holy orders, was incapacitated for his situation.

The chancellor of the exchequer wished that earl Temple had solicited the attention of the house on the abstract question of the eligibility of the clergy; and then, if the house had decided negatively, the course to be pursued was plain.

The subject was important, and had been discussed with labour and ability. With respect to the hon. gentleman having been in priest's orders at the time of his election, and therefore incapable of a seat in parliament, he felt some difficulty in allowing, not from the principle of the proposition (which was the eligibility of the clergy), but the particular form of it. In ancient times the legislative body of this country sat together, and were composed of magnates, proceres, clerici, and optimates: the clergy formed an integral part of the parliament; but afterwards the magnates separated from the optimates, and then the clergy from both, constituting a house of convocation. There was no occasion to state that the clergy never sat in parliament as individual members of the realm, but as representatives of their order, because it was minutely detailed in the report of the committee then before the house.

An important change took place with regard to them in the year 1664; for they ceased then to tax themselves, and the house taxed them as well as the laity. It should be recollected that even in former periods they were only exempted from taxes in spiritual matters, not in secular concerns; and during this privilege their rules and orders were not valid till they had received the sanction of parliament. The point came to this: whether, when the ground of exclusion of the clergy had been taken away, the exclusion itself ceased with it? It was a favourite modern doctrine, that, when the reason for enacting a law was at an end, the law was annulled. But to this maxim he did not subscribe; and he was clearly of opinion, that, if the clergy were eligible to seats in that house, it might
sully

sully their purity, and impair the independence of the parliament. This he did not utter with any implied irreverence for the clergy, but with views purely political: a great part of their benefices arose from the immediate gift of the crown, and a great part from the nobility, and therefore were fit objects of the jealousy of that house. One third of their livings were disposable at the will of the crown, and this itself was an objection of great weight; and it had ever been the policy of the commons to oppose a principle of the kind, as it tended to introduce the influence of the crown by the diminution of its independence. It had not appeared from any votes, or any debates, since the year 1664, that a person in holy orders had ever been declared capable of sitting in that house: the books contained no such precedent: no one ever appeared in that dress, or with those appendages: there was no instance in which the electors had given their franchises to a clergyman proved to be such; they had been returned, and sat in other characters. But the difficulty was here:—the house had divested itself of all discussion in trying the merits of a contested election of any member of parliament; the *argumentum ab inconvenienti* had been pushed too far, and it might be extended so as to do away the good sense by which we were governed; but there were points on which the inconvenience was an answer to a proposition, although it was liable to no other objection. Suppose the house were to agree to the present motion, what would be the effect? Was there any thing binding on those who had elected the honourable gentleman not to return him again? Could they be

precluded by any vote from returning him? And then a petition must again be presented, which must be referred to a committee. This committee, it was to be hoped, would not differ from the resolution of the house. Yet, without any contumacy, it might differ from the form of the present question, and this would create much embarrassment in the proceedings of parliament. To obviate this, a bill might be brought forward on the ineligibility of the clergy, and he verily believed there was no measure on which there would be more agreement in opinion. Thinking this case of magnitude, if the present proposition was not negatived, as he did not doubt it would be, he should beg leave to introduce such a bill. He now moved the order of the day.

Mr. Tooke rose. The greatest struggles of his life, he said, had been directed to objects which were as open to other men as air and water. The first was when at the university he applied for the degree of master of arts, a thing never refused or disputed in any case but his own, and then disputed by lord Montford. The second was at the law, to which profession he directed his attention, and entered into the Inner Temple in 1756, to which he now belonged. He kept his commons regularly; but when he expected to be called to the bar with others, he was passed over. The benchers of the Inner Temple did not tell him that precedents were against him, or that their rejection was sanctioned by law. No; their plea was, that he had been in holy orders, and he was the only individual rejected upon this ground. His treatment in the present instance was still more injurious: he had been treated by

by the noble lord that evening as if he had been standing his trial for a felony. On a former night he had been called to stand up and show himself: he never had been guilty at any part of his life of any thing which could make him fear to show himself either to that gentleman or to the world. Another time he was ordered to attend that day in his place. Why was this motion? What was the crime for which he was to answer? Had he offended against the rules and orders of the house? No such charge had ever been adduced, and the usage was unexampled. He perfectly agreed that the place of a member was a burden attended with great trouble and expense. He was not anxious to retain it. He needed it not to screen him from debts. He owed none, nor would he ever owe any. He was too independent in his mind and principles to subject himself to the humiliations arising from such a state. It had been fairly stated by the honourable gentleman, that allowing the clergy to sit in the house would tend to increase the influence of the crown: but would the denial of this right prevent this influence? Was not the case of sir Richard Wrottesley fresh in the recollection of every one present? and was it not known that, when he was a member of the house, he actually held livings of very considerable value in the church? There had often been disputed cases, and there had also been resolutions passed, declaring the ineligibility of certain persons or classes of persons to sit in parliament, who had afterwards been admitted to sit, without any formal reversal of those resolutions. Such had been the case with the attorney-general for the time being. On other occasions, when the im-

propriety of admitting persons holding certain places was more obvious, acts of parliament had been passed to declare their ineligibility, as of commissioners of excise and customs, commissioners of the victualling-office, pensioners, contractors, &c. Now if persons having been or being in holy orders were equally improper, why had not a bill against them ever been passed? He certainly would not oppose such a law, though, if it were introduced only to exclude him, he should contend that, as an *ex post facto* law, it was unjust in the highest degree. So far as it otherwise affected himself, he should feel quite indifferent; for a seat in that house he did not consider as any great object of ambition; but it was somewhat cruel in the noble lord, just when he was endeavouring to deprive him of it, to point out in his *pious* and *learned* discourse all the great advantages he was to lose by this exclusion. A bill declaring the ineligibility of the clergy to hold benefices and seats of parliament might be a very proper thing, if only carried so far, and it should have his approbation; but, till it had passed, he would assert that he had as good a right to his seat as any member there.

Suppose a gentleman conferred upon a second son a living in the church of eight hundred a-year, no matter whether more or less. Suppose, by the death of his eldest brother, this second son succeeded to a fortune of eight or eighty thousand a-year: if this gentleman was afterwards returned a member of parliament, would he come forward and move his ineligibility on the ground of his having been in orders? Would the noble lord (who held the late unreasonable doctrine we had heard) have the boldness

to move the house to declare that such a freeholder as this, possessing an annual income of eighty thousand pounds, was an unfit person to represent the commons of the realm? As to his own case, nothing had been proved, but *that forty years ago he had an excellent character*. It was no part of his wish to overturn any established superstitions; and, without entertaining any such design, he might have strong and cogent reasons for resigning his clerical character. Had he professed popery, the arguments urged against him would have had much greater weight, for, according to that religion, ordination was a sacrament. According to the church of England it was only a simple rite. In the Roman church priests could not marry. In ours, we recognized no such superstitious prejudice. The church of England, then, in practice acknowledged the propriety of reform upon established principles, and he himself might see something in the doctrines of our church which in his opinion required it, and which might induce him without criminality to lay aside his office.

In consequence of a decision of the house, on a petition which he had presented to it, he had been put to an expense which was very burdensome to him; and that petition was rejected, not because he was an ineligible person, but because it was declared frivolous and vexatious; so that he had been encouraged to stand a candidate for a seat, election after election, which he certainly should not have done, had not the house by its decision left him in the opinion of his eligibility. He should have been much better off had he been a papist, a jew, a heathen, a Mahometan, anabaptist, or presbyterian; there

would then have been no objection to his eligibility. Had popery been the religion of the country, and he had been a clergyman in that church, he might have been absolved from his vows by the pope; but in this he had no resource. The house had that night heard, that, according to the canon, one who voluntarily laid aside his clerical character was subject to excommunication, but that this did not deprive him of it; in order to be so divested, he must be guilty of a crime. By committing adultery, a person in holy orders might become eligible to a seat in parliament; but excommunication in consequence of a voluntary resignation of office only delivered him over to the devil, and left him a clergyman still!

In opposition to this canon, on which so much stress had been laid, he begged leave to read another, in as much force at the present day, (Mr. Tooke read it,) by which all clergymen who should attempt to exorcise or cast out devils, or raise evil spirits, were subject to the punishment of deposition. Now if he had ever given such offence—for instance, if he had attempted to cast a devil out of any member of that house—he would have been eligible to a seat in it; which now he was not, because he had voluntarily and innocently laid aside his office as a clergyman. It was the duty of members of parliament to watch over the public safety, and to prevent and remove the dangers which threatened it. But with this, it is said, the clergy had no right to interfere. What! should a clergyman on board a ship not put his hand to the pump, to save the vessel from sinking? or handle a bucket to extinguish a fire? It would not be difficult to prove that
a cler-

A clergyman might be as useful as another man in civil or military affairs. The case of the famous Dr. Walker was well known, who bravely defended Londonderry during its siege by James II. King William was anxious to reward him with a bishopric; the bishops interfered, and gave it as their opinion that, notwithstanding he had performed great services, his hands had been imbrued in blood, and he could not therefore be made a bishop. King William then remunerated him another way, and gave him a regiment; and the doctor, then created colonel Walker, was afterwards killed, fighting gallantly by his side. Mr. Tooke mentioned a number of cases proved to be inconsistent with the present maxims concerning ineligibility.— Robinson, bishop of Dublin, was lord privy seal; lord Cholmondeley held two livings in the church; the bishop of Lincoln was at one time secretary to Mr. Pitt; doctor O'Beirne, bishop of Meath, to the duke of Portland; the bishop of Derry took his seat in the house of lords, as earl of Bristol; Mr. Borden was a member of that house, and yet held the living of Madras, and finished by being a commissioner of the victualling office. Mr. Pitt, the late minister, himself recommended to his majesty to dignify a person in holy orders, who held two livings, with the title of lord Holmes. Mr. Tooke ended with cautioning the house to take care at least that they acted legally, and to make the law before they enforced it.

Mr. Simcon contended that the clergy never did, at any period of our history, mingle with the parliament of the country.

Mr. Fox said, that the best way to get rid of the attack which lord Temple had made on a member of 1801.

that house, was to proceed to the order of the day, as the chancellor of the exchequer had proposed: he wished to observe, that he differed from the amendment alluded to, and could easily prove from the honourable gentleman's own ground, that he acted inconsistently. If Mr. Tooke was not eligible to sit in that house, why was he not eligible to sit in the convocation? First, because no such thing as a convocation now existed, and if it had, he could not have sat there; yet this was the only pretended ground from the report of the committee, that a clergyman could not sit in parliament. It had been said, that the clergy petitioned Elizabeth for permission, which proved it was not a matter of *right*: but it should be observed, that they did not petition for their seats in *right of election*, for this had never been disputed; but that they might become members of the house, as a thing of course, without any election at all. What law was there now to prevent it? And it was worthy notice, that in all the precedents by which persons had been excluded on the pretence of the convocation, not a word had been said of holy orders, except in the case of Craddock. A positive act of parliament had indeed been passed, prohibiting bishops as well as clergymen from a seat in the house, and it was upon this act that Craddock was declared ineligible: but this act was afterwards repealed: the present attempt therefore to exclude a member was the most unjust he had ever heard of, since the only point on which it could be maintained was the single instance of a man excluded by a statute now repealed! Without going into the canon law upon the subject he would speak on the unreasonableness of the case: that law

law must be unjust which did not allow a man to exercise the functions of a clergyman, and at the same time declared he was not entitled to the rights of a layman. As to the propriety of excluding clergymen from the house of commons, whilst they were permitted to sit in the house of lords, he wished to know what difference there was between them, excepting that to the latter belonged the right of hearing and deciding on appeals, and with the former originated all bills for raising money. This was the only difference between these branches of the legislature; and if the tendency was mischievous in one instance, he should be glad to know why it was not in the other. That the attendance of clergymen was requisite in their respective parishes, was an argument as applicable to those in the upper house, as to any who might sit in the commons. There were some peers of parliament who were clergymen, and some clergymen who had been created peers, and he never heard any censure cast upon the ministers for such creations. With regard to a prohibitory bill, its operation would be very narrow, unless it was intended to take effect as an *ex post facto* law, in which case it would be a glaring injustice: upon the whole, he did not see a particle of reason or law to support the present proceeding: although he should vote against the motion of the noble lord, he would at the same time move the order of the day, and hoped this question would never be revived again.

Sir William Scott said it was necessary to look at the canon law, before it could be decided. There was no position clearer than that, by this, any man who had devoted himself to the ministry was

incapable of voluntary divestiture. The next point was, whether the clergy had a right to a seat in parliament; but as no clergyman could acquire any right which he did not possess by the ancient canons, and these did not allow it, the matter was settled. A clerk could not sit as a representative of the commons, because he was a member of another branch; but there was nothing to prevent him from being a member in the upper house, if the king chose to ennoble him.

Mr. Grey here observed that, if priests' orders disqualified the ordained for this situation, the objection equally applied to both houses; and it could not be invalidated by the king's prerogative. From the house of lords the bishops ought to be excluded, if it defiled the purity of the priesthood to interfere in temporal legislation. And indeed it would be an unlikely mode of preserving the purity of that character, to force a man to continue the profession after his opinions had changed, and compel him to discharge the duties of the priesthood with hypocrisy, giving that insincere person an opportunity of propagating doctrines he believed false, because he could not under any circumstances resign his office.

He voted for the order of the day.

Mr. Erskine, in a speech of some length, pleaded the eligibility of clergymen; the act of 1641 excluded ecclesiastics from a seat, and the preamble to it stated the inconveniency arising from their admission, which furnished indisputable proof that *they had* sat in the house. It never had been contended that the king could not make a clergyman a peer; and this certainly was giving the monarch more power than the house of commons, if they could not also admit a clergyman into their assembly.

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The attorney-general said too much stress had been laid on the act of 1641, which was made against the bishops, though all clergy were included by name: instead of assertions, he wished any one to lay their finger on that page of the constitution which warranted, or to point out one solitary instance in the great law authorities of the kingdom, in the journals of parliament, or in the history of the country, of any ecclesiastic sitting in that house.

The solicitor-general expressed himself to be unsurprised at the paucity of the precedents adduced to prove the ineligibility of the character in question; the case having so seldom been brought to trial, because there appeared to be the fullest conviction upon it. It was obvious that a woman was ineligible; yet, if the question should be disputed, it would not be easy to produce a recorded document of parliament to forbid it: their sex would not be a good ground against it; for, by law, women were eligible to act in many situations which in practice they never assumed. He saw no reason why a woman could not as well discharge the office of a magistrate, or serve as a parish officer. Having no doubt of the ineligibility of a priest sitting in the house, it might be asked why he should vote for the motion of his honourable friend, and in opposition to that of the noble lord which asserted his principle? He answered, because there was a precedent in the case of Mr. Rushworth; and, if that case was contrasted with the proposed decision, future committees, on similar subjects, would be liable to embarrassment: he would therefore postpone the discussion, in order that the bill might be introduced; and, by sa-

tisfactorily fixing the point in dispute, mark out a clear and distinct line on all such occasions; and also evince, that this proceeding was not dictated by any party spleen (as had been insinuated), but the result of a strong conviction of the propriety of confining the clergy to their proper line of duty.

Lord Temple said he stood in the singular predicament of being opposed by those who supported the principle of his motion, and those who did not. If the measure of the right honourable gentleman was adopted, it would admit the eligibility of the rev. Mr. J. Horne Tooke.

The chancellor of the exchequer found he had been guilty of an irregularity in moving the order of the day; that order being the motion of the noble lord on which they had been debating: he begged leave therefore to substitute in its stead the motion for a previous question. For the motion 94—Against it 53. Majority 41.

In consequence of the notice of the chancellor of the exchequer, a bill was introduced, declaring the clergy ineligible to the house of commons; but no debate of any importance took place till the second reading in the house of lords, on 15th June, when lord Thurlow rose; and, in a speech of considerable length, cited various legal authorities decidedly against the bill: he acknowledged the importance of the subject, and the necessity of taking some steps upon it, but that this should not be done by a bill. He expressed astonishment that the house of commons, who indisputably were, and ought to be, sole judges on the question, should on this occasion voluntarily forego the exercise of functions peculiarly their own, and

call upon another branch of the legislature to decide upon *their* rights and privileges, when it was a principle established, that either house respectively should have the entire decision of the competency of its members. It was strange for the commons to have associated with any person who had presumed to intrude himself amongst them, though he was then said not to be duly qualified, and on such a circumstance to forbear having recourse to their own tribunal (the committee of election). Here his lordship observed, that, if it were the law that the character of a clergyman was indelible, it was a little hard, because a person had been in orders thirty years ago, and from conscientious motives had given up his gown and resigned his benefices, that he should be told he could belong to no profession. Several persons who had been ordained in the protestant church in their early days, and were in possession of lucrative benefices, had quitted their profession, though men of piety and morals; nor were they censured for it. In what part of the history, or on what principle of the constitution, was it to be found that holy orders prevented an individual from exercising the elective franchise? He adverted to the disabilities which the clerical character involved, as meriting the indulgent consideration of the legislature. The report on the table afforded very imperfect information. If the bill went to disfranchise the lower orders of the clergy, it might strike at the learned bench opposite; though he knew the tenure by which they held their seats was derived from the constitutional or legal contemplation of their sees as baronies, to which an objection was never yet made, nor to their

formerly sitting in the upper house of convocation, in which assemblies the subordinate orders of the clergy sat in virtue of an equally legal right with that of the bishops. Upon the preamble of the bill, he confessed himself at a loss to comprehend what it meant, as well as its object, which was partly declaratory, and partly enacting; it declared one way, and enacted another: he could not discern one spark of common sense in the measure, and their lordships ought to pause before they disfranchised a particular body of men. He would even (had he an opportunity) address the other house with a reference to that spirit of liberty which had sometimes induced it to extend the elective franchise. It was alleged to be expedient; but he knew not what constituted the expediency: the enacting clauses were oppressive to the inferior orders of the clergy, whose interests, as identified with religion, should be particularly considered, at a period in which we were engaged in a war for religion, and abundance of other good things. He added a variety of judicious observations; and concluded with expressing the great value of the franchise of choosing, and of being chosen, a representative in parliament, and voting against this bill, as a bill of disfranchisement.

The lord chancellor, after expressing great deference for the opinions of his learned friend, said, that he differed from him essentially in the present case: it was a known proposition of the common law of the land, that a clergyman was ineligible. The canons, which had by statute been recognised as a part of this law, agreed universally on the point in question: and, in confirmation of this assertion, his lordship quoted various

rious canonists, theological writers, and historians, who all laid it down as an indisputable point, that a person having taken holy orders, was, *because he had taken them*, incapable of being elected into the house of commons. Respecting the deprivation of franchise, such an idea was absurd, for it was impossible to take away from an individual that which he never possessed; and he strenuously insisted, that it would neither serve the interests of religion nor of the state to change the present system. With regard to the bill being both declaratory and enacting, the same language was to be found in various acts of parliament; it was a difficult thing to draw up an act in language quite unexceptionable: but he had one rule which he had adopted from his noble friend, and so far as it applied it was an unerring rule, and this was, to use those phrases which the legislature had uniformly used before, and this was the mode used in the bill before the house. Though on several occasions he might have liked to have expressed the clauses in words of his own, he had always judged it best to copy the old phrases of former acts, because they contained the language to which parliament was accustomed. The declaratory part of the bill was as necessary as any; such a line of proceeding was adopted by the framers of the bill of rights, which, if ever there was a purely declaratory law, it was that bill; and after asserting the indisputably legal rights of the subject, it goes on to *enact* that they are so. He thought the house of commons acted fairly and candidly in bringing in a bill (such as it was), but he had often lamented that they had ever delegated their functions respecting the trial of election pe-

titions even to a committee of their own members. He had no doubt in his own mind that their decisions were sometimes erroneous, and several of them had been complained of, though they had since decided election cases on the very same grounds and principles. The material consideration now was, whether clergymen were, or were not, capable of being elected to the house of commons. Without hesitation he pronounced his negative, adducing authorities from the *Council of Trent*, to establish the absolute indelibility of the clerical character, which could not be abrogated by the will of the individual himself. In the christian church, before the reformation, holy orders as well as matrimony was held a sacrament; and though in the reformed church they were not considered as such, yet, from the sanctity of the respective institutions, as well as the law of the land, the clerical function was indelible, and the marriage state indissoluble. Marriage (though not a sacrament any more than holy orders) was something more than a civil contract; it had a religious nature in it, and was an institution of God himself: the indelibility of a person ordained, and the indissolubility of the marriage contract, stood precisely on the same grounds, notwithstanding the liberality of that house concerning divorces. It was with grief he must observe, that it was a bad symptom of the times, to bring forward a proposition of men being at liberty to renounce the clerical office. The contrary doctrine might press hard on individuals: this should be a consideration with them before they entered that holy state. But the great question was, whether the interest of the public, upon the whole, was likely to be

promoted by a constraint upon men who had devoted themselves to the service of God, obliging them to continue in that state, or by leaving them at full liberty, whenever their erroneous or perhaps unprincipled notions prompted them, to resign it. The same objections, in his opinion, would as forcibly apply to the law of marriage: their respective inclinations, virtuous or vicious, might render it a state of unhappiness, if dissimilar: still it was the law of the land, and as much so with regard to the clerical character. His lordship, towards the conclusion of his speech, professed himself favourable to political equality as far as was consistent with the interests of order and the welfare of society; and he hoped the house would, either in its legislative or judicial capacity, be governed by that general principle, and particularly with relation to the bill then before them; for which he solemnly declared he would not be the advocate, but that it asserted the law of England, and tended not to disfranchise any man.

Earl Moira rose next. He was much surprised, he said, to observe that the noble lord, who had but the other day strongly expressed his dislike to all bills founded upon *doubts*, so soon had left his own rule, and supported a bill avowedly so founded. Indeed, while this ground of legislation prevailed, he himself, and those noblemen who acted with him, were somewhat indebted to the forbearance of ministers for not doubting the titles under which they held their estates. A mere doubt of the existing law of the land was no sufficient reason for a legislative enactment, which certainly must deprive a large and respectable body in the community of their rights.

Admitting the indelibility of the clerical character, it ought to be proved in what manner it incapacitated them from exercising the functions of members of the house of commons before they were excluded. Surely the same argument held against the seats of bishops in the upper house. But he could easily account for the reasons which operated with sovereigns in rejecting the clergy from the commons, &c.: nor was he at a loss to find out the inducement with the clergy to obtain admission there; the former exerting authority over them by taxation, and the latter endeavouring to avoid it by ceasing to be regarded as a distinct body. His lordship declared himself conscientiously attached to the established church; and that he considered it to be one of the firmest props of the constitution. On this ground he opposed the present bill. Why did their lordships wish to see bishops in their house? Were they not desirous of availing themselves of, and reaping the benefit from, the morality, learning, and influence of these learned prelates? But if the argument assigned in the act of 1641 was sufficient to exclude the clergy from the commons, viz., that it was improper for them to interfere in temporal matters, it was equally cogent when applied to bishops: but where then would be the security for the church of the establishment? The act, if adopted, ought to be taken up prospectively; and it would answer every good purpose, if it was so provided, that no person holding a benefice should be admitted to a seat in the commons, and that no person returned to that house should be capable of holding or of accepting any benefice. As the act was now brought forward, it was a disfranchisement of

of the worst kind, by an *ex post facto* law depriving a most worthy body of some of their dearest privileges. As the house of convocation had ceased since the year 1663 to exercise its functions, and clergymen were allowed to vote at elections, it was but reasonable that they should be allowed the option, if elected, to sit as representatives, provided they gave up all the profits of their ecclesiastical situations. It was asked, whether any instance could be produced of a clergyman dressed in his canonicals demanding his seat? But, allowing this, nothing more could be inferred than that the clergy had erroneously, perhaps, conceived themselves ineligible; but such a mistake ought not to be made a handle for disannulling their privileges. The bill was oppressive and unjust.

The bishop of Rochester expressed as much astonishment as concern at what he had heard from a noble and learned lord (Thurlow), who had grounded his argument on the delibility of holy orders; nor did the doctrine of indelibility originate in popish ignorance and superstition; it was a doctrine to be traced to the foundation of our pure religion, sanctioned by the best authorities in the earliest times. But, though there was no doubt upon this point, he did not draw the same inferences from it which the lord chancellor had done. The bishop enlarged on the duties connected with the sacred office; and insisted that there was nothing in them inconsistent with a due attention to the business of the world: by no means could he subscribe to that puritanical maxim, that a clergyman ought never to employ himself with any thing but the immediate duties of his calling. He sincerely hoped

that the age of cloystered piety, and total abstraction from the occupations of civil life, was at an end for ever in this country; and he spoke with admiration of several of the distinguished ornaments of the church, who, to the profoundest knowledge of subjects immediately connected with their profession, united a taste for general literature, and had made the highest advances in liberal philosophy. Most of our eminent divines had connected other branches of science with theology, and signalised their names as mathematicians, chronologists, historians, &c.; such were Usher, Pearson, Barrow, Wallis, &c. These great men were eminently acquainted with the practical business of the world; nor did he think the business of the house of commons unconnected with the study of divinity; for it was intermixed with the principles of political justice and morality; with the laws of nature and of nations: so far from there being any thing unbecoming the sacred character, in the office of a member of parliament, those studies which he had mentioned, while they improved their minds, increased their virtue, and enlarged their sphere of utility to mankind. The incompatibility therefore of these characters was not the ground on which his opposition was founded: but he perceived many serious inconveniences which would result from the recognition of their rights to a seat in the house; such as the means by which they would be obliged to seek admittance, by opening houses of entertainment, displaying flags, and truckling to every sectarian voter. Nor did he approve of confining the ineligibility to such clergymen as held benefices: there was no equity in such a distinction,

tion, whilst to the unbeneficed it would hold out objects of ambition. Having expatiated on this topic, the reverend prelate concluded by supporting the bill.

The earl of Westmoreland spoke shortly in the defence of it; pleaded the immemorial usage of parliament; he contended that the exclusion of the clergy had been distinctly and invariably recognised; and pointed out the inexpediency and the danger from the probability of destroying the independence of parliament, and augmenting the undue influence of the crown.

Lord Holland combated these arguments, and all which had been alleged that night. On the doctrine of the indelibility of the clerical character, he professed his unwillingness to enter the lists with the learned prelate; but he owned he was much disappointed and surprised at the conclusion of his speech: to maintain that there was no duty of a minister incompatible with the office of a legislator, and yet to exclude the clergy from a seat in the house, was an inconsistency which he should not have expected from so able an advocate of truth. Passing from this topic, his lordship directed his attention to the argument so much insisted upon, the immemorial usage of parliament. On what principle was it founded? Was it supposed to be since 1663, when the celebrated case of Craddock was decided? If this was meant to be affirmed, he begged leave to dissent, and to declare in the most direct terms, that no such usage had prevailed then; and that, on a fair examination of this decision, the exclusion would appear founded on the act of 1641, which had been framed for the purpose of abridging the privileges, not merely of the inferior clergy, but

of the learned and reverend bench, whose title to a seat in the house was recognised in the fullest terms, and formed an essential part of the constitution. After this act was rescinded, however, the reason of the former exclusion ceased, and the clergy returned to the free enjoyment of all constitutional privileges. Since that period several clergymen had sat in the house of commons, and their right had been unchallenged. In the case of Rushworth, a committee of the house, regularly appointed, had declared the election regular and valid. No distinction (he argued) could be made betwixt the instance alluded to, and that of an individual regularly inducted into holy orders, since there was no distinction in law or practice between the case of a deacon and a priest; under these circumstances his lordship denied the existence of any immemorial usage for the exclusion of clergymen; and believing they had a constitutional claim to a seat, he could not consent to take away a great and valuable franchise. Admitting that it might be a means of increasing the influence of the crown (of which his majesty's ministers professed themselves to be extremely apprehensive), the amendment suggested by lord Moira would obviate every objection of the kind.

The earl of Rosslyn, in a speech replete with constitutional detail, traced the usage of parliament from a very early period of our national history to the present period. He concluded with urging the inexpediency of allowing seats to the clergy, and stating, that their ineligibility had ever formed a uniform part of the common law.

The earl of Carlisle opposed the bill, as unnecessary and unjust. Much ability and much learning had

had been displayed in the debate; but every elucidation of the subject which he had that night heard had left no impression on his mind. He still continued to think that there was no cause for the exclusion of an able and very respectable description of men. But be that as it might, he thought that, on principles of candour, more time ought to be afforded their lordships to deliberate on the measure; he therefore recommended the further consideration of the bill to be postponed till the next session.

For his own part, he was not ashamed to confess, that he had not, as yet, made himself master of the subject; and his intellectual faculties were bewildered in that blaze of learning and eloquence which he had just heard. He looked into the bill itself for that illustration which he thought wanting in the refinements of debate, and his understanding became so much enfeebled, that he really was not capable of discharging his duty as a British senator.

Lord Grantley said that the amendment of Lord Moira appeared necessary to remove all objection.

Lord Carlton declared himself convinced by the arguments he had heard of the expediency of the measure; to which he gave his vote.

Lord Hobart said, that in consequence of an observation which had been publicly made, he would trespass a few moments on the patience of the house. It had been asserted that this business had been taken up by ministers, because a person had been sent into the other house with opinions inimical to theirs: this he denied; but he must observe, that that person being in possession of a seat rendered it incumbent on ministers to decide the question one way or other. Of other men there might remain a doubt whether they had obtained ordination, but of the honourable gentleman in dispute there was none. Every one knew him to be a clergyman. Whoever read the bill would do ministers the justice to say that they had taken all care to avoid any personal insult to the honourable gentleman.

The bill was read a second time without a division, and afterwards passed into a law.

CHAP. V.

New Instances of Oppression urged against the Managers of Cold-Bath-Fields Prison. Further Debate on that Subject. Further Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act—Strictures on that Measure—Debates on it in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords. Bill for preventing Seditious Meetings.

A SUBJECT which had been frequently agitated on former occasions, in the house of commons, was this session renewed by the indefatigable member who first brought it under consideration. On the 9th of February, sir Francis

Burdett rose to call the attention of the house to a transaction lately come to his knowledge, and which he said he should feel himself criminal in omitting to mention. The atrocity of the circumstances demanded the immediate interference of

of the house. An instant and effectual remedy could alone vindicate the character of the country where so flagrant an act of cruelty had been committed. It had happened in Cold-Bath-Fields' prison; that notorious scene of persecution, where the most inhuman practices had been too long suffered to prevail, and where, while the committee appointed to inquire into the state of that prison were supposed to be exercising their duty, the same barbarous treatment was continued and increased.

The incident to which he now requested the attention of the house had happened on Sunday last, when one of the prisoners, Joseph Hudson, was attacked in one of the yards of the jail by one of the governor's abominable emissaries, employed to seek pretences for the infliction of tortures, and was commanded to surrender a public paper he had in his possession. Hudson refused: the jailor's hireling insisted; and, to compel it, gave Hudson a kick in the belly; and, attempting to use a broomstick near him, a scuffle ensued, which soon ended: but at noon the governor's son entered the yard, ordered all the prisoners to be locked up, and laid hold of Hudson, whom he and another dragged about the yard till the man was provoked to resist, which was all that the jailor's son wanted: he took a large bludgeon, and so unmercifully beat the poor man, as to give him contusions which produced a burning fever, in which state he was now confined in a dungeon, loaded with bolts, refused medical aid, and with no other relief than cold water. He conceived this case sufficiently afflicting to interest every member in the house, as it must excite uni-

versal indignation abroad. It was an appeal to the humanity of the house, and it could not be suspected that such a case would be passed by without notice and redress. He knew not the best way to apply for relief. He thought it useless to apply to the magistrates.

He should make no specific motion; but thought the best step might be to move an address to his majesty for the removal of the governor of that prison, and to appoint another till an inquiry into the affair should be made.

He concluded by saying that he should leave the house to act as they should think right, for the maintenance of their character.

On the 12th of February sir William Elford rose to state to the house the result of an inquiry he had made into the subject of Cold-Bath-Fields' prison. [Here was a cry of order; and the speaker said it would be irregular to proceed, unless he chose to make a motion.]

Sir William Elford then said that he would make a motion, as it was important for the public to be undeceived.

The speaker thought this improper; and that it were better to wait, and bring the subject forward in some other shape.

Sir William Elford then commented on what an honourable baronet (sir F. B. Jones) had stated on a former evening, relative to the supposed cruelty to one Hudson confined in the prison of Cold-Bath-Fields. In consequence of what the honourable baronet had stated, he went himself on the next day to the prison, to make a minute inquiry into the particulars. He had examined the governor, the two persons mentioned as his assistants, Hudson himself, and the surgeon who attended him. Hud-
son

son admitted him to be a kind man; therefore he particularly attended to his statement, which was, that Hudson's illness proceeded merely from a cold, attended with some fever, but by no means from the wound in his head, which he (sir W. Elford) examined, and found to be very slight.—The scuffle, which was said to have occurred on Sunday last, had happened above a fortnight ago; and Hudson had, for several days afterwards, continued to eat his allowance regularly; and, when he complained of some slight illness, the keeper proposed to bring him, the surgeon, which he refused, saying that he had no occasion for him. He found also that the blow given to Hudson by the governor was provoked by some cruel treatment which he, with others, had given to two of his fellow prisoners; which when the governor perceived, he ordered him to be locked up. Hudson resisted the order, and thence the scuffle ensued. From these facts he drew a conclusion directly opposite to the honourable baronet's, contending that Hudson alone was to blame, and that the governor exercised only a necessary severity. He did not suspect the honourable baronet of any wilful misrepresentation, but only thought that his humanity had overpowered his judgment, and that he had too easily believed the factious and interested assertions of Hudson. Wishing that the public might be thoroughly satisfied of the truth or falsehood of what had been stated concerning the prison, he moved that the governor of the Cold-Bath-Fields' prison be called before the house.

Mr. W. Dundas was rising to second the motion, when lord

Hawkesbury complained that no notice had been given, and insisted upon a compliance with the usage of parliament.

The speaker addressed the house on this topic, saying, that though it was usual to give notice, it was not necessary; and that, if the motion were seconded, he must proceed to put it from the chair.

Sir F. Burdett seconded the motion. Upon the propriety of it he agreed with the mover; but what had been said did not contradict the case he had laid before the house. Who were his authorities? Could truth be expected from them? He himself had since seen the prisoner whom the honourable baronet had examined, who said, that *the parliament man*, staid only a few minutes, and that he had not told him near as much as he knew. Sir Francis complained of having been libelled for his conduct in this business, and declared that he would persevere in what he considered as his duty. The most dreadful scenes of cruelty and oppression were acted in that prison; and he was determined to use every effort to bring the delinquent to justice.

It was now proposed to withdraw the motion, and sir William Elford consented; but sir Francis Burdett, whose consent was also necessary, insisted on the motion being put.

Mr. Ryder moved the previous question.

Mr. Hobhouse defended sir Francis Burdett.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he had so long ineffectually struggled to bring governor Aris's conduct before the house, that, if the motion were not irregular, he should be happy in its adoption. His own motion concerning that goaler would

would have been, that the serjeant at arms should take him into custody; and that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to investigate his conduct.

Sir W. Geary disapproved the original motion, and resolved to support the previous question.

Mr. Martin said he was surprised, that though the ill conduct of this gaoler was universally admitted, and many facts were proved against him, he had still been suffered to retain his situation. He did not hesitate to pronounce it a scandal to the government of the country, and disrespectful to the public, that such a man had not been dismissed from the office.

Mr. Percival said, that the motion of the honourable colonel was not likely to promote the object of its supporters. He would ask, whether, if governor Aris were at the bar for examination, they would rely on any answer concerning his own misconduct? Could any man be expected to criminate himself? He concluded by resolving to vote for the previous question.

Mr. Hobhouse denied the absolute necessity of giving previous notice of any motion. He thought that his honourable friend, sir F. B. Jones, had been rather unfairly treated.

The honourable member who brought forward the motion averred, that it was done only to answer a speech of his honourable friend's on a former day; and when the honourable baronet's speech was finished, a noble lord (Hawkesbury) rose to say, that the motion was irregular without a previous notice; and that the gentleman who seconded it, influenced by the noble lord's sentiments, revoked the support of the motion, which

now was attempted to be superseded by the previous question.

He said there was more of ingenuity than candour in such contrivance.

Lord Hawkesbury defended himself against the charge of unfairness. He had opposed the motion, because he thought that the house ought not to be taken by surprise on subjects of deep importance, which was done by bringing forward motions without the usual notice. The precedent would be improper.

Mr. W. Dundas pleaded guilty to the charge, that he was induced by the noble lord's arguments to withdraw the support of his honourable friend's motion: he was influenced by the noble lord's superior knowledge of the rules and forms of the house. It was complained that his friend had attempted to make a speech when no question was before the house; but this was not urged when the honourable baronet occupied the house with an account devoid of any mark of authenticity.

Mr. Pierrepont concluded the conversation by execrating the conduct of governor Aris. It had been said to be exceptionable—It was infamous, scandalous, and shocking. The motion had his hearty support.

The house then divided.—For the original motion 21.—Against it 40.—Majority 19.

We cannot but lament that on any occasion the suspension of the act of habeas-corpus should ever have appeared necessary. We lament that the whig parliament, after the glorious revolution, were influenced so far by terror as to make a temporary breach in the constitution, and to establish a precedent, upon which a bad minister in bad times might

might act so as to effect its destruction. We have indeed our doubts whether such a measure can at *any period be necessary*. So correct is the administration of justice in this country, and the magistrates are so fully invested with powers to prevent the spread of treason and sedition, that it would perhaps be always right to respect what are justly termed the bulwarks of the constitution, and to depend rather on the vigilance of the executive government than legislatively to interfere when every salutary effect may be obtained in the usual course of justice.

Whether to the folly or the evil intentions of the late administration we are to ascribe the majority of their pernicious measures, it is, perhaps, scarcely a time to decide; we are inclined to attribute them to the former principle. For the present administration, a much wider scope is open for apology. They found these acts in full operation; and it might seem too violent a measure to act in immediate opposition to the system which had so long been pursued with the concurrence of the house. As the arguments on both sides are, however, before the public, we shall not further anticipate them, but proceed immediately to the debates on this important subject.

On Tuesday, 14th of April, Mr. Pelham moved the order of the day for considering the report of the secret committee for inquiring into the state of Ireland, and the conduct of persons in England, tending to treason and sedition.—The order and report being read,

Mr. Pelham rose to state his reasons for the motion he had made the day before. The house, he said, would then perceive the necessity of reviving those laws which had

been allowed to expire. He trusted that the house would confide in the committee's opinion, that they would not advise severe measures without their absolute necessity. The country had already owed its quiet to these measures; and, if its safety were again endangered, the same ought to be adopted. He then mentioned the report laid before the Irish parliament in 1798, of the practices which led to the rebellion in Ireland, and also to the other report brought before the British parliament in 1799. The standing committee was then held at Hamburg, which communicated with the disaffected in this country, and with the enemy abroad. If the house should see that those treasonable persons were dejected and confounded by such measures as were now proposed; and that, as soon as those laws expired, those persons arose to fresh exertions for the destruction of the country, by collecting the lower classes, and binding them by oaths to resist the government; no time ought to be lost for re-enacting those laws which had frustrated their machinations. The suspension of the habeas-corpus act was always to be lamented; but it became occasionally a step of prudence and necessary precaution, and always laid upon ministers additional responsibility. He now moved that leave be given for a bill to continue the act lately expired for suspending the habeas-corpus.

Mr. M. A. Taylor was sorry that the house should be called on to decide so hastily on so important a matter. Stronger proof than the report of the committee was required before they should assent at a day's notice to an act depriving the country of the palladium of the constitution. He complained of the

the manner of forming the committee. It was said to be by ballot: he wished it similar to those for elections, and not composed merely of members on one side of the house. The country would then confide more in it. No names were now to be found but what were connected with the former ministers. He feared that Mr. Addington would be advised to imitate his predecessor; but he reminded the house that the acts of the late administration were violent and undeserving of confidence; at least, the house should pause till all the evidence admitted by the committee were before it. It was, at best, only the opinion of twenty-one gentlemen: and, supposing matters ever so bad, why arm ministers with such power? Might not suspected persons be apprehended without it? Yes; but then they must be brought soon to trial. But they wish to detain persons beyond the legal period. This has been done for two or three years, and then the prisoners have been admitted to bail, with no charge against them. When responsibility should be moved for, the house would be told that this should be granted when convenient. There were persons now confined for certain publications, &c., Why not lay them before the house? The evidence was detailed in the Irish committee, Why not here? The house would then see on what grounds they acted. Besides, many members were absent, and not aware of so sudden a measure. As for the other bills proposed, he would only say that their real object was to intimidate those who wished their constituents to consider their country's grievances. By these bills, any one magistrate might prevent meetings for that purpose. They

might coerce, but not conciliate; yet conciliatory measures were now absolutely necessary. The house was indebted to the country for its firmness and perseverance under its hardships, and its love still evinced to the king and constitution. The house, then, had no right to consign the people to any minister's mercy. He would consent to no such measure without full proof of its necessity.

Mr. Curwen affirmed, that he would not assent to this measure without the clearest grounds of its necessity. The constitution ought not to be wantonly violated. This was the first act of the new administration, whose conduct would show whether the change was of men or measures. This act was quite in the spirit of the late administration, however, the new ministers might otherwise swerve from their predecessors. If the danger was as great as insinuated, why suffer the house to adjourn? Had the danger so rapidly increased in eight days as to make that measure necessary which was needless before the recess? He said, he never witnessed more patience than what now marked the poorer classes. Until proofs of the country's danger should appear, he would not surrender the best rights of the people. He therefore called upon Mr. Addington to come forward and state why the house ought to agree to the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the honourable gentleman had referred to him so pointedly, that he thought it absolutely necessary for him to rise. The honourable gentleman had asked, whether any great danger was to be feared from the papers before the secret committee? He certainly thought the danger was very great: and
what

What inference was to be drawn from that circumstance? Ought it to be a matter of charge against him, that he did not propose then to the house so weighty a measure, which gave to the executive power an authority which urgent necessity alone could defend? or that he was unprepared (without inquiry) for a measure affirmed to be fatal to the liberty of the country, and which had been often stated, on the other side of the house, as inimical to a free constitution? Was it not more parliamentary and becoming, first to submit such papers to a secret committee, and afterwards to call the house to the consideration of the subject? Great dangers existed not only then, but also daily circumstances convinced the committee of the prudence and necessity of the present measure. Mr. Taylor had noticed an opinion of the house respecting a material branch of the constitution; viz. choosing a committee by ballot. This was certainly the best plan for a free choice. A committee by open nomination was attended with inconveniences, without the same advantages. In open nominations, persons were unwillingly objected to, though some objections might be proposed from public duty. But here any member might enlist what name he pleased, and erase it at his option. That fact was well known. Thus, every member might strike out any name he disliked, and insert any other instead, without detection. This measure was condemned by the opposition, till they were in administration; and those who had sometimes strongly objected to this mode adopted it as expedient at others. He therefore insisted on this, as the best mode of choosing such a committee. He

freely acknowledged his regret and disappointment in producing those papers so near to the conclusion of the session. He had hoped that there would be no need of them at this time. He once believed that so little disaffection remained, that the measures of former parliaments (which, being weighty, should not be brought before the house, until examined by a committee) would have been now unnecessary. But he now felt that necessity, not because disaffection, but the occasion of it, had increased. That spirit of malignity, ruinous to all orderly systems, was strengthened by public calamity, and therefore the disaffected had been endeavouring to turn the popular distresses (occasioned by the high price of provisions) into discontent towards the state. The people were not discontented, but deluded, by being taught that their distresses arose from their rulers, and that relief was alone to be obtained by a violation of the laws. Ministers had no distrust of the people's loyalty. Unless they were loyal, a measure like this, or any other, would be useless, as it must be sustained by the good opinion of the virtuous part of the nation, without which the constitution itself were useless. But he asserted that the constitution, and such measures to preserve it, had that support; and, being resolved to protect the majority of the people and the constitution against a few men ready to subvert it, these measures were necessary. It was said, that the people had borne their difficulties well. He admitted it, and rejoiced at it. It was now asked, if these measures were not an ill return for such conduct, and whether conciliatory were not preferable to coercive means? He admitted

admitted that also. But whose interest would be consulted by following their course who inflamed their passions by prejudicing them against government? Were the rich to be conciliated, by telling them that they had preserved their loyalty, that they should not be aggrieved by any acts of parliament, but only left to the rapine of the most desperate among the discontented? Were the poor to be conciliated, by telling them that they had borne their difficulties and distresses most patiently, but were now left to the plots of those who endeavoured to ruin them? He said, that the duty of ministers was, first, to relieve them from some of their sufferings, and, next, to advise and direct them wisely; as, not to violate the laws, but chiefly to preserve and always support the constitution—the main object of the present measure. It was said by his honourable friend, that the present bill came recommended from other ministers. On that subject having already spoken, he should now be brief. He said, that it was by the wisdom and vigour of his majesty's late ministers, together with parliament, aided by the sense and virtue of the people of England, that any subject could be discussed in that house. They altogether fought the battle of the revolution, and obtained, united, a glorious victory. The measure in question was very conducive to that victory. He had never thought of it however without anxiety, having always felt that every restraint on the public was solely justified by necessity, which was proved by the country being endangered. He hoped that when that necessity ceased, parliament would be more ready to remove such restraints than impose them;

for our constitution could adapt itself to all circumstances, as necessity should require—an advantage peculiar to this empire. He perfectly knew how such measures were met by those against whom they were framed, who openly opposed the constitution when they were in abeyance; but, when under consideration, the same men pleaded the constitution against the measures: they attacked the constitution so as to render it necessary to repel such attacks; and then they pleaded the constitution so attacked against the system for defending it. The honourable gentlemen opposite were pleading against a measure they thought unconstitutional, but which ministers judged necessary to preserve the constitution. The other measure hinted at by his honourable friend being not formally before the house, to discuss it then would be irregular; he was, however, as well convinced of the necessity of that as of this: he would enter upon the subject if gentlemen on the other side required it. He concluded by again repeating his full conviction of the necessity of the present measure.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that he saw no difference between the late and the present administration. He had watched their blood-tracked steps in Ireland. He had witnessed their wicked edicts, all tending to destroy the remnant of the constitution. He knew not what term to apply to the conduct of ministers. There had already been a secret committee to examine the ground for martial law in England. A vote of credit was now asked by ministers, for destroying the people's liberties, upon the plea of necessity. This was a plea to
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which every villain resorted. He would not assent to the committee's report, for committees had uttered the most false libels. [A loud cry of "Chair! chair!"]

The speaker told the honourable baronet, that such language could not be admitted.

Sir Francis proceeded, saying, that his allusion was to a former parliament, which had supposed that to be true that afterwards proved false. He wished the house to pause, and reflect on what coercion had done in Ireland. At the end of the American war, so little tendency to revolt appeared, that 9000 out of 12000 troops were sent from Ireland to America. The probability of an invasion was as strong then as now; but yet 60,000 volunteers, self-clothed, and self-paid, rose against the threatened invasion. But while she warded off a foreign invasion, Ireland presented the schedule of her claims, founded on a participation of equal rights. But since then she had sent delegates to France to invite an invasion. But what then could have affected such a change in the Irish? No less than the acts of the Irish parliament, supported by the wicked policy of the ministers here. The late minister of this country had spoken of the parliament in terms like his own, when he was for carrying the union. It had been said, that this change was the consequence of the spirit of Jacobinism; which term was now applied to all who asserted the liberties of Englishmen, performed their duty in the house, and kept an eye on the encroachments of ministers and of the crown. This was the Jacobinism of our old constitution, insufferable to ministers, who knew there was no choice between their country's slavery and

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their own punishment. He told them, that it would not be easy to make brave English soldiers torturers and executioners. They should remember that such acts as he complained of had ruined the whole family of the Stuarts, and were not the less oppressive, because they came from those who were bound to protect the people.

The solicitor general said, he was not surprised that the report of the committee had no effect on the other side of the house. He thought Jacobinism an immense evil, threatening excessive mischief to the civilised world. The honourable baronet considered all the measures of government as designed to overthrow the constitution. This, however, he was sure was not the language of the people, who considered them as barriers against that licentiousness, which would at once destroy the constitution and their liberties. The arguments on the other side the house were singular. Concerning the war, they entertained the house with long speeches to prove the evils of war, which no man ever yet denied. But they threw the odium of it, not on the restless ambition of the enemy, but on the government of this country. The rapine and murders committed in that country they styled the exertions of an oppressed people: and the nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, were considered as classes of men leagued against the people; and their exertions for their country were either unnoticed or misrepresented. When the question concerned measures of constraint, still all the odium was cast on the devisers. Whether these gentlemen were offended at the present, the last, or all government, it so happened that they had opposed every measure brought

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forward. If the question were, on whom the odium of measures already found necessary ought to fall? he would answer, first on those out of the house who had endeavoured to ruin the country; and, secondly, on those within the house who had encouraged and abetted these efforts by their opinions. Thus, when the wild theories concerning the rights of man were first adopted out of the house, the rights of man were a favourite theme in the house; and, when parliamentary reform covered the designs of the disaffected out of doors, parliamentary reform was proposed in the house. Thus, the disaffected were encouraged, because they conceived their views and principles to be the same with those of gentlemen on the other side of the house. He imputed no bad intentions to them; but it might be truly said, "*Catilinæ conjurationem non credendo, corroboraverunt.*" These circumstances had rendered the adopted measures necessary. It had been said, that, if so, government must believe the people generally disaffected. Not so. They were adopted to guard the soundness of the great body from the disease of a small part, and to mark the exact difference between the sound and unsound parts of the people. Could it be said that the people were insulted by measures for their protection? The wicked, whose bad designs were frustrated, might dislike them; but those whose persons and properties were secured thereby would be grateful to those who suggested them.

What honest man ever felt insulted by a law against housebreaking? Neither would the loyal part of the country complain of being insulted by a law against disloyalty and treason. As to the committee not

having the public confidence, it was very unlikely that it should have that of the other side the house. But the question was, if the majority would confide in the report of a committee chosen and entrusted by themselves to make such report? He was persuaded that the house would confide in such a committee, and pass such measures as were proved necessary to prevent a great explosion. What the honourable gentleman had said, that persons accused of treason might be secured and detained for a time without this measure, was true; but it went further, enabling government to detain suspected persons, who, without it, must have been liberated by a magistrate on giving bail. He appealed to the honourable gentleman, whether, if his friends had received information of a plan to assassinate him, he would advise him to delay securing the contrivers, or wait for an overt act? These circumstances were similar to the foundations of the committee's report. It was sufficient encouragement to the house to adopt the measure, that its good effects had been already tried, and the powers granted by it always exercised with the utmost moderation.

Mr. Grey said, that he thought the honourable and learned gentleman had shown equal judgment and candour in the motives assigned to the opposers of the measures of administration. He professed himself one of those who always had censured the principles of the war, and the determined aversion from negotiation which the late administration had uniformly shown. He said, he stood personally arraigned by the honourable and learned gentleman for having proposed a parliamentary reform at a time when this

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was the professed object of the Jacobins to cover their treasonable designs. He owned he had moved for a reform, because he thought it founded on true wisdom and policy; and was still of the same mind concerning its expediency. But the honourable gentleman preferred that system which, instead of securing, abridged the liberties of the country; and has been coercive, instead of conciliating. He would now ask any country gentleman, after having sacrificed so much of his property to support the war, and witnessed the melancholy state of the country and the infringements of the constitution, if he would affirm that the measures pursued were wise or salutary? The question before the house was not whether any power ought to be granted to the magistrates beyond the legal allowance, but whether extraordinary powers, unknown to the law, should be vested in government without any proof of their necessity? The committee of secrecy stated, that an alarming conspiracy existed in the country; but this was not proved, otherwise than by a reference to the report in 1799, when about twenty persons of the lowest class were taken up on suspicion of treasonable practices, and confined nearly three years by the act for suspending the habeas-corpus. The committee then stated, that a dangerous conspiracy existed; yet no others than these twenty were apprehended; and in January last they were all liberated, on entering into recognisance for their appearance, and not one brought to trial. If such a conspiracy had really been, persons of more consequence must have belonged to it, and government must have had evidence enough for their trial. He there-

fore could not easily believe that any alarming conspiracy existed now; for, if there were any evidence of it, why was it not stated? The honourable gentleman had not said, or insinuated, that there was any general discontent or disaffection among the people. Indeed, never were such patience and fortitude, under such difficulties, shown by any people. If, then, only a few were disaffected, and the majority loyal, was not the law, as it then stood, sufficient to punish those few? And where was the danger which could warrant the depriving the people of their privileges, which attached them to the constitution? This was the way to increase the number of the disaffected. It was a true maxim in politics, that danger to the constitution caused discontents; and not that discontents caused danger to the government. Hardships alone produce discontents. He had referred the house to the calendars of the late assizes, to prove the vast number of robberies and other crimes to which the people's difficulties had driven them; and, if these produced civil crimes, would not political evils impel them to political crimes? But what was the extent of this disaffection? At the beginning of the last session, his majesty took scarcely any notice of it. The habeas-corpus act was also suffered to expire; which had not happened if any real cause of alarm had existed. He wished that time should be given for inquiring into the necessity of this measure. He could not agree that choosing a committee by ballot was the best way. There could be no difficulty in nominating twenty-one persons fit for a committee. But to call it the freest method was still more strange. It was

well known that, when committees were chosen by ballot, lists were frequently handed among the members from the treasury; and such lists carried considerable influence. —If every gentleman might have nominated those he wished to be members of the committee, he believed it would have been a very good one; and that the country would have confided more in it, had it not been formed of gentlemen so favourable to measures such as the present. He could not consent to the passing this bill with such haste; and therefore should vote against it.

Mr. Martin (of Galway) entered into some arguments in favour of the bill. He said, the committee's opinion was sufficient; but there were other strong reasons, particularly the report of the committee of the Irish house of commons. The habeas-corpus act had been suspended fourteen or fifteen times since the revolution, and was now necessary tenfold; therefore the sooner passed the better.

Mr. Sheridan observed, that the question had been fully stated by the honourable members who had already spoken; and admitted it not to be a light matter. On the contrary, it appeared no less than a proposal to sacrifice the very essence of our constitution. The question was, whether there were sufficient proof of the necessity of the measure? He thought there was none. He contended, that it was imprudent even to call the public attention to it, because it would only revive what government must wish forgotten; namely, how the public had been duped by imaginary plots and confederacies, by which they had lost so many real privileges. He did not consider the mode of ballot as the best,

and was persuaded that the public would have less disapproved the measure had some gentlemen on his side the house been put on the committee. He said that these ballots enabled the minister to name whom he pleased as members; and the chancellor of the exchequer's speech avowed this influence, which destroyed all independence upon the subject of ballots for committees. He quoted an instance of this kind of influence, in which he had read to the house the names of a secret committee, just as they were afterwards taken out of the balloting-glass, from a copy of the minister's list. It was candid to confess, but deplorable to hear, that the present administration were determined to model their conduct by that of their predecessors. He augured from this the country's ruin. He contended, that the speech of the solicitor-general conveyed insinuations that some members had by their speeches encouraged Jacobinism in this country, by saying that the country's enemies had always met countenance by those gentlemen in opposition, as it was called, who had indeed steadily opposed the measures of administration; which by no means proved them enemies of their country. The truth was, that ministers identified themselves with the constitution; and then logically concluded, that those who opposed their measures were its enemies, whereas no man was a real friend to its true principles who did not oppose the measures of the late ministry; and as the chancellor of the exchequer had avowed his design of pursuing his predecessor's system, he should continue to oppose, because this system was injurious to the true interests of the empire. He protested

tested against the present measure, which was so far from necessary, that all information went the other way. It was monstrous to say, when three fourths of the people were in a state that a man's best industry could not keep his family from starving, and were obliged to ask alms to save themselves from perishing, that all their discontent arose from the artifices of designing men! As if a man must be prompted by a Jacobin, ere he could discover that want of food, fire, and clothing, would make him unhappy. No—the people needed no art to show them their miseries, which they had borne with admirable patience, for they had shown no disposition to tumult throughout; and, till then, they ought not to be deprived of their constitution; which they would be in its most valuable part if the present measure should be adopted. It was admitted that the discontented persons here were few in number. What had been done with those apprehended? Were any of them tried under the authority of this measure? Not one—they were imprisoned, and then enlarged on bail; yet the report of the present secret committee alleged, that several of those very persons were now exciting discontents. Then there was no excuse for their being at large, for there was no hindrance to taking them up. The authority of apprehending them was not under this bill, which was only to empower ministers to secure and detain whom they suspected. As to apprehending suspected persons, he believed that ministers had often acted illegally; and that jailors and all must have one day or other a bill of indemnity for their doings, such as apprehending upon suspicion only,

instead of issuing warrants on information upon oath. He wished for the attorney-general's opinion upon this point, which affected most those who had been taken up on the authority of the bill in question: they had been accused by the informers of his majesty's late ministers, which the Old-Bailley trials proved. What security was there that the same practice would not be revived? He ridiculed the idea, that a mild use would be made of the power given by this measure to ministers determined to follow the steps of their predecessors. There was, he said, no mildness in taking a man up on suspicion, confining him for years, wasting his health and fortune, and breaking the hearts of his relations; and then, at the end of three years, releasing him to tell his misfortunes to those who would hear them, with no other remedy than the pity of some individuals. The truth was, there was no proof of any plot except that of common and paid informers. On the contrary, the house and the public had been assured before, that the discontented were a despicable few, that the mass of the people were wholly loyal, and that there were now 130,000 armed men soundly attached to the constitution. It was a pretext for inordinate power, to contend for the necessity of this measure for the safety of the British empire.

The attorney-general said, that the measure was certainly a vigorous one. He knew the value of the habeas-corpus act; but the suspension of it was indispensably necessary; and ministers would have been faithless to their trust had they not proposed the measure now under consideration. The evidence before the committee

would convince any impartial man; and, while the disaffected at home leagued with the foreign enemy, the same precautions were needful to maintain our contest. It had been asked, if this was a measure of lenity and mercy? Certainly of lenity, in the truest sense, not only to the country at large, but to those to whom it might apply. It saved them from the calamities into which they might be seduced, and prevented meditated treason from being realised. The arguments against the measure were most inconsistent. One gentleman had warned the house against a career of blood: another said, the whole was false alarm; that a few had been taken up who were not brought to trial. But might this not have been for good reasons? Might it not be prudent to conceal whence information so important to the public safety was derived? and improper to produce the authors, who, after a public exhibition as witnesses, might be disabled from giving future information? The advantages from the conviction of guilt were to be weighed with the inconvenience of disclosing the sources of intelligence. If none but spies had been produced at the Old-Bailey trials, he would ask, if their testimony had been falsified? But the former was not true; for a most respectable character in the law had been witness there; and the testimony of these witnesses had been confirmed by the subsequent events. As to the power granted to government of seizing and detaining persons, he referred the honourable gentleman to his learned friend (Mr. Erskine) who sat near him. He concluded with saying, that, from all the information he had obtained, he was satisfied that the disaffected were

taking advantage of the people's distresses; and that it was urgent to enable government to disconcert their schemes.—As an honest man, persuaded of the dangers of the country without this measure, he heartily gave it his vote.

Mr. Horne Tooke said, that when he heard the sentiments such gentlemen professed (from among whom the future judges of the land would be taken), of giving their votes, as honest men, for such measures, he trembled to think of the country's situation when they should sit on the bench. Though he did not expect that what he could say would gain the tenth part of a vote, yet he hoped it might have some effect on the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Addington). He hoped that he would avoid those acts that had disgraced his predecessors; and that, if this power were placed in his hands, he would not use it tyrannically; and consider, that as something had been annually taken from the constitution, it was more dangerous than ever to trust extraordinary powers to government. The due separation of powers in a state constituted its freedom; but these were confounded here. He said, that this confusion had descended to interfere with jailors. Though the law officers of the crown had no business in such matters, prisoners had received improper treatment even by direction. He hoped that, under the administration of the right honourable gentleman, care would be taken that the imprisoned should have every comfort consistently to be allowed with custody; and these without the necessity of solicitation.—He himself did not enjoy the same indulgences under confinement as the other state prisoners.

ers, as he never solicited them.— But innocent men ought not to be degraded by such solicitation. He asked what law there was for executing sentence in prison?—which had been done. It was important that a practice contrary to the customs of our fathers should not be introduced. Criminals ought to be led to execution as a spectacle to deter; and the innocent carried before their countrymen to enjoy the comfort of telling them they were so. He thought at one time he should want this comfort: and, though timid by nature, could have said to the people, “Death is no longer fearful to me, since you know I am innocent!” The contrary practice was charged without law.— He said, that the honourable gentleman should consider the state in which the country was resigned to him by his predecessors; and he hoped, if he accepted the powers in question, that he would keep them as short a time as possible. The suspension of the habeas-corpus was called temporary; which word was perverted. Seven years had elapsed since its first suspension; and how could a conspiracy have existed during that period without any effect? The war had been called glorious and successful, and the suspension of the habeas-corpus supposed necessary by a learned gentleman while the contest should be continued. It might be proper to consider what prospect there was of its conclusion.— Mr. Tooke beginning to wander far from the point, by speaking of the captures of the French colonies, and the probable consequences of these events, there was a cry of Question! when the speaker said, that the honourable member might perhaps be able to show how his

observations applied; but Mr. Tooke said he would not try.

The bill was then read a first time without a division.

On the motion that it be read a second time, a discussion took place; and the house divided—Ayes 169—Noes 42.—Maj. 147.

On the motion that the word “now” do stand part of the motion, the house again divided—Ayes 190—Noes 34.—Maj. 156.

The bill then went through its other stages, was passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords for their concurrence.

In the house of lords, on Friday April 17, lord Loughborough moved the order of the day for the second reading of the habeas-corpus suspension bill.

Earl Moira owned that a proper occasion for passing such a bill might occur, but affirmed that no proof of its present propriety had been adduced. The report of the committee was vague, and no intimation of the grounds on which it was founded had been given. Necessity might justify the measure; but this did not exist. He highly respected the lords who composed the committee, and did not doubt their belief of all they had stated; but they all thought, and had been used to act, together. If they wished credit to their statements, they should have given up the authors of their information. This measure was brought forward in an unprecedented manner. No such bill had ever been proposed, without a previous communication from the throne. This was the right method of proceeding; for, then, those who advised his majesty to send a message were responsible, and might be called to account in case of imposition on the house.

But now, if the reports of the lords' committees were incorrect, they might all say, "We advised to the best of our judgment; you were not bound to follow our advice but as you thought prudent." He praised the habeas-corpus act, and condemned this infringement on the best privileges of the people. He said that their lordships were sent to guard the interests of the people; and, if these were neglected, they violated their trust. They represented the people as much as the other house; and, although not periodically chosen, by being hereditary they were free from biases by which they might otherwise be actuated. He praised the patience of the people under their present great sufferings; and concluded by hoping to give his sentiments more largely, upon the bill at a future opportunity.

Lord Boringdon said, that whenever the suspension of the habeas-corpus act was proposed, it had always been contended that the necessity of it was not proved. But its necessity had been shown on several occasions; and, if the committee were considered as men of honour and truth, it was absolutely necessary now. He said that the part of the country where he resided was disturbed; and he firmly believed this a lenient rather than a severe measure. Whatever he might think of the new ministry, he should support any measure conducive to the public good.

Lord Hobart said that a communication from the crown was impossible (in answer to earl Moira). The papers had been sent down to the house of commons; and then referred to a committee. They were afterwards sent to the lords, with the king's

permission; which he thought just the same as by a message from the throne. The bill was so necessary, in his opinion, that he should propose its being carried through all its stages that night he therefore begged noble lords to debate it, under the impression that it would be debated that night for the last time.

Lord Holland defended earl Moira's arguments against the bill; as the only line of reasoning admissible. When the necessity of such a measure as the present did not appear, it was natural to agree that the grounds of its adoption were inadequate and unsatisfactory. The *onus probandi* lay, therefore, on the proposers of the measure; and they ought to present a specific case of necessity. He censured severely the conduct of ministers for calling on the house to agree to a bill, involving the suspension of the constitution on the unsubstantiated report of a committee, and without any message from the throne. He knew not what was their object, unless to get rid of all responsibility by degrees, and establish a system of absolute controul. The grounds in the report did not satisfy him; nor could he renounce the firmest support of the people's liberties from mere general assertions that a conspiracy existed. If such statements were to justify the house in such measures, how far was this principle to be carried, and so very dangerous a doctrine to be extended? On this bill, it was the duty of the house to consider, that the power given thereby to ministers was liable to great abuse, and had been grossly abused by the late ministers. It had been said, that individual inconvenience was comparatively small

to the consideration of general happiness and security. This was true, if the bill could be proved to have produced such an effect; but surely it was the first duty of the house to prevent the oppression of a single individual: that the power might be so abused was undeniable; and therefore the grounds for renewing the measure ought to be examined again and again. He proceeded to show, that in the example of Ireland coercion had produced no good consequences; strongly recommended conciliatory measures; and concluded by giving his negative to the bill.

The earl of Westmoreland warmly supported the bill, which, he said, no noble lord in the house would propose but from conviction of its necessity; which fully appeared from the facts stated by the committee, and from the experience of its beneficial effects both here and in Ireland. It would doubtless produce the happiest consequences, in defeating the plans of the disaffected, and supporting the loyal part of the community. He conceived it calculated to operate leniently, by enabling government to restrain the wild schemes of those who, in meditating the destruction of the public peace, were pursuing plans which must ultimately involve their own.

Earl Moira rose again, and, in an animated speech, pressed their lordships not to proceed precipitately on the bill, conjuring them by the duty they owed the country, and the liberties of the people, not to agree to a measure so trenching on the constitution, without the strongest evidence of its necessity. The statements of the committee were neither sufficiently circumstantial nor specific to found the passing of so violent an act. When

proved necessary, he should not oppose it; but, from the present evidence, he could not conscientiously support it.

The earl of Westmoreland explained.

Lord Grenville said, that the best proof of the bill's utility was, that the conspirators themselves regarded it as a measure destructive of their rebellious endeavours, and had owned that the sedition bill, and that to suspend the habeas-corpus act, had frustrated all their schemes. Since he had had the honour to sit in that house, he never gave a vote with more satisfaction, or more consonant with the conscientious discharge of his duty, than that which he should give on this occasion.

Lord Hobart moved that the bill be committed.

Lord Holland desired the clerk to read the orders of 24, 26, and 104, which directed that no bill should be committed on the day when it was read the second time, and that no bill should pass two stages in any one day. He said, he had not pressed the reading of these to enforce them, but only to show how little attention was paid to the orders of the house by ministers, who were ready enough to take advantage of them, when it suited their purpose, against any proposition from his side of the house.

The secretary of state (lord Hobart) appealed to the noble lord, whether he had not given every possible notice of the immediate necessity of passing the bill, by having declared that he should move its passing through all its stages on the same day, before the committee was formed, or the papers were on the table. He had been enabled to give this notice from knowing

knowing the contents of the papers referred to the committee, which he possessed by his official situation, and from assuring himself that the committee would report as they had done. Lord Holland said, that no word of the noble secretary had any relation to the standing orders; but he had already explained the reason why he had them read.

The committee was negatived, and the bill read a third time and passed; and a message ordered to be sent to the commons, informing them that it had been passed without amendments.

For the revival of the bill for preventing seditious meetings, the arguments were more decisive. On the 15th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer undertook to show the propriety of reading the bill to prevent seditious meetings a second time, and of allowing it to go through a stage each day, that it might be read a third time on the Monday following. The urgency of the bill was extreme, and delay would be dangerous. There would now be time enough to debate it deliberately; and the objections to this method were quite void of foundation.

Mr. Pitt said that the bill was not new. The country well knew its good effects, and the bad consequences attending its cessation. The report stated, that there was a plan for meetings throughout the country at the same day and hour; therefore, it was urgent that the bill should be passed into a law.

Mr. Tierney (who had objected to reading the bill a third time so soon as Monday) said, he was indifferent when the bill was debated; he wished it delayed only to accommodate some members who could not attend. He then entered into the arguments against the bill.

The house might think it salutary, but the country mischievous. Ought not the public to have time to express their sentiments? The country would not have been in its present wretched state, had not the public's functions been so long suspended.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he could not agree to any further delay, consistently with his duty to the public. The act had been in force five years, without a single petition for its repeal. (*A cry of Hear! from the opposition bench.*) Perhaps the honourable gentlemen meant to convey that the people were cramped in their right to petition; but during that time very many petitions had been presented, some against the war, others for the dismissal of ministers, and were as frequent as at any other period of the same duration. Though the measure had been warmly opposed at first, three months after its adoption he had never heard it once disapproved. All were convinced it had operated to preserve tranquillity, and to save the constitution. There was no ground for expecting any petitions. Before Monday, the people in most parts of the country might express their sentiments. He concluded by saying that he hoped the revival of the bill would have been unnecessary, but was disappointed.

Mr. Sheridan said, he must tell the right honourable gentleman, that it was unparliamentary to presume that the people would not petition against the bill, and they ought to have an opportunity to declare their sentiments. The report said, that dangerous meetings were apprehended. It was strange that not one of them had happened, yet the bill had been suspended six months.

months. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) seemed to say, "When I was in office there was no occasion for this bill: my vigilance, foresight, and energy, sufficed to maintain tranquillity: but now you have a weak, flimsy, and rickety administration; and treason and sedition bills are indispensably necessary." He protested against the manner in which the committee was formed. When truth was to be told, committees were formed very differently. What confidence would have been placed in the committee's report during the king's indisposition, had it been composed of men all thinking alike? The members were then taken alternately from both sides of the house. If this were a case of less interest, it was not of less importance. They were about to find a bill of disloyalty against the people of England. Never were so many petitions against any bill as this, when first proposed. He declared, that the manner in which the people were fettered was the sole reason that petitions had not been presented for its repeal. That the right honourable gentleman had not heard it condemned, might be true; but (to use a popular phrase in that house), he probably kept very amiable company. He was quite indifferent about the time when the bill should be read again. It had been introduced without necessity, supported without argument, and the house would act most consistently with itself by passing it as precipitately as possible.

Lord Hawkesbury contended, that the number of petitions presented, while the late bill was in force, best proved that it did not operate against proper petitions, or

prevent any meetings convened for good purposes. Lord lieutenants, grand juries, or seven housekeepers, could call meetings: this was not depriving the people of their right of petitioning, which he readily admitted, regretting the necessity of placing any restraint upon them. Necessity alone justified it. No real inconvenience had followed from the bill during five years, nor was there ever a measure more generally popular. He saw no objection to its passing in the manner proposed by his honourable friend.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that the bill was regarded through the country with affection and gratitude. It was unpopular at first from misrepresentation, but its utility was now generally acknowledged. He had been told himself, at a meeting where thirty or forty magistrates attended, that such a meeting could not happen after the passing of the bill; but this was found to be erroneous. He defended the committee's conduct; and recommended to the honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) to reflect on the smallness of the number on his side the house, and how few in the country joined with them, before he complained of their not forming a part of the committee. He said, that those who composed the committee could assign sufficient reasons why Mr. Sheridan was not chosen one of its members. He complimented the vigilance of ministers, who had acted vigorously on emergencies, without infringing in the least on the constitution.

Mr. Lascelles favoured the second reading of the bill; and stated that, in the county to which he belonged, the present measure was so far from objectionable that it

it was viewed as a most important method of preserving the national tranquillity.

Mr. Tierney rose, and was proceeding to move the adjournment of the second reading till Monday, when he was called to order by

Mr. Pitt, who submitted to the speaker, whether a member who had twice before given his sentiments on the question was again entitled to enter on the discussion.

The speaker, on this suggestion, wished that the house would resolve specifically on this matter, as he was rather at a loss how to direct his conduct. He doubted the propriety of allowing members to pretend making an amendment only to enter on a new line of argument. He was anxious that the house should come to such a determination as might guide him in many circumstances which might occur in the course of business.

Mr. Baker spoke on the point of order, contending, that no member ought to speak more than once on the same subject, unless by special indulgence.

General Walpole then rose to move, that, instead of *now*, the word *Monday* be inserted in the motion, to prevent further discussion.

Mr. Tierney then rose, to explain the reasons for supporting his honourable friend's motion to delay the second reading of the bill. He wished for stronger evidence of the necessity of the measure. He recollected no single instance in the proceedings of parliament, where, on the general report of a secret committee, a measure was adopted so materially affecting the people's privileges. By delaying the second reading of

the bill till Monday, he hoped that the committee would produce such evidence as would fully justify the adoption of the present violent measure. If there were no further evidence of its necessity than had been brought, he saw no advantage that could result from the first report. To adopt the measure, and afterwards expect the statement of its necessity, would be to reverse the order of all legislative proceedings, and to act on blind credit. He then went to refute Mr. Wilberforce's arguments concerning the mode of appointing the committee, and the pretended popularity of the act in Yorkshire; and concluded by asserting, that the honourable member was for supporting the act, not for its popularity, but because, since it had expired, meetings had been holden where his votes and the instructions of his constituents appeared strangely contrary.

Mr. Wilberforce explained.

Mr. Johnston thought that issuing treasury lists in appointing ballots was wrong and unconstitutional, and that ministers were thereby wanting to their own interest; for, though he did not assert that the gentlemen on the opposition side were more respectable than on the other, yet he affirmed that the report would have had more weight, and become more publicly satisfactory, if the committee had been formed of members from both sides of the house.

The solicitor-general defended the mode of appointing the committee, saying that, if gentlemen on the opposite side had been members of it, the evidence might not have satisfied them, and thus the nation would be deprived of the proposed advantage, and that the
necessary

~~necessary~~ secrecy might have been also violated.

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he knew not what was meant by the evidence now before the committee being considered unsatisfactory, because the former evidences had been inadequate to ground the resolutions, or why they should be dissatisfied with present evidence, because they were not convinced by the former. On producing it, the question was, whether it was the same as before, or whether new proofs of conspiracy existed? He then vindicated the members on his side from the charge of intending any violation of secrecy, which were direct and inexcusable treason to the country's most important interests. He pointed out the advantages that might have been obtained by a fair appointment of the committee, arguing, that, instead of the evidence appearing incomplete, probably in this case a different report would have been presented. They might have referred to the statements of former committees, now proved unfounded; and, while they attended to the fabrications of the late ministers, might have considered at least those persons from whom they had arisen.

Alluding to what Mr. Wilberforce had said, he added, he was surprised that a practice which, if existing formerly, had never been admitted, should be openly avowed by a first lord of the treasury, and defended by the representative of a populous and weighty county.

If this plan were adopted, he hoped it would be reduced to a regular system; and no one was more fit to preside over it than the honourable gentleman: he might be appointed political ballot-master-general; and the members,

without even the form of independence, might have their lists regularly transmitted from the treasury. He mentioned what had been said of his competency as a member of a committee on finance, while considered inadmissible on a committee like the present. The honourable gentleman seemed to think, that, though qualified to determine on facts and calculations, yet he had not enough of fancy, fiction, or knowledge in forging plots, to qualify himself for this committee.

The solicitor-general explained.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the objections to balloting had been often urged and refuted. This system left the will most perfectly free; for, if names were recommended to their choice, it did not fetter their judgment. No complaint was ever heard against the India directors, who had always presented to the electors a list of those thought eligible to fill the vacated places, because such a measure was never thought to restrain the will of the electors. With respect to precedent, he saw nothing in the established practice of the house against the present proceeding. The house was competent to proceed on any question whatever, without any previous committee of inquiry, as on the habeas corpus suspension; and this was perfectly justifiable when an universal conviction of the necessity of the measure prevailed; though it certainly was more regular to lay the evidence before the house on which the report was founded; and this was first intended; but the evidence was so implicated, and the facts so numerous, that it was nearly impossible to collect and arrange them within the time necessary for enacting the measure. He claimed credit for the unanimous

mous declaration of the committee, that the bill was highly necessary; and he was persuaded that there was nothing in the manner of introducing it contrary to the rules and usages of the house.

Mr. Tierney maintained that there was no case on the records of parliament where such encroachment on the people's privileges was ever adopted on the report of a secret committee.

Lord Cole denied that the committee was formed from a party. He had the honour to belong to it, and disclaimed belonging to any party but such as would defend their king and country; and said, that none other than such should be suffered to sit in it.

Mr. Nichols supported the amendment, saying, that if ministers declined producing their evidence of the bill's necessity, the natural inference through the country would be, that the evidence could not sustain their statements.

The amendment was rejected without a division; and the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed the next day.

Lord Loughborough, on Monday, April 27, presented to the house of lords the report of the secret committee, to whom the sealed bags of treasonable papers from the other house were referred; which being read, and containing strong proofs of seditious and treasonable proceedings, in the institution of committees for general purposes, conductors, superintendants, &c.,

The earl of Suffolk desired that the names of the lords chosen by ballot on the secret committee be read. Which being done,

The duke of Bedford said, that noble lords were not competent to debate a bill immediately of such great importance, without an op-

portunity of maturely considering the facts in the report just then laid on the table.

Lord Loughborough perfectly agreed with the noble duke, that deliberation on the subject would be more satisfactory to the house; but assured him, that from the information a day ought not to be lost in passing the bill; and he had just then received intelligence, that an open meeting of the disaffected had lately been held, for taking measures before the bill could pass, to effect treasonable purposes; and that papers bidding defiance to government, and threatening its overturn, were pasted up against trees on the common where the meeting was. He did not however wish any stage of the bill to pass at present, only that they might go into the committee that evening, and debate it on the third reading the next day.

Earl Moira said, that all the credit ought to be given to the exigency of the occasion, which was consistent with their duty as peers of parliament; and therefore he should not resist the bill's going into a committee.

The earl of Suffolk said, the reason he had moved for the reading of the committee's names was, that he did not really know what they were. He complained that they were all lords of the same sentiments, and was surprised that none had been selected from his side of the house.

The duke of Bedford rose, saying, that they would have two bills, in fact, to debate;—the former and the present seditious meeting bill. He could not agree to such violent measures without full proof of extreme necessity: the evidence of the report was not strong enough to satisfy him; and, if he
had

had been present, he would not have consented to its passing a single stage. The noble and learned lord had stated two points: one, that the committee had stronger information than the report stated. If so, they were censurable for not having made it part of their report. The other was, that he had received news that day of an open meeting being held, where treasonable declarations were posted up. Such a fact required the fullest proof. He said, he should reserve himself to speak to the merits of the bill on the third reading; but he should now certainly negative its going into the committee.

Lord Hobart explained, that the committee was not stated to have stronger proof than that in the report; but from the general tendency of the information in the sealed bags it was plain that not an hour should be lost in passing the bill.

The duke of Bedford said a few words in explanation; and the bill, with the duke's not-content alone, passed the committee without amendment, and was ordered to be read a third time the next day.

On Tuesday, April 28, the bill was read a third time; and on the question being put "that the bill do pass,"

The duke of Bedford rose, and reminded the house that he had warned their lordships the day before against proceeding with the bill until an opportunity of reading the report of the committee should be given. Both this and the original report when the bill was first passed ought to be read: he had done so, and had no scruple to say, that, from the insufficient evidence there, he was convinced that the bill ought to be instantly

rejected. Before the house could be warranted to pass a bill violating the compact between the king and the people, they were bound to demand clear proof of the necessity which called for it. In proportion as the bill trenched on the people's rights, it weakened their allegiance to the crown; for the one depended on the other. The nature and extent of the evidence before the committee ought to be known. Noble lords should not forget, that it was not only composed of peers who were either ministers, or their supporters, but the witnesses examined were chosen by ministers, and therefore to be suspected. He had no confidence in ministers, whom he saw pursuing the same system as their predecessors; and those had grossly abused the confidence reposed in them. As to the bill itself, he thought so violent an innovation on the rights of the subject as unnecessary as dangerous and unconstitutional. The common law was fully adequate to avert all the mischief apprehended, and in a much safer way. By the bill of rights, the people might assemble to petition against grievances whenever they thought proper; to prevent this was a direct violation of the bill of rights; nor could he think that there was any ground sufficient to induce the house to so extraordinary a step. His grace therefore gave the bill his negative.

The earl of Westmoreland said, that it must alarm every man to attempt the support of a bill roundly asserted to be a breach of the compact between the king and people at the revolution. The reverence with which all was treated by the house that passed at that important period of our history would

would naturally restrain any step leading to so fatal a consequence; and those who made such an assertion should state the words of the bill of rights to support them. He said, if such a measure as this had been deemed an invasion of the people's rights, the 13th of Charles II. would not have been on the statute book. When the bill passed three years ago, many petitions were presented against it: now it had been tried, and its effects witnessed, not a single petition was on the table. The consequences were so salutary, that he rather expected ministers to be censured for not having sooner revived it. The origin of the present bill was this:—his majesty had ordered the chancellor of the exchequer to notify to the other house that ample proof had reached him and his council of seditious and treasonable meetings; and that a system was organising, big with the utmost danger to the state. Two large bags full of papers, proving the existence and increase of the conspiracy, were presented to the house of commons. The committee of the house reported on their contents: the report was laid before their lordships, who appointed a committee of their own, and

made two reports, proving the absolute necessity of passing the bill. Rebellious organisation had begun in Ireland, had been surmounted and quieted by loyalty and energy in the government, and by bills of this nature; but, from the evidence, it was plain that the Irish system had been improved in the present instance. Committees had been formed, secret signs of information between the members agreed on, the means of procuring arms provided, subscriptions opened, conductors appointed, superintendants and messengers selected, and plans of assassination and murder of those at the head of government reduced to a systematic regularity. There was, therefore, every reason for endeavouring to avert the fatal consequences which had followed in a neighbouring nation. He said he should vote for the bill, because it was recommended by the crown, by the king's ministers, by the committees of both houses, and (what was infinitely more weighty) by the joy shown by the seditious when the last bill ceased to exist, and the alarm they felt on hearing of its intended revival, and their efforts to anticipate it by their treasonable machinations.—The bill passed.

CHAP. VI.

Continuance of Martial Law in Ireland—Debates on that Subject in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords.—Further Debates respecting the Continuance of that Bill—in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords.

TO those who may conceive the measures reported in the former chapter not unnecessary in this country, the propriety of extending the powers of the executive government in a country where a desperate re-

bellion had been lately extinguished, will appear yet more obvious.

The kingdom of Ireland appeared at the close of the year 1800 to be still in a state of agitation and disorder, and it was judged to be

be inexpedient to relax entirely from the severe measures which had been adopted for the coercion of the factious spirits in that part of his majesty's dominions.

On the 12th of March, therefore, lord Castlereagh rose, in the house of commons, to introduce a motion, of which he had given notice on the 6th, relative to the necessity of still enforcing martial law in certain parts of Ireland; but previous to stating his arguments, he said he should move that two acts be read, passed by the Irish parliament for the suppression of the late rebellion. The clerk was about to read them, when Mr. Sheridan rose, and, after apologising for pressing forward on this subject, said, he also wished for these acts to be read, but for a different reason from that of the noble lord. His object for rising was to dissuade the bringing on this momentous question at present. When the acts were read, it would appear that there was nothing urgent in the motion, though this was the only reason assigned for making it. The house were not regularly in possession of the question: he must therefore endeavour to dissuade them from entertaining it, since nothing was more unconstitutional than to discuss it without a previous communication from the crown, advised by ostensible and responsible ministers. The noble lord was doubtless a most respectable individual; but he was only an individual, and could not be considered as a responsible minister. Would then the house regard the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) as the adviser or the responsible minister? He would scarcely venture to tell them so. Now, if ever a proposition was made for subverting the constitution, the arming the crown with

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the dangerous power of enforcing martial law was of that nature: would it then be embraced without any communication from the crown, or fixing any responsibility upon the minister? When it was proposed in the Irish parliament, it was in consequence of a communication from the lord-lieutenant, his majesty's representative. In cases of insurrection or rebellion, the lord-lieutenant might resort to martial law; but surely it could not be done, where the exigency of the case did not justify it, without imposing responsibility on some minister. The noble lord might say that the spirit of faction was yet unextinguished; that one class of the Irish might expect more justice from a court martial than from a jury; that a foreign invasion was apprehended; that fresh plans of insurrection had been formed, and were ready for execution. If the house had a pledge from the crown that ministers knew the reality of these dangers, much as he abominated the exercise of martial law, he should feel himself bound to act on the principle of confidence. But he yet must ask, with whom lay the responsibility, if this confidence were unfoundedly called for, and criminally abused? What might now be brought before the house should be regarded only as a narrative, not a solemn communication, that could justify the house in incurring such responsibility. Were a committee upon the state of Ireland proposed, various objections would be urged, especially, how dangerous it might be to disclose the information which inquiry must demand. Was the measure then to be assumed as necessary? Let the house ponder on the responsibility they incurred by crediting it. Let them cautiously

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consider what was now asked of them, after the promises of the blessings that were to result from the union; after the congratulations that the rebellion was not only suppressed, but that the angry spirit which occasioned it had subsided. After all this, what was the house called to do? Why, only to admit and sanction a bill, the preamble of which said, "Whereas a rebellion is now raging in the country, &c. Whereas a ruinous conspiracy exists, &c." Would the lord-lieutenant assert that this was the present state of the country? Or, were bills to be proposed without recapitulating the preambles? And when were these bills attempted to be revived? Was it not after the question of the union had been carried, and the pretence of the rebellion no longer existed? But the material point was, Where was the necessity of the case? It would be said the act expired on the 25th instant, and so also did the money bills. Granted: but where was the danger of letting it expire? Had it not been in fact permitted to expire? and what mischief ensued during the interval? Had any mischief been apprehended, it would have been criminal in government to allow the act to expire. Had one year's experience of the union so irritated the public mind of Ireland, that this harsh unconstitutional measure must be adopted? Was it apprehended that a temporary forbearance to enforce it might revive the hopes of reverting to the constitution? Was it to be feared that the army would be let loose on the country, unless the act were passed? Was it the mortification of seeing some suspected wretch tried before a jury instead of a court-martial? Was it the approach of a greater danger than that of insur-

rection and rebellion? For, in these cases, had not the lord-lieutenant a power of enforcing martial law by proclamation? What at least could prevent the delay of the question for a week? by which period it was ardently hoped that his majesty's health would be fully restored, and when the house might entertain the question in a due and constitutional form. He must therefore conclude with moving, that the house adjourn.

Lord Castlereagh then rose, in reply to Mr. Sheridan, and in support of his motion said, that he was called upon to submit to the house the reasons for the measure which had been so warmly opposed by the honourable gentleman, and which, he trusted, would convince the house that he was fully justified in bringing it forward without any previous communication from the crown. The task he had to perform was extremely painful, but it was a duty of which he was determined to acquit himself. He was ready to acknowledge that the introduction of martial law in Ireland was almost unparalleled in its constitutional history; but yet he must remind the house that the spirit and principles of modern Jacobinism had compelled the legislature to recognise a system of judicature unknown, except when the operation of all laws was suspended from the open existence of rebellion in the field. The necessity of resorting to so strong a measure was lamentable; but, if it did exist, he could not betray his country and the constitution. He owned the difficulties of carrying such a measure in an assembly where so few had a local knowledge of the circumstances that justified it; but he recollected that there were among his hearers some military gentlemen

men to whose exertions Ireland was eminently indebted, [*a cry of Hear! hear!*] and who knew the necessity of adopting the measure. Parliament had formerly resorted to it after the union with Scotland; and a bill to disarm the highlanders, though contrary to the spirit of the legislature, was then passed, and proposed by a whig administration, as remarkable for its love of constitutional principles, and those of the revolution, as any that had since existed. We were now called on to do for Ireland what we had done for Scotland; and to act for a country with which so large a majority of the house were remotely connected. The strong bias towards constitutional liberty, which actuated the house, was supposed to disincline it from adopting vigorous measures with regard to Ireland; and this was urged against an incorporate union, when that question was agitated in the Irish parliament. But the gentlemen of Ireland were reminded of the trust they ought to place in the wisdom of the house, and the love of legal liberty in suppressing insurrection and rebellion.

The honourable gentleman, he said, had rested his principal objection to the motion, on the deficiency of a communication from the crown to parliament. But in the year 1798 the state of Ireland was examined; and then no such communication was deemed necessary: and might not every member propose the adoption of such measures as the situation of the country might suggest and justify? And ought we to be so dependent on the crown, as to fear the adoption of wise and prudent measures without royal communication? This were to reduce us to the level of the French legislature,

where the originating of every law depended on the will of the executive. What then became of his objection? If parliament might always act according to convincing reasons, on emergencies, it was evident that such a communication was not indispensably necessary. On the same principle the habeas corpus act had been suspended, both here and in Ireland. The propriety of the measure was not suggested from the crown. A royal communication might precede such a measure; but it was not necessary when the grounds for acceding to it were evident and imperative. It was his intention to propose it only for three months. He was so confident of its necessity, that he called upon parliament to pass the bill without further inquiry. He admitted what the honourable gentleman had advanced, that, if rebellion existed, the lord-lieutenant might proclaim martial law. But was it more constitutional to come to parliament for an act of indemnity, than to call for its previous authority?

The rebellion broke out in May 1798, and martial law continued in force till March 1799. By the king's authority martial law was then exercised; and the Irish government relied on an act of indemnity in their favour, if they transgressed not the bounds which the necessity of the case prescribed. They were compelled to withhold a great portion of the municipal law, while property could not be protected without martial law.— This occasioned a conflict: For no officer could execute his duty, if subject to be brought to trial continually. Many indictments were preferred against officers for attempting to execute the lord-lieutenant's orders; and the rebellion

at one period rendered it impossible for the judges to sit unmolested. When it abated, the courts were again opened; and first, in the metropolis, the king's bench. In some places the circuit was held, and the assizes conducted, under a military force. But civil justice could not be exercised without protection. Therefore, one or the other must be sacrificed. After rebellion had been crushed in the field, Jacobinism still contrived to preserve it alive in the country. This malignant spirit produced a new case, obliging the courts of justice to be shut, and the country to seek its protection from martial law. If this spirit still existed, the necessity of martial law was evident: that it did now exist, he thus proceeded to show.

He said, that in activity, malignancy, and perseverance, the Irish rebels exceeded all who had ever attempted the destruction of their government. During the last three months, his excellency had found it necessary to try sixty-three persons in courts martial; and of these, thirty-four were condemned and executed. Most of them were found guilty of overt acts of rebellion; and all, of having helped to promote it. In the whole year, two hundred and seven criminals had been tried. The character of the noble person above mentioned was too well known to be suspected of unnecessary rigour. He would not have suspended common law without occasion, but would have allowed the usual trial by jury.—The bill ought not to be considered as an establishment of martial law, but for allowing the courts of law to remain open. The crown had power to proclaim martial law when necessary for the good of the empire. But then the process

of the courts was at an end; and the accused must, in all cases, be tried by a military tribunal. By the continuance of this act Jacobinism would be counteracted, and the people retain most of their privileges. It was notorious, that several districts still cherished the spirit that had occasioned such calamities, and prompted the inhabitants to attack the persons and property of their neighbours. But the second object was, to obstruct the administration of justice. For this purpose they used the most terrible means, and rendered themselves so formidable that neither juries nor witnesses would attend. Unless the bill were renewed, and government could bring criminals summarily to trial, the loyal and industrious must again suffer without hope of redress. The rebels themselves had courts martial, to try those who were disaffected to their cause. How were they to be successfully combated, if permitted to condemn and instantly execute their captives, while they themselves could be punished only by the slow process of common law?—He said that by vigour and energy the evil had been greatly repressed; and that, three counties excepted, the kingdom was in a state of tranquillity. These were, Antrim, Limerick, and Wicklow. But the people, seeing government able to protect them, had shown a loyal spirit and determination to resist the disaffected.

Hence it might be inferred, that the bill should receive limitations. But it was to be remembered that, in those districts apparently most peaceably inclined, the flame of rebellion had frequently burst forth the most violently.

If the line they were to follow must be minutely described, the responsibility

responsibility of government for the manner in which their united power had been employed would cease, and there would be a danger that these violent measures might be embodied in our municipal law.

As parliament would always superintend the measures of government, there was no probability that the powers conferred by this act would be abused. The lord lieutenant was always made acquainted with the circumstances of every case before it was tried by a court-martial. The officers were bound by an oath, to take cognizance of nothing but an act of rebellion, or in furtherance of rebellion; and his excellency reviewed the sentence before its execution. Those who were most attached to the principles of liberty, and therefore were reluctant to pass an act which seemed to make a temporary surrender of it, should recollect that sometimes the constitution itself could be no otherwise preserved. Here the superiority of ours to the ancient republics was manifest. With them, it was necessary to invest individuals, occasionally, with arbitrary power. But they had no controul over those whom they thus trusted. Thus these men often overturned the liberties of their country, and became masters of the state. With us, a power constantly watched against such abuse. But little inconvenience would be felt, if the trial by jury should be suspended till the storm were over; otherwise, although one criminal might be convicted, twelve loyal subjects would be exposed to depredation and murder.

He was authorised to say, that the illustrious representative of his majesty in Ireland considered the renewal of this act highly expedient. Few would question his pe-

netration, wisdom, humanity, and love of the constitution.

It had been said, that he (lord Castlereagh) had not a right to propose this measure; but he maintained, that, as agent of the Irish government, or even only as a representative of the people, he might, with propriety, bring forward any measure for the advantage of the state.

It could not be supposed that such a rebellion had wholly subsided. While the war continued, and hopes from foreign countries were held out to the disaffected, it could not be. There was now a treasonable conspiracy in Ireland; and, he believed, in every part of the British empire. The spirit of Jacobinism had been proved to have existed; and, till the house were satisfied of its utter extinction, the laws enacted to check it ought not to be repealed. Before the expiration of three months, there would be full time for inquiry; and without that he wished not the act to be continued. He was sure, however, that inquiry was unnecessary to those connected with the Irish government, or the representatives of that part of the united kingdoms; but, if satisfactory to any member in the house, it ought to take place. He should be happy if a further continuation of the act proved unnecessary; but of this he doubted.

He added, that, if his present motion were successful, he should propose another measure, to render the present less obnoxious.— There were many then in custody of the civil power who must be delivered to the military tribunals, if the habeas-corpus act should remain in force. He should therefore move, on the next day, for its suspension.

Sir Lawrence Parsons said, that
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he hoped his opposition of the motion would not be imputed to a wish of embarrassing the measures of government, or to any personal hostility to his majesty's ministers. He had opposed the measure in the Irish parliament, and was now more strongly convinced of its mischievous tendency. When a spirit of insubordination and outrage prevailed, and martial law became necessary, the crown had a right to exercise it. What use then was there in imposing a prerogative on the crown, which it inherently held? What then could be the object of this bill? It could only be to enable government to exercise martial law whenever it should suit its purposes; whether with or without necessity. The bill was either nugatory or worse.

The question was, Were the courts of law open, and allowed to exercise their jurisdiction uninterrupted? If they were, it was contrary to the British constitution to have recourse to a military tribunal. The noble lord had asserted, that juries in Ireland could not be found to do their duty. He desired to know in what town or county that had been the case. After the rebellion, the assizes were held in Wexford, where many were tried and convicted. He advised the noble lord, either to adduce facts in support of his motion, or to abandon it. He had said, that sixty-three men were tried by martial law in the last three months. But the courts of law were open, then why were they not sent thither? He defied him to point out any one instance where they might not have been tried with equal advantage in the long-established mode of proceeding. Martial law might be feared, but could never be respected; and therefore would not com-

mand obedience. Instead of seeing the judges administering the law with solemnity, the people saw them shouldered from their benches by officers, who, ignorant of law and precedent, were guided only by their own capricious opinions.

He read an extract from a work of sir John Davis, attorney-general to James I., on Irish affairs, which stated, that, after peace was restored, the next object was the re-establishment of justice. The justices of assize made the circuit of the kingdom, trying all kinds of offenders. The people were more deterred than by military executions; and the country was soon cleared of malefactors. Here was the triumph of the old Saxon constitution, the best ever invented by man; and he implored that it might not be abolished. Now Ireland was united to Great Britain, he trusted that the first act of the imperial parliament would be a restoration to her ancient privileges.

Mr. Dennis Brown said it had been proved before the secret committee, that a dreadful conspiracy had existed, to separate Ireland from Great Britain. Jurymen and witnesses had been murdered in great numbers, so that others refused to come forward. Those on the spot knew; that but for martial law Ireland must have been separated from England.

Sir George Hill spoke in answer to sir Lawrence Parsons. He thought the quotation from sir John Davis not in point. In king James's time the Irish were rude and ignorant. They had now become enlightened. Concerning the exertions of juries, he observed, that in 1797, though the county jails of Tyrone, Donegal, and Derry, were full, no jurymen could be found to try them; and the crown

crown lawyers were obliged to make them sit in judgment on each other by turns. He concluded by pressing the necessity of continuing the act.

Mr. Grey said, he felt himself bound to support the motion of his honourable friend. He was not satisfied with any thing the noble lord had advanced for the measure proposed; nor that any of those who had supported it had adduced the least proof of its necessity. On the other hand, the honourable baronet had advanced facts worthy the attention of the house, even were the question not upon the propriety of adjournment, but on the further continuance of the bill.

It did not follow, that, because a conspiracy formerly existed, and martial law then became necessary, the people were to be deprived of their constitutional liberty now that the rebellion was quelled. An honourable gentleman had said, that in 1797 many persons were apprehended for dangerous crimes, who could not be tried by common law. It appeared, however, that they were house-breakers. But would it be asserted that house-breakers were to be tried by martial law, and exposed to military punishment? If this were asserted, no stronger argument could be adduced to warrant the rejection of the motion. It was said, that, last year, two hundred and seven were seized, and eighty-four condemned. But this had not been explained. It had not been stated what were their crimes, and whether any open acts of rebellion had been committed by them. And why were they not tried in a court of law, when the course of justice was as regular as at any other period, instead of by a tribunal which implied a suspension of all

the principles of the constitution, and a surrender of the liberty of the subject?

The house had a right to expect more satisfactory grounds ere they proceeded in the present measure. Nothing had been heard but congratulations upon the union, as having produced the restoration of perfect tranquillity. The people of Ireland were to be admitted to all the blessings of the English constitution; and all the evils that had been deplored were to be destroyed. He should concur, he said, with his honourable friend, in trying to dissuade the house from determining on this measure till its necessity were more clearly shown. The noble lord had asserted, that the power of martial law in Ireland had in no instance been abused. A well attested fact had proved the contrary. A soldier was brought before a court-martial, charged with having butchered a man suspected of rebellion, even in the arms of his mother; and though the proofs of his guilt were flagrant, he was acquitted. It must ever be unsafe to trust the lives of a people to the decision of a court-martial, so liable to be influenced only by temporary feelings, instead of the considerations of impartial justice. He asked, and contended now, only that the house would suspend their judgment, and examine thoroughly the grounds of the measure, before they placed a power in the executive government, unexampled in similar circumstances in the history of the country.

He did not admit that this power was a necessary branch of the royal prerogative, but rather an act arising from a particular emergency. Martial law could exist only in the absence of the king's peace;

and during the continuance of the rebellion was constitutionally exercised,—but only in that case :—in any other, it was a practice unknown in the usage of any country when the common operations of law could be rendered effective.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after having animadverted on some of Mr. Grey's observations with considerable asperity, proceeded to say, that in former times, when martial law was found to be necessary, the contests were soon decided in the field: but now, though the adherents to rebellion might be disbanded and dispersed, the same flagitious spirit continued; though with diminished means, yet with equal rancour. The prerogative of martial law, which was adequate to a sudden attack and a passing danger, was unequal to contend with a rebellion founded on principles so secret, disseminated, powerful, and persevering. To obviate the defects of martial law, it was necessary to improve and enforce it by legislative provisions.

It had been asked, What was the call for the measure? The answer was, The public safety, the defence of the government and lives and properties of his majesty's subjects. If the operation of martial law, maintained by prerogative alone, had been trusted in order to meet the designs of the disaffected, we should have been compelled to withdraw the benefits of the law from the whole of his majesty's peaceable subjects in Ireland. Which course was then preferable? Should government permit rebellion to rally, and re-unite its scattered parts? or should that system of martial law be adopted which would deprive the unoffending of its protection? Was it

not wiser to prefer that system which combined the benefits of law with the vigour of precaution, obtaining the safety of the state, and yet leaving the ordinary administration of justice? which left untouched all that it was safe to leave, and in no instance overstepped the immediate necessity?

The honourable gentleman had said, that nothing was rebellion but what was armed in the field; but would either law or policy authorise such an assertion? Was it mercy to the loyal inhabitant to allow the growth of the danger till it threatened his destruction? or humane to those seduced into rebellion, to facilitate the execution of their desperate enterprises? A court-martial was not without forms—judges sworn, and witnesses examined. He had been asked, whether courts-martial were superior to courts of common law? As a general proposition, he thought not. But the question was, whether there might not be cases where a court-martial would be preferable? why else was an annual mutiny-bill passed? If the ordinary administration of justice was impossible, if protection of the innocent and punishment of the guilty could not be attained by the ordinary process, might not even the admirers of the trial by jury prefer that by court-martial in cases where nothing should remain of the trial by jury but the name?

As to the question of what ought to be considered a rebellion, he said there were many better qualified than he to discuss it; but whether it consisted in collecting five or five thousand men in arms, or in overturning the established government; whether it pursued its object by burglary or murder, in driving

driving the rich from their homes, or in seducing and threatening the poor from their allegiance; it was no less rebellion in its attributes and design. If there were no protection for innocence in civil law, and no punishment for guilt in criminal process, it was all one, whether rebellion skulked with the assassin's dagger, or assumed the "pride, pomp and circumstance" of flagitious insurrection; for both aimed alike at the superseding of all law, and the total destruction of the government. Would then the house agree to deprive Ireland, in its critical situation, of that mitigated, corrected, and improved system of martial law, formerly exercised upon *prerogative*, without any limitation to its exercise, or substitute for its defects?

Since the rebellion, lord Cornwallis had issued many warrants for courts-martial, which had tried and condemned persons for various offences; not only for *furtherance* of rebellion, but for actual murder and rebellion.

It had been said, that the courts of law were open. True; because the wise measures which had been adopted, and the very measure now in discussion, had afforded that protection and security which otherwise could not have been obtained. He concluded by observing, that if, amidst such perilous circumstances, the laws had kept their course, as in time of peace; if the people had been protected, and the constitution defended; it was only by a continuance of the same well-ordered system that Ireland could enjoy tranquillity, and be secured from a recurrence of those disastrous scenes which must be fresh in every man's remembrance.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the

question was, whether the consideration of the measure proposed should be deferred till due information were obtained; whether the state of Ireland required its continuance. Did it appear that, without this measure, the people could not enjoy the benefits of law, or the lord-lieutenant challenge any right to exercise martial law? By his own speech to the Irish parliament this was plainly impossible; in which he asserted, that there was not even a tendency to rebellion. So violent a proceeding, then, as the present one proposed could not be justifiable. If the nature of the two acts in question were attended to, it would appear that a power was conferred of inflicting not merely ancient punishments, but even new ones; for the bill expressly granted to courts-martial the power of inflicting death, or any other punishment: so that there might be torture exercised in various forms, of flogging, half-hanging, and the rest. By the second act, three persons were made sufficient to constitute a court-martial, to determine on the lives and property of British subjects. By the mutiny-act thirteen persons were required for a court-martial; then ought three to be thought adequate to decide on cases of much greater importance? He hoped that the house would adjourn the consideration of the subject till a communication should come from the throne; and that the friends of the union would not commence their deliberations by so harsh an act as putting Ireland under the dominion of martial law, instead of communicating to her the advantages of a beneficent system of policy.

Colonel Westerman conceived martial law absolutely necessary in the

the present state of Ireland. After the strong statements of the noble lord and the chancellor of the exchequer, it would be presumptuous, he said, for him to enter into detail: His knowledge enabled him to controvert the honourable baronet's assertion, that martial law was odious to Ireland. He said, that in several parts of the country quantities of arms, and many of French manufacture, had been deposited, and afterwards found by persons employed to search for them.

Mr. Canning desired to know what other security could be had against the continuance of hostilities and midnight massacres than that of enforcing the measure of martial law, and accordingly supported the noble lord's motion.

Mr. French said, that the state of Ireland rendered delay dangerous. The honourable baronet had asserted, that during the last two years law business had been regularly conducted. True; but this was under the operation of this very obnoxious act. He concluded by supporting its revival for a limited period.

Mr. Taylor, an Irish member, the said that the salvation of Ireland depended on the revival of the act.

Mr. Fitzgerald observed, that, by the ingenuity of those men who had stirred up the rebellion, the common law had been turned into an engine of destruction. Witnesses were intimidated into the grossest perjuries; and, when reproached for them, said to their reprovers, "What would you have had us do? Was there not a wall around us?" These were notorious facts, sufficient to prove the inefficacy of the common forms of law at present. The most zealous supporters of the common law in Ireland had

been the first victims of the rebellion. The Irish did not wish for martial law, but that the common law might be restored as soon as it were consistent with the common safety.

Mr. J. C. Beresford conjured the house not to delay the adoption of a measure necessary for the safety of Ireland. He then confirmed the statements of other Irish members, that the courts of law had been enabled to exercise their functions merely by the salutary effects of courts-martial. He adduced an instance at the Tyrone assizes, where a jury offered to compromise with the judge, by offering to condemn the prisoner if it should be agreed that his punishment should not be death; and, on the judge refusing, they acquitted him. He likewise mentioned the dangers to which witnesses and persons giving information concerning the rebels were exposed. One, who had acquainted government with some important news, was followed from Ireland to this country, and stabbed to death in the streets of London.

Mr. Ogle said, that, if the bill did not pass, the lives and properties of the inhabitants would not be safe. In Wexford, the county where he lived, the principle of the rebels was to destroy every loyal and protestant subject; to pull down the protestant ascendancy in church and state; and to erect on its ruins a popish hierarchy, and republican government, united with that of France. The rebels were headed by their priests, who were their generals; and, under their guidance, the finest part of Ireland had been desolated. The people began with the murder of their clergy; they burned the houses of the men of property, as
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also their prisoners; and, when they could not find places wherein to burn them, they massacred them in cold blood. On one occasion, 185 men, women, and children, were burnt in one barn. At another time, 185 had been massacred; and, just before the entry of the king's troops into Wexford, ninety-five were murdered on the bridge.

The honourable baronet (sir L. Parsons) had said that all was now safe. Could this be so when the mails could not travel without being robbed, and every packet brought intelligence of some robbery or murder? In his part of the country the people spoke with willing expectation of a French invasion: he therefore thought that nothing but martial law could save the country.

Mr. M'Naghton contended, that martial law alone had repressed the atrocities committed in the counties of Wexford, Tyrone, &c.; and that, in a country where the assassin's dagger was perpetually promoting the cause of rebellion, common applications must be insufficient.

Mr. Bouverie thought that the proper mode for a proceeding of the house upon this measure would have been a communication from the throne, however necessary martial law in Ireland might be.

Mr. Summers Cox thought martial law necessary.

Dr. Lawrence strenuously opposed the measure, which, he said, superseded all the principles and forms of what was properly called martial law; that law established by the mutiny-bill, where all possible checks were to be found, and where the spirit of liberty was always struggling against force. But here three officers were sufficient

to form a tribunal in a country where there were 100,000 troops. All classes were to be subject to this tribunal, while the soldier enjoyed the benefit of the mutiny-act.

The danger could not be so great as was represented, when, out of thirty-two counties, the noble lord could name only three that were disturbed; nor could the evil be very serious, when only thirty-seven persons had been convicted by courts-martial within the last twelve months.

He disapproved the measure, because it went to permit the most unconstitutional power to be exercised over a country, on which it had been said that the union would confer the blessings of the constitution.

Colonel Martin said, that the proposal for martial law must always be reluctantly received in a British senate; but his particular knowledge of the state of the case justified a member in voting for it. He said, that juries had been too forward, as well as too fearful, to condemn. Before one judge, the jury had condemned thirty in one day, whom the judge recommended to mercy. In comparison with such a trial, courts-martial could present nothing alarming to the prisoner. On the other hand, jurors and witnesses had, in many cases, failed to do their duty. With respect to only three members on a court-martial, he thought it of no very great consequence. The court-martial only examined evidence, as the lord-lieutenant revised all their proceedings, and confirmed the sentences agreeably to the evidence.

Mr. Leigh (an Irish member) spoke in favour of the proposition. He showed from the Irish statute-book the number of strong laws enacted

enacted against the progress of rebellion. Conspiring to murder had been made as criminal as the commission of the act. He showed how the disaffected spread themselves. Ten formed a meeting: they were sworn to be secret, and to be faithful to the French; and these ten were sworn to initiate ten more. The acts for sending on board the fleet or to the army persons found from their home after a certain hour, upon the sentence of two justices of the peace, proved the danger; and that some deviation from the common course of law had become necessary. The rebellion was, under its Jacobinical character, a rebellion of the poor against the rich: they looked forward to a division of land; and it frequently happened that they quarrelled and fought about the division of the spoil. From these quarrels important discoveries had been made to the government. As to the courts-martial, they were conducted in a regular manner, and directed by a judge-advocate. He concluded with begging the opposition not to make Ireland a stalking-horse for their debates and party questions. She had suffered too much already. The union had drawn off a hundred commoners and thirty peers from Ireland. Loyalty was a commodity of which there was little to spare for exportation; and, when so much had been brought away, it was the duty of members here to exert themselves for the security and protection of those left behind, weakened by those called to attend the imperial parliament. He strenuously recommended the adoption of the measure.

Mr. Horne Tooke begged, as both parties were equally anxious for the preservation of the trial

by jury, to suggest an expedient to gain that object. It was said that jurors, &c. could not do their duty. It appeared, however, that only four districts out of thirty-two were much disturbed. Might not then the trials be removed from the turbulent to the tranquil district, in imitation of a legal proceeding when a fair trial could not be expected in a particular place?

Mr. Sheridan and the chancellor of the exchequer explained.—No division took place, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

In the house of lords no debate on the bill took place till the 23d of March, when, after the order of the day for the third reading,

Earl Fitzwilliam rose. He complained of the indecent manner in which the bill had been hurried through the house. On Friday night it had not come down from the commons. A measure which was to suspend the constitution ought to have been taken with more deliberation. The bill was to renew two acts of the Irish parliament: these acts were not even before the house; and they were called upon to renew acts which they had neither read nor seen. But why should they be passed at all? A strong proof of their necessity ought to have been adduced; but they had received no information whatever upon the subject.

The earl of Westmoreland asserted the urgency of the measure. The present act would expire on March 25; and, if the act were not passed immediately, fatal consequences might follow. He thought no information, no communication, had been made even to the Irish parliament, and the house ought to follow their example. Instead

Instead of expecting a message from his majesty for the continuance of the bill, it had been more reasonable to expect a message for its discontinuance.

Lord Carnarvon said he could not be silent when he heard that it required no proofs whatever to deprive a British subject of his birth-right, and place him out of the protection of the laws; but that, on the contrary, he must show cause why he should inherit from his ancestors his unalienable right of freedom. These were new doctrines, and marked what they might expect from the remnants of the late cabinet.

The earl of Westmoreland explained.

Earl Moira coincided with earl Fitzwilliam concerning the propriety of previous information to the house.

Lord Holland complained that the bill had not been actually committed. Every clause of the bill was important. But now there would be no time to move amendments.

The lord chancellor defended the manner in which the bill had been brought forward, and said that a new clause, or an amendment, might be proposed upon the third reading.

Earl Fitzwilliam rose again, and said, that the decision of the Irish parliament should have no influence, as they had declared that the act should remain in force only till the 25th of March, 1801. If it was to be continued, fresh information was highly necessary. Ireland had been for some time past in profound tranquillity, and the judges had gone their circuits with the utmost regularity. By this act, Irishmen were deprived of their most valuable privilege of being

tried by their peers. By common-law process, a prisoner indicted for high treason was served with a list of the jurors to try him, and the witnesses against him. No such advantages were to be had when tried before a military tribunal. He concluded by voting decidedly against the bill.

Lord Fitzgibbon (earl of Clare) said, that the papers on the table would prove the necessity for a continuance of the bill;—and the clerk was desired to read extracts from the reports of the Irish parliament in 1798. He was not surprised that the bill should be received with disgust by a British house of lords; and he felt degraded in being forced to confess that Ireland could not be saved without its being passed: the civil government of the country could not support its authority without military force. Democracy had taken deep root there, and it would probably be long ere it were eradicated. The subtlety of the seditious would be sufficiently proved by saying, that many of those who went up with addresses to a noble earl before he left the administration of Ireland were known to have been engaged in a conspiracy against the government. Martial law was indispensable, and could alone secure the property, religion, and lives, of the loyal inhabitants. A noble lord had asked, whether the judges had not gone the circuits regularly? He could answer, that they had always been obliged to have a strong escort for their protection; and two of the judges going to hold the assizes had been attacked by the rebels not many miles from the capital. They were not murdered, it was true, but escaped merely by the rebels having neglected their usual precaution

precaution of bribing the servants ; for, the post-boys turning about quickly, the speed of their horses saved them. The principal object of the conspirators was to disturb the administration of justice. To give every criminal a list of jurors and witnesses before the day of trial was impracticable ; for nine-tenths of them would be murdered before the day appointed came. He said that treason and rebellion had been so completely organised in Ireland, that the mere attempt to administer justice without martial law was defeated, and perverted to the worst purposes. The committee of superintendence in the several districts had spies present at every trial in each circuit, who marked out such jurors as ventured to give a conscientious verdict, and every witness who dared to tell the real truth. From these communications a list of proscriptions was made out, and transmitted, with orders to the several provincial committees to send out a certain number of determined zealots to meet their agents. This was regularly complied with, and the list of assassination delivered to the murderers, who not only were often ignorant of the persons' names whom they were to destroy, but also strangers to those who formed the general committee. They however generally executed their commission to the full, slaughtering the wives, children, and domestics, of the parties proscribed.

The rebels had a system of laws the most severe, and most promptly executed. This was by far more efficient than the civil code, and could only be counteracted by martial law. If this bill were not renewed, scenes would be exhibited in Ireland, to which nothing had borne resemblance since the

year 1641. He said, let noble lords who opposed the bill take a journey to Ireland. He engaged to give any of them a villa, and a farm each, if they would reside in it. After they had tasted the luxuries of an Irish life for a twelve-month, let them come over (if they survived) and declaim for the rights of the Irish.

His lordship adverted to the report that he was an advocate for torture. The foundation of it was as follows:—A blacksmith had been apprehended who was reasonably believed to have been framing pike-heads : after various means tried to make him confess where he had concealed them, he was placed upon the piquet, where he had not remained half a minute when he told them where about 500 might be found, and there they were found accordingly. Was it not more for the benefit of society that one rebel blacksmith should be placed for half a minute on the piquet, than that two or three hundred loyal well-disposed men should be murdered ? which otherwise, in all probability, would have been the case.

Lord Rawdon (earl of Moira) said, that torture, in Ireland, had been used in a variety of other instances beside that of the blacksmith, in order to force confessions of guilt ; and that not for half a minute only, but for whole hours, and at repeated times. An accurate judgment could not be formed upon confessions so obtained. The state of Ireland had been a melancholy one indeed. But from what cause ? Were the inhabitants so different from those of Great Britain ? so prone to barbarism, that, though governed by the same laws, they were so wide asunder in character and improvement ?

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It was a maxim with Plato, that there never existed a general sedition in a country that did not evidently prove misgovernment in that state. The situation of Ireland then was surely to be imputed to the impolicy of government; and the bill now proposed could be no adequate remedy for the evil. The severities of martial law would never dispose men to loyal and liberal obedience. It had been said, that a man might be murdered in Ireland merely for being an Englishman. What then had become of all the promised blessings of the union?—But to the bill there were many objections. If the spirit of rebellion generally prevailed in Ireland, why not make the bill general in its operation? Martial law was not to be justified but by such an exigency; and, if that existed, why limit the application of the law? He objected that the bill attempted to define and legalise what in its nature was not to be legalised. Why not leave the responsibility for the use of this power upon the head of government? He who would shrink from such a responsibility ought not to be entrusted with such a power as the bill conferred. But it seemed, that, when the bill was near expiration, it was to be again renewed. Then why not establish it on broad grounds, or leave it at the discretion of the lord-lieutenant? He would then be obliged to give his reasons for exercising martial law in the several districts: but, if the bill should pass in its present form, there would be no controul over him, and nothing which could ensure a cautious exercise of the power in his possession. He concluded by representing the bill as unnecessary, because the lord-lieutenant might

enforce martial law without it, and afterwards call for an indemnity for this infringement of the constitution.

Lord Mulgrave said, that the necessity for the bill had been made sufficiently manifest; but that his principal motive for rising was to correct a mistake of the noble baron who had just sat down. He had confounded martial law with military execution. Martial law was necessary to support and supply the place of common law, which could not be effectually or safely administered in certain cases: but the application of the extraordinary powers given by the bill was defined and limited merely to cases of riot, rebellion, and treason; consequently, the bill was both a boon to the loyal Irish, and a terror to the insurgent banditti of assassins; and, instead of a harsh oppressive measure, was, on the contrary, founded on a beneficent regard to the safety of his majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland.

Lord Holland said, that the bill went to suspend all law, and abrogate all society. It had been asserted that none but Irishmen were capable of judging of its necessity. This was strange reasoning from those who had supported the union, and had said that the Irish affairs would, in future, be superintended by the wisdom and impartiality of those whose views were unbiassed by any local prejudices or particular attachments. Before the union, it had been said, that the natives of Ireland were unfit judges of what was best for their country: but now the union was passed, they were to be considered as the best judges of every circumstance relative to it. He denied that the papers which stated the existence of

of rebellion three years ago could be any evidence that it now existed. Lord Cornwallis's speech in 1800 proved that, all insurrection being at an end, no reason existed at that time for such a bill as this. He would not say he doubted the facts related by the noble lord; but insisted that this was not the sort of evidence on which the house ought to proceed. If facts, however, were stated in a message from the crown, the minister would be responsible, if they proved to be false. But no responsibility attached to the species of evidence now given. The bill might afford protection to great properties, but would be the destruction of little properties; as must be obvious to every man who knew the nature of a military disposition, which was the worst of all bad governments. Admitting the necessity of the bill to be ever so urgent, he would resist it on the broad principle of moral justice.

Lord Limerick said he was ashamed, as an Irishman, to declare that the bill was absolutely necessary to give safety to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland. Those English gentlemen, members of both houses, who opposed coercive measures in that country, were ignorant of its situation. Whence did they receive their information? From traitors who had come over from that country, and deceived them by false representations, so as to induce them to give evidence in their favour on their trials. The statements of such persons were now likely to be taken as authority against the evidence of a number of noblemen and gentlemen from Ireland, who had witnessed such horrors as this bill was intended to prevent.

Lord Carleton (chief justice of the court of common-pleas, Ireland,) supported the measure, which, he said, he was induced to do by a consideration of the safety of Ireland, which rendered its adoption absolutely necessary.

The municipal law was inadequate to the suppression of disorder, or the protection of loyalty; and the judges were unable to apply this law to the various crimes caused by the rebellion. He could not be suspected of preferring martial to municipal law; but, believing that the latter was not calculated for the distracted state of the country, he was willing, for a short time, to sacrifice a part for the sake of the whole. The bill was originally adopted from necessity; and, according to the accounts he had lately received, he believed that Ireland was less tranquil than it had been two or three years ago. He said that the lord-lieutenant would not have recommended the measure without a strong conviction of its necessity; and concluded by giving his decided vote in favour of the bill.

Lord Hay (earl of Kinnoul) professed his unwillingness to adopt any measure which so strongly opposed the spirit and privileges of the constitution. However, from the facts that had been adduced, he thought the bill necessary; and said he believed that, instead of destroying, it would probably save the constitution. He alluded to the proceeding which was sanctioned by a whig administration, in disarming the highlanders in Scotland after the union; and concluded that, as that measure had been attended with the best consequences, he trusted that this measure would also restore peace and happiness to Ireland.

Marquis

Marquis Townshend spoke in support of the bill.

Lord Grenville trusted that such a measure would never be adopted by a British parliament without the strongest proofs of its necessity: this necessity had now been clearly shown. From the reports on the table, it sufficiently appeared that, though the rebellion had been checked in the field, the principles of it had been infused into the people long before the public commencement of hostilities; and that their influence would remain long after the strength of the rebellion might seem to have been broken. To this evidence was added the testimony of many in both houses of parliament, which was so clear and decisive as to render the necessity of the measure unquestionable.

The earl of Caernarvon vehemently opposed the measure. He said, that the act proposed was a libel on the British constitution—a *fac simile* of the Jacobin revolutionary government of France. The measure was called, in flattery, martial law, but had no resemblance to any law, and was incompatible with all regular distribution of justice. By this act, the governor of Ireland, or any persons appointed at his pleasure, were authorised to put to the torture, or to death, whomsoever they might think fit to suspect of aiding rebellion in any manner, without either examination or trial; and the agents deputed, unless military men—which by the act was not necessary—were totally irresponsible, and amenable to no tribunal, nor could be called to answer for their conduct even by him from whose despotism they had derived their authority. It was supposed a sufficient proof of its present necessity, that

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it had existed for the space of two years in Ireland. This was as good a proof of its necessity for ever, as for its present continuation; and, if such logic prevailed, farewell to a free and limited government! In two years it must either have answered the purposes intended, and be no longer necessary, or must have been ineffectual, and prove that severity was not the proper mean of reconciling disaffection. No proof that rebellion, either open or concealed, existed at that time had been adduced; nor did the present renovating act venture to affirm it, though the former act did. Lord Clare had adduced an instance of the imminent danger of the judges on a circuit; but it did not appear that the fact happened within two years, and therefore could not justify the continuation of the enactment. If proofs existed of facts to render this measure defensible, there could have been no difficulty to produce them. There had been ample time for the purpose; and nothing could account for the omission, but the certainty that the proofs would not bear the light, and the apprehension that a scene of abuse might be opened which would defeat this favourite measure of government. Lord Grenville had said, that, in the late exercise of these unconstitutional powers in Ireland, they had not been applied beyond the exigencies of the state; and that the course of municipal law had taken place uninterruptedly on all occasions where it had been practicable. He said he knew not a stronger objection to the measure than what was urged as a justification of its practice. Where irresponsible power prevailed justice could not be firmly and securely administered.

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administered. The terrors of uncontrollable despotism must range equally over every class of subjects, and the courts of justice were as much exposed to its fury as the dens of traitors. That the courts of law should continue to act when martial law (so called) prevailed, was an additional objection to it; for this was an attempt to blend justice with tyranny, to make the latter prevail even under the mask of the former, and to pave the way gradually to its permanent establishment. Parliament, would commit the grossest violation of its duty in suffering this infringement of the people's constitutional rights, without the strongest proofs of its necessity. Rebellions of every description, as cruel and as horrible, had in all ages exhibited themselves; but it had never happened till now that rebellion had ever been opposed by any thing but open force in the field, and by the civil legitimate power out of the field. The novel way of preserving the constitution, by undermining its foundations, was reserved for the legislators of the present day. The history of mankind forced him to disbelieve the necessity of the measure, and the concealment of its use or abuse for two years raised his suspicion. The preamble of the act stated, that its purpose was *to defeat a traitorous conspiracy to destroy the authority of the king and parliament in that country, and to subvert the established constitution of Ireland.* It had had two years to effect this important service; but had it effected it? During the period when government was armed with unlimited despotism, the mixed authority of king and parliament was destroyed, and the established constitution of Ireland fundamen-

tally subverted. The parliament struggled in vain for its independent existence; and afterwards *voluntarily* surrendered the constitution, of which nothing remained but its former governor and its new despotism. Thus far, the use of the act had been ascertained: enough of it was known to excite abhorrence: proofs to justify it did not exist, or were withholden. He concluded by hoping and trusting that the bill would meet with the fate it deserved.

Lord Somerton (archbishop of Cashel) went into an historical detail of the origin of the bill, and the reasons on which it was founded, as also those on which it had been twice renewed. He stated, that when, in 1798, the Irish parliament armed the crown with the authority of martial law, they did so upon the serious inquiries of the secret committee: that when they continued it in 1799, it was done upon a full investigation of facts: they exercised it with the utmost caution when, in 1800, they continued it to the 25th of March 1801. As a proof of its necessity, the trials in the last two years were not fewer than 200, those within the last two months sixty; the condemnations out of these sixty, thirty-four. He wished that the power of martial law had been extended till the commencement of the next session of parliament. He therefore gave his vote decidedly in its favour, as good and salutary.

Lord King said, that the ground of necessity urged for passing this bill, so destructive to the constitution and the liberties of the subject, reminded him of an argument by which Robespierre's trials might have been defended. The advocates for it adduced the great numbers who had been

been tried and executed, as a proof of its necessity. Thus Robespierre might have said—"My system of justice has not been ineffectual; for I have put hundreds upon trial, and have convicted and guillotined them all." The inefficacy of the former bills had been universally acknowledged; he therefore must oppose the passing of the present one.

The earl of Westmoreland said, that he thought this bill highly necessary to be passed into a law, and should give it his cordial support, though he objected to its title; because, instead of being calculated to enforce and sanction general martial law, it was, in fact, a bill of exemption from martial law, in the general sense of the term; and merely to enable the lord-lieutenant to declare certain districts under martial law, which, without such special authority, he could not do; and to provide certain necessary regulations, all directed in favour of the subject. Several noble lords had reprobated the bill in very bitter terms. This unjust treatment of it reminded him, that when the union was under consideration, though he gave it his support from a conviction of its solid advantages to both kingdoms, yet he feared that the English members of the united parliament, from want of local knowledge of the manners and character of the lower classes in Ireland, might withhold their consent to such strong measures as were absolutely necessary to preserve Ireland in a state of tranquillity. However, in the present instance, he believed there was too much good sense and wisdom in the British members not to listen to the Irish nobles and gentlemen, whose familiar acquaint-

ance with the local circumstances of the united kingdom must enable them to ascertain best what measures would be necessary for its safety and happiness. He was sorry to see his former fears verified concerning this bill, which every lord from Ireland had proved to be so cryingly requisite, that they had even declared the country lost unless it should immediately pass.

Lord Clifton (earl of Darnley) said he was fully convinced of the necessity of the bill, and should therefore give it his vote.

The earl of Radnor owned he disliked the bill; but after what he had heard from the lords Clare, Carleton, and Limerick, he was convinced of its necessity, and should therefore give it his support.

The marquis of Downshire closed the debate, and said he was so fully convinced of the bill's necessity, from his own personal knowledge of the alarming state of several counties in that part of his majesty's dominions, that he wished he had possessed a villa in the county of Wicklow, to which he could have invited some of the lords and gentlemen who had opposed the bill; and he would engage that, in twenty-four hours after their arrival, they would be eager to return to this happier part of the united kingdom.

The house divided—

Contents	-	-	-	80	
Proxies	-	-	-	10	—90
Non-contents	-	-	-	7	
Proxies	-	-	-	0	—7
Majority	-	-	-		83

The bill was read a third time, and passed.

As the above bill was limited to the period of three months, in order

to give time for an inquiry into the state of Ireland, on the 27th of May Mr. Abbott moved that the report of the committee of secrecy be taken into consideration; which being agreed to, he moved that the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland be read; which being done,

Mr. Abbott observed, that after the discussions in that house concerning the state of Ireland, and the printed report proving the critical situation of that country, no new arguments were needful to show the necessity of the present bill. It was true that on a former occasion some gentlemen had denied it; but subsequent events proved its propriety; and the arguments were so convincing, adduced by gentlemen who represented that part of the empire, that the majority of the house favoured a limited continuance of martial law. The report confirmed all the assertions made in that debate, by those who had felt the violence of that spirit which this measure was fitted to repress; and stated, that this spirit increased, that the flame of rebellion was unextinguished, and that a dominion of terror was exercised over the quiet and well-disposed. Against this it was requisite to oppose the terror of justice by a law which had already been exercised with such good effect. He therefore moved for bringing in a bill to continue the act for a further limited time.

Mr. Whitbread said, that he had already opposed the bill, and was truly satisfied in having so done. The report stated that the rebellion still raged, and that Ireland was in a worse state than when the bill first passed. What then had martial law produced but more mischief than when first proposed?

Arguments against it were however unlikely to influence the house under its present prejudices; but he should move several amendments. The spirit in Ireland was not to be counteracted by coercion, when several in that country regarded an invasion as the only chance of rescue from their evils: peace alone could prevent the people from expecting relief from a foreign enemy, and render Ireland happy with the empire at large.

Mr. H. Brown said, that Ireland was not in a worse state since the former bill had passed; and the report only recommended martial law, as a remedy to pressing evils, which had tended to the safety and quiet of Ireland, having been exercised with moderation and lenity. He wished for peace as much as any one; but at present martial law alone could eradicate the spirit that disturbed that country, and bring the ring-leaders to that punishment their crimes deserved.

Mr. O'Hara contended that Ireland was at present in a very different state from that represented when the bill for martial law was passed. The committee might know the circumstances of England, but not equally those of Ireland; therefore he could not rely on their opinion equally in both cases. There might be some Irish emissaries in France, but of a very different description from those employed there before the rebellion. The latter were sent over by the committee of United Irishmen, fully accredited: the former wholly otherwise, persons of no consideration, whom the existing laws of Ireland precluded from the power of returning home. The report had said that a new association had sprung up; but owned

owned also that the vigilance of government had suppressed it. These disturbances were allowed to have been only in a few districts, and the general state of the country profoundly peaceable. The members from Ireland had represented their country in a worse state than they intended, speaking only of what they had seen and felt, which the house mistook for the actual state of Ireland. He could call upon the members for Connaught and Leinster, and ask them, whether those provinces were not now perfectly peaceable and loyal? Some counties in Leinster were unquiet, but it was wrong to charge on the whole kingdom what belonged only to a part. The instances in support of the measure were taken from what happened in 1798. There was now no difficulty to execute the laws, even where the rebellion had been most violent; therefore the law should not be extended to the whole kingdom; and he was glad that the lord-lieutenant was to be empowered only to try such persons by martial law as were found dangerous to the peace of the country. He wished to mitigate the measure, and to reinstate Ireland in the good opinion of the house.

Sir F. Biddell would not admit that martial law had effected any good in Ireland. The report would prove the mischief it had done. The public mind was more exasperated, and the country's affections more estranged than ever. As no good could be expected from coercion, he should oppose any bill tending towards it.

Sir R. Buxton contended that martial law had produced the best effects in Ireland, and therefore he should vote for its further continuance.

Sir J. Parnell wished that the law might pass for as short a period as possible, but especially that it might be exercised with humanity. The report was very defective: if a thorough detail of the state of Ireland had been given, the country would have been found not in rebellion, but despondency. Gentle measures, not coercion, were required. The distress of Ireland was clear by the daily migrations from it, so ruinous to its welfare and the interests of the empire. The committee had not attended to this. The best means of conviction had not been adopted. Information was sought from the officers presiding at courts-martial, concerning the modes in which they were administered; and they naturally answered "Very well;" being themselves the persons concerned. Why be content with letters of administration? Personal evidence ought to have been required here, as in other committees. The report also threw out a foul and false imputation against the landed interest of Ireland; asserting that an emissary at Paris was planning an invasion with the enemy. He knew not how such a misrepresentation could have crept into the report of the committee. The landed gentry of Ireland were uniformly loyal, and attached to the British constitution and connexion; and had suffered for both in purse and person. Only three counties were said to be rebellious. Twenty-nine counties stood wholly unimpeached. Of late only fourteen courts-martial were holden: last year there were seventy-four. He hoped these considerations would check their flippancy who pretended that Ireland could be controlled only by martial law. He

must deprecate a government exhibiting only acts of power: something should be done to change the people's mind, and regain their affections: If a spirit of disaffection were suffered to rankle and increase, the most violent laws could not resist it. Let Ireland feel the congenial character of Englishmen—their liberality, and more beneficial effects would follow than any from violence and force.

Mr. Leigh denied that the landed interest of Ireland had been impeached. The report only mentioned a person accredited by himself, and who stated the opinions of men of property in Ireland to the enemy. On a former occasion he contended for the necessity of martial law, and was ready to repeat what he had said, and what the report would verify.

Sir William Newcomen said, that the tranquillity at the assizes in various districts was solely owing to the bill. Property, loyalty, and order, were secured by it; and without it he thought the country would be undone. He complimented the loyal inhabitants of Ireland for their exertions against the rebellion, and concluded with his hearty assent to the bill.

Mr. Jones had heard the necessity of the bill so strongly asserted, that he wished to vote for it; but yet wanted to know whether the judges were convinced of its necessity: otherwise he should resist the continuance of a bill which might be abused for very dangerous purposes.

Sir John Parnell said, in explanation, that he meant no reflexion on the landed interest of Ireland; it was from a conviction of their loyalty that he regretted a passage in the report creating even a suspicion of their disaffection.

Mr. Ogle expressed his unwillingness to repeat his former arguments in support of the bill, stating that his opinion was unchanged, and he was convinced that the bill was still wanted. Whatever might be said of particular districts, the spirit of disaffection existed in some degree in all parts, and was ready to burst into open rebellion. He proceeded to establish his positions by facts. A committee of the disaffected in Dublin had been apprehended, over whose president's chair was placed a portrait of the first consul of France. He mentioned also emissaries in this country who were debauching the people's principles; and also a directory at Paris, in correspondence with another at Hamburg, which conveyed information again to the directory in Dublin; by which intelligence was conveyed to all the other committees throughout the country. He pressed the prolongation of the bill, as absolutely necessary.

Mr. Cootte followed on the same side, and complimented the administration of the marquis Cornwallis, particularly in regard of this bill; in the application of which the marquis seemed deserving the warmest gratitude from Ireland.

Mr. Alexander denied that the Irish were in a desponding state. Traitors whose schemes had been frustrated might despond. He disapproved vague assertions about ameliorating the state of the people, because the house might be thereby supposed to have neglected their interests. He specified the sums granted last year for several purposes concerning agriculture and improvement; and though he could not believe that Sir J. Parnell

nell would countenance any dangerous opinion, he hoped that no suspicion of the house's inattention to the situation of the Irish would go abroad with the sanction of so great a name.

The motion being put, it passed without a division, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

In the house of lords, on Wednesday June 17th, the order of the day being read for the second reading of the bill for martial law in Ireland,

The secretary of state rose, saying, that this bill was to continue the martial-law act which had been fully discussed some months since, when noble lords had said, that, being again called on to renew that act, they should expect more proofs of the necessity of its continuance. He lamented that it should be needful to pass a bill confessedly deviating from the principles of the constitution. The original bill passed on the ground of the Irish parliament judging it necessary for the security of persons and property in the united kingdom, on the reports of the committees, and weighty information communicated by the representative peers of that kingdom. What had since happened must induce the house readily to pass the present bill, which extended the former to the period of one year: and the secret committee's report would show their reasons for continuing it, and recommending the measure as both just and politic. He said he would not detain their lordships on the bill's necessity. He spoke of the good effects already produced, the lenient but efficacious administration of the law by those who exercised it. He mentioned the change of the person chiefly charged with the go-

vernment; and though his predecessor had secured the applause of the united kingdom, yet the noble earl's character, now at the head of Irish affairs, must equally induce that confidence placed in his predecessor. The law established by the bill had already produced all the good the case could admit; and yet from every information, especially the late reports of the committee, a continuance of the measure would be still necessary. The report of the committee of the house of commons, and their lordships', sufficiently proved it, and furnished solid grounds for renewing the bill—showing that the rebellion was so far crushed as not to appear by day, and collectively in the field, yet the spirit of it existed as much as ever, and nothing but the effect of the former bills had suppressed it. He therefore moved for the second reading.

Earl Fitzwilliam rose next, and said, that he could not agree to the noble lord's arguments for the bill. Having felt it his duty before, he felt it tenfold now to resist the passing of it, even on the very grounds that the committee had urged for it, supposing it founded on fact, good sense, and true policy. On discussing the last bill, they had been told that the measure adopted was necessary to end the rebellion: now they were told that a great ferment still prevailed in Ireland. If therefore the bill had failed in its effect, it ought to be continued no longer. Not only its constitutional tendency, but its deleterious effects, claimed his decided opposition. When the last bill was under consideration, several noble lords from Ireland had tried to excite apprehensions by describing the state of the coun-

try: but might they not be influenced by local prejudices? And what safe dependence could there be on the report of a secret committee, from facts of which their lordships were ignorant? Another reason for passing the last bill was, that the powers given were vested in the lord-lieutenant, distinguished no less by his moderation and humanity as a magistrate than his skill and bravery as a commander. This noble lord (Cornwallis) had been recalled; and, although there was nothing but what redounded to the honour of his successor, still he was a perfect stranger to the country, its habits, opinions, and prejudices. Instead of continuing so severe and oppressive a measure, which had wholly failed, and rather increased the disaffection of the Irish, his lordship advised kind and conciliatory means. He not only denied that the country wished the bill renewed, but read an extract from a magistrate, stating, that if government thought martial law necessary he would continue to enforce it. This seemed to announce that he wholly relied on government, and therefore adopted martial law. He complained heavily of the injustice and oppression exercised under the bill. As to the judge-advocate, far from being qualified as a lawyer to do strict justice, it appeared that he frequently had been a lieutenant, or only an ensign. He appealed if it were right that a boy of fifteen, or under, incapable by law to sell twenty shillings' worth of land, should decide on the evidence affecting a man's life?—a measure tending to the subversion rather than the establishment of law. They should pause ere they placed thousands of their fellow-subjects at the mercy of boys, or

even children;—for little better were some of the ensigns who sat on the courts-martial. His lordship concluded with declaring against the bill.

The earl of Suffolk argued against the measure, chiefly on the grounds of its inefficacy, and tendency to alienate rather than conciliate the people's affections. He attributed the turbulent spirit among the lower orders of the Irish, and their excesses, to their great poverty; and their oppressions, through the misconduct of government. He placed but little reliance on the report, observing, that he thought it mostly an *Irish report*. He had the honour to have known the late sir Ralph Abercromby, who had commanded in Ireland at the commencement of the troubles; and he asked sir Ralph, since he left the country, what he thought of its state? who said, that the state and conduct of the Irish were just what their government chose to make it; inferring, that if those in authority oppressed them, they might become seditious and tumultuous. Sir Ralph had also said, that he had travelled with only two servants, perfectly unmolested; which showed that the turbulent state of Ireland had been much exaggerated. As to robberies and murders, he reminded the house of the dearth and scarcity of all kinds of food; and that the houses of many were burned down, and themselves suffered torture. Was it surprising that individuals thus cruelly treated should redress themselves by the plunder of their oppressors? He asserted that much of the misconduct of the people arose from their oppressions, which he proved by details; and reminded the house, that in Ireland

Ireland there was no provision, as here, for the poor (in order to show their comparatively happy situation in this part of the kingdom); for whose support one third of the landed income was contributed. He remarked that, when in Ireland, a friend of his seeing twelve of his labourers return from a hard day's work, he called them, and said, "My lads, here's something to drink;" giving them sixpence. And on his saying to his friend, "What! only sixpence?" his friend answered, "That will get each a halfpenny worth of shebeen (small beer), which will satisfy them." The earl concluded with opposing the bill.

Viscount Limerick said, in reply, that if the noble earl who spoke last but one refused to confide in those noble lords who resided in Ireland, whose property was there, whose characters and acquaintances with the customs of the Irish enabled them best to judge of the necessity of the bill—and if he would not trust to their lordships' own committee, formed of the most enlightened part of the house, and the best informed Irish peers—whence could the noble lord expect information which he could confide in as to Ireland? Was it from traitors, robbers, and assassins? from the traitors now in Scotland, or from cold-blooded neutrals—men without one loyal principle to government, who were held back from rebellion till they saw which side was strongest? Was it from such that the noble earl concluded that there was no further necessity for martial law? As to an ensign acting as judge-advocate on courts-martial, and such being a boy of fifteen, he would not assert that no subaltern officers had ever acted as judge-advocates on necessity; but would

boldly declare that no one under thirty or forty years old had exercised that office. As to the present bill, every loyal subject wished for it. If they refused to pass it, every loyal man in Ireland might curse the union for depriving them of their own parliament's protection. The scarcity of provisions could not have caused the rebellion, since the plots and conspiracies had existed long before. This had lately been made a pretext, and with success, to stir up the ignorant and thoughtless. In regard to the argument, that these measures would not check the outrages in Ireland, he said it was not so easy to check the rebellious French principles spread throughout Ireland; but whenever martial law was exercised there, that part was quiet. In Limerick, where he had many years been connected, and where his property lay, the report of their lordships' own committee would show, that Mr. Ormsby, a man of high reputation, acted as judge-advocate on most of the courts-martial; and so far were the rebels from being deprived of legal advice and assistance, that there was scarcely one trial without counsel of the most eminent abilities in Ireland, the rebels always having plenty of money, and being so well able to fee lawyers, that there was no trick or quibble which had not been used for them. He regretted to hear the term *Irish report* as a reproach. The fact was otherwise. Their lordships knew how the committee was composed; and he would say, that that part of the united kingdom produced as honest and as enlightened men as any part of the world.

The fact stated of sir Ralph Abercromby was inapplicable, it having happened previous to the rebellion.

rebellion. He knew, however, what that very commander thought of the danger of Ireland, by the orders he had issued from the garrison of Dublin. His lordship said, that the bill was absolutely necessary to protect his majesty's loyal subjects, whose lives and properties could not be preserved without its continuance. He therefore declared that he should vote for the bill.

Lord Holland spoke with great animation against the bill, and lamented that he must debate it on considerations of a personal kind, which, however painful to his feelings, his public duty rendered necessary. He meant no slight to noble lords from Ireland, when he owned that he could not rely on their information; for, if that was fit parliamentary ground for the present bill, one of the chief arguments used by the ex-secretary of state in defence of the union must fall, viz. that after the union all subjects connected with Ireland would be more temperately discussed, because the imperial parliament would be free from local prejudices, or any feelings which might obstruct a candid and impartial determination. He would never agree that only one set of men was competent to convey authentic information. He condemned the bill as a direct infringement on the constitution, and a miserable proof of the pretended advantages the Irish were taught to expect from the union. The Irish were placed thereby in the same merciless state for another year; and, by the same arguments, might remain so for thirty years longer. And could any man defend the justice of this? This were to raise the most oppressive despotism on the ruins of a free government, more arbitrary and tyrannical than any

in Asia or Africa. He said it had been understood, that after the union nothing but the emancipation of the catholics would be wanted to make Ireland as happy as Britain. Why at least should not a conciliating measure accompany an oppressive one like the present? He dreaded the renewal of martial law in Ireland as a prelude to the destruction of the liberties of Britain.

Their lordships had erased from their books a dissent which he had formerly entered upon them, and felt himself fully justified in it; but they never should expunge from his breast those principles of freedom which he had cherished from infancy. He added other arguments to disprove the pretended necessity for passing the bill, or to warrant any sanction to a measure so unjust and oppressive.

Lord Carleton said, that when the present bill was discussed in a former debate, much had been said of the lords who, like himself, belonged to Ireland, and had resided there, in very flattering and conciliatory terms; and he was also sorry to add, that in much which had been said justice had not been done them. No one could be more inimical to such a bill as this than he; and nothing but a strong necessity indeed could justify such a deviation from the constitution passing into a law. He had witnessed the existence of that strong necessity. Those noble lords who had resided in Ireland during the rebellion had seen but too many reasons for martial law, and were best enabled to argue for the bill. But he did not desire or expect it to be passed through confidence in him or the other Irish peers alluded to. Reports of committees of the house of commons,

commons, and of their own house, were on the table; and he thought that these might have engaged their confidence. Although the head of rebellion was suppressed, yet the principle still existed in all its first vigour: martial law alone kept it down: it was well known that the disaffected anxiously wished another invasion from France; and there could be no doubt that as soon as the French landed in Ireland many disloyal persons would join them; the United Irish having resolved to subvert government, and break the bonds of Ireland and Great-Britain. For many such reasons he determined to support the bill.

The earl of Warwick said he had only to observe, that from what the noble lord had said last, he was satisfied of the necessity of the bill. He recommended to ministers to take proper care that industrious labourers might be supported in both countries;—a serious duty to which ministers were bound.

Lord Longford rose; and in a neat speech defended the bill, saying, that he had seen and felt the necessity of a similar measure, and was sorry that this still remained. The state of the country was not so bad as before, but this was owing to the effect of martial-law bills. A noble lord had mentioned the regular administration of municipal law in Ireland, which was true; but could not have been except through martial law. He made other strong observations in favour of the bill.

The earl of Carlisle said, the noble lord had effectually convinced him that the bill ought to pass for the tranquillity and safety of Ireland, and that this deviation from the British constitution should continue one year longer. He there-

fore, though reluctantly, should vote for the bill. He was not, however, so satisfied with the speech of the noble secretary of state, who had not assigned any reason for the necessity of the bill. Much had been said in praise of the late lord-lieutenant; it must therefore seem very strange that ministers should just then recall the noble marquis, and send out a new lord-lieutenant, who, though highly esteemed, must be a stranger to the Irish and their prejudices. He congratulated the house on the change of affairs during the session: the storm in the north had been averted, and the prospect in the west became more flattering. At home we had the view of a prosperous harvest, nor were longer obliged to put up with substitutes as before. To one indeed we were forced to submit—a *substitute administration*. Great wisdom, abilities, energy, and experience, had been lost; and men totally inexperienced had taken their place. One gentleman had taken the helm, of whose talents for the task they knew little or nothing. His lordship concluded with supporting the bill.

Lord Somerton (archbishop of Cashel) warmly defended the bill; saying, that the expiring parliament of Ireland had bequeathed it as a precious legacy to Ireland, and the imperial parliament had since renewed it. In addition to his former arguments, he said that lord Cornwallis, whose humanity had highly and justly been praised, had called a court-martial in May (as one of his last acts), when a person convicted of murder was executed. His grace urged many reasons for the bill; among others, that the state of Ireland made courts-martial necessary, but were strictly confined to treason, or offences

offences immediately resulting from it. He further said, that he had met an instance sufficiently proving the bill's necessity; viz. that the towns and villages of the west of England and Wales were full of Irish families, exiled, and forced to seek safety in this happier island. He concluded by saying, that no peer who had resided in Ireland would deny the necessity of the bill, or that Ireland could not be governed without it.

The duke of Leinster said, in answer to the noble and learned prelate's assertion, that, if even alone and unsupported, he would deny the necessity of the bill, or that any rebellion remained in Ireland. Those only residing where martial law was exercised could form a just idea of its horrors. He knew a military officer, who searching a man's haggart for fire-arms, being remonstrated with on ordering his men to pull down and scatter the hay and corn, said, "You are under martial law, and I may do as I please." Complaint was made to the marquis Cornwallis, who sent a reprimand to the officer. As to the declared dangerous state of Ireland, the marquis, as well as sir Ralph Abercromby, had travelled safely through the kingdom without a guard: as to municipal law, it was undeniably administered every where at the last assizes. In the county where his property lay, above 200 trials for treason had taken place in the courts of justice, and the parties been convicted and executed.

The earl of Caernarvon said, that he expected the discussion of another important bill; and was much surprised to find a different act in agitation, which had already passed once in this session, running its

useless career, a violation of the liberties of the subject, and an outrage to the feelings of all who had not warped their patriotism to their fears or interest. He had heard in another place that the intended minister for Ireland had disclosed the secrets of government; and, exceeding the prudence of his employers, thought the legislators prepared to receive this new constitution for an indefinite time. Quitting the grounds of the measure, he claimed it as a regular war-establishment; and, to prepare its future progress, included a portion of the following peace. He said, that if the frequent cause of lamenting the attacks on the constitution had not made them matters of common course, he should have thought it impossible that this measure, without notice and proof of necessity, should have been introduced that day. He was not surprised that the noble secretary had owned that it had been received before upon slight grounds, but was astonished to hear him take credit from the reports on the table; for no such report was to be found there yesterday; nor had he heard that the act had been laid before the secret committee. Since this day's discussion he had obtained but one report, without time even to read it. The precipitancy and indecency of this business, without the power of perusing the slight information on which they were to act, sufficiently marked the measure, without more sanguinary proofs of its tyranny. As far as he had perused the report, each word had convinced him that the pretence for this measure was idle. Lord Limerick complained, that their opinion who knew the local situation of that country had been slightly treated. Two other noble lords expressed the same. Doubtless those
facts

facts asserted by those noble persons deserved full credit. But loose history, from common report, was not ground for his belief, especially in his parliamentary function. No loose detail of horrors ought to be admitted for the foundation of a decision on so important an act, which, if erroneous, must be allowed to be the worst measure that ever disgraced parliament. The question was no less than, whether the birth-rights of their fellow subjects, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, should be exposed to unlimited tyranny, where the inhabitants were no longer protected by the law? Noble lords were not aware how defective their statements were to persuade minds judicially investigating the subject. The noble and learned prelate would excuse him for saying that his assertions concerning courts-martial, viz. that the state of the country made them necessary, and that they were confined only to treasonable offences, could not be admitted as evidence from his own personal knowledge; and, indeed, he observed that a court-martial sat upon a murderer, and condemned him: the report of the secret committee would show that this murder was wholly unconnected with any rebellion, open or secret. Upon such loose testimony parliament had passed a law subversive of the constitution, and this was (in his opinion) within its authority. The secretary of state had said, that from present reports solid grounds were established to justify the act, from the rebellious ferment in the country; but no such grounds were discoverable in the report on the table, nor a word about treasonable practices in the account of the Irish ferments, which said, that "an un-

fair reduction of the prices of provisions had been enforced by torture and plunder; to this might be added, the late attack of the mail-coach; and in some places an attempt to intimidate persons from taking farms at a higher rent than had been fixed by the disaffected." But surely the common course of law could punish any of these; nor could such an act as the present be justifiable for their suppression. He asked, whether their lordships had kept in mind the full extent of the bill? Were they aware that the governor of Ireland, by this bill, could put any one to torture, or to death, without trial or proof, and only on suspicion? [*Here lord Hobart said loudly No, no!*] The earl proceeded, saying, that he pledged his life to the fact, and would refer to the passage in the act 39 Geo. III. ch. 2, which authorised the lord-lieutenant, or other governors of Ireland, to take the most vigorous and effectual measures for suppressing the rebellion that should appear to be necessary, and to punish all those aiding, acting, or in any way assisting in furtherance of it, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient for the punishment and suppression of all rebels in their several districts. It also gave power to arrest, try, and detain in custody, all persons engaged in or suspected of rebellion, and to cause such to be brought to a court-martial, &c. By the words just read the governor of Ireland might order any man to torture on the spot without trial, shoot him through the head whom he suspected, or try him before a court-martial of five ensigns under age; and also, authorise any military man, or any other, to take charge of the public safety, and, according to his

his discretion (or his envy, hatred, and malice, under that term), torture or destroy whom he might choose on the spot: and it was observable, that if the governor should have deputed a man, not military, he had no means of calling him to account; for the courts of law were forbidden, under the act, to take cognisance of the offence; and he not being military, nor his offence treason, he could not be answerable for his conduct before a court-martial: such a deputy was therefore as irresponsible as the governor. It was no excuse that this part of the bill was not put in execution; if it were not urgently wanted, it ought not to have been enacted: but in truth this power would have been resorted to if the courts-martial had not sufficiently deviated from the rules which insure the justice of the courts of law, and had not become the terror of the innocent as well as of the guilty. So much was the ancient jealousy of parliament asleep, that it had been repeatedly said that day, it was sufficient ground to renew this act, because the Irish parliament had deemed it necessary, and had passed it. Those who said this were perhaps not aware that this was an argument for its perpetuity, which, if intended, was at least not yet avowed; for, if its former necessity three years ago was a proof of its present necessity, the perpetual necessity must follow by plain inference. There were two points to ascertain:—First, whether the house ought ever to have passed such a bill? and, secondly, whether in the present circumstances it ought to be revived? He said, he could not easily be persuaded that the constitution of Great-Britain, which had weathered so many

storms for ages past, could not preserve itself from the open or secret machinations of a portion of discontented inhabitants: but even admitting that in some cases such a law might be necessary, what were the circumstances which now so imperiously called for this dangerous unprecedented power? They answer, that it is a secret known only to ministers, and a few friends, who desire parliament to believe that there are very good reasons for subverting their country's constitution, which it is not fit they should communicate. Was this parliamentary language? Ought legislators to endure it? Did their lordships really credit the opinions of the committee, so contrary to all former political experience, on the faith of secret reasons? He gave them not the slightest credit. If he believed their inferences, he must think that the limited government of Great-Britain could not support itself as before, and that certain circumstances had made it necessary to change it into an absolute one, without controul; and that this could not fail to *secure the liberties of the subject*: he must believe that trials by five persons under age, in a court-martial, unrestrained by any rules of justice, would probably effect our preservation; but otherwise, that torture and executions without trial *must* preserve from all danger, and secure our liberties: that we were surrounded by perils every where, and by treason among our tenants and neighbours. But if the secret committee did not supply the country with obscure reports, no one would be alarmed, or feel any great evils but those to the constitution. He wished any who approved this measure to show a more arbitrary government than this

this if the law should pass; or how a subject could have less protection, or ministers more despotic power. This system was justified only on a supposed necessity. The virtues of lord Cornwallis, instead of those of the constitution, were to be relied on; and we were to derive our security from believing that he was not better than his successor. But in this system injuries must be silently borne, because complaint were treason: a more iniquitous one was never framed; and if it should ever be in his power to assist in bringing those ministers to justice, who had abused the public confidence, and the influence of the crown to the destruction of the rights of the subject, he would eagerly and zealously exercise it. The constitution was torn from its basis; its principles set afloat; we were as much as France under a revolutionary government, and ignorant where it would settle. No man more venerated the limited monarchical constitution than himself, or would sacrifice more to preserve it. Ten years ago, what noble lord would not have died in resisting what we were now forging for Ireland? What was then his duty remained equally coercive on his mind now. Both the people and the crown had fundamental rights; but their principles had been undermined by the promoters of this act, which advanced the sovereign's by the extinction of the people's rights: but they had even shaken the security of the crown: for, if the assertions of ministers were true, the present state of the country did not admit a limited monarchy; and absolute power was necessary. In the future revolution of circumstances, the very reverse of the present must take place, and then mon-

archy must yield to a pure democracy: it would then be our duty (for the former reasons) to have recourse to it as the best nostrum for the secret malady of that day: and the sovereign, then on the throne, would find that democracy tended to preserve monarchy. He knew not what a secret committee might decide when monarchy was to be overturned; but from the present precedent it must not be chosen from the king's ministers. Human wisdom could not foretell whither the present revolutionary principles might lead; but the arguments at present proved that no government had an immutable basis; but must yield not only to force, but even to such reasoning as might rashly be admitted as sound by their lordships.

Lord Hay said he felt that the measure trenched upon the constitution; but having heard, from almost every noble lord who knew the situation of Ireland, of its absolute necessity, he must assent to it.

The secretary of state rose to reply, saying, that it was in vain for him to try to justify the bill, since the noble earl did not believe a word of the report on which it was founded.

The earl of Caernarvon said, that he took for granted that the facts were fully proved; but what he said was, that he did not believe the inferences deduced from them.

The secretary of state resumed his speech, saying, that even after the noble earl's explanation a justification of the bill from him would be of no consequence. Another noble earl had complained, that he had not argued to prove the necessity of passing the bill; which was, because the report proved the necessity, and that the arguments therein would be more impressive than

than any of his own. The same noble earl had diverted himself with the jesting term of a *substitute* administration. He said no man more lamented the loss of the great talents of his predecessors; but if public affairs were lately so much mended, as was asserted, this was no unfavourable comment on the conduct of the present administration, in whose hands the happy change had been wrought. He read passages from the two reports to convince the house, that if another noble lord (Fitzwilliam) had proceeded into the statement of the magistrate's opinion, which he had quoted, he would have been found a strong advocate for martial law in Ireland. He also read an extract from Mr. Ormsby's evidence (who had acted at courts-martial as judge-advocate, at Limerick), and the oath of the United Irishmen, when he was interrupted by

The earl of Caernarvon, who desired, that if it was thought right to read a part of Mr. Ormsby's evidence, the whole of it might be read.

The secretary of state declined the noble lord's request, not choosing to fatigue the house.

The earl of Caernarvon said he had no fear that the house would be fatigued with hearing what was necessary on so important a subject; and therefore willingly undertook the task of reading the passage *prudently* omitted by the noble secretary: but which was due to Mr. Ormsby's veracity, to show that he concealed nothing from the management of courts-martial. He had said, "That those who *he thought must have been acquitted for deficiency of evidence*, he took on himself the merit of *admitting to bail*; so that, *there being no acquittals*, the court be-

came a real object of terror to all offenders: he could take on himself to say, *that if the judges had come into the town, and stayed the usual time (a week), not a single trial, concluded by him, could have gone on for want of evidence.*" The earl then left the house to judge, from this statement of Mr. Ormsby, whether the constitution was improved by its change in judicature.

The secretary of state resumed his speech, and read the oath, in which the United Irish swore solemnly to assist the French to the utmost, in subverting the government and constitution, and dethroning the monarch. A noble duke had stated, that at one of the assizes in Ireland many had been tried and convicted; which was merely owing to the protection of martial law; without which witnesses would not give their evidence, nor juries do their duty, since they were sure to be murdered or driven from their country. Conciliatory means had been recommended instead of acts of this kind; but the oath proved, that the Irish were solemnly bound to drive every protestant from the country, and support the French invaders. What measures would satisfy such men? As to the exercise of this power in Ireland, it would appear that the prisoners tried by courts-martial had all advantages; copies of the charge, and from one to three counsel.

The earl of Carlisle rose to explain, saying, that by a *substitute administration* he meant no ill-natured personality. He however lamented when, in critical times, he saw a new administration substituting weakness for strength. He allowed the noble secretary and his colleagues as much merit as they were entitled to; but their predecessors

predecessors should not be depreciated to enhance the value of the present ministry. He would not take credit for the plan and success of the Egyptian, or the wisdom of the northern, expedition: the latter was projected and prepared before he or the present chancellor of the exchequer came into office. He apologised for having addressed the house a second time; but what the noble secretary had said demanded some observation.

At length the question, "that the bill be read a second time," was put, and the house divided—

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The bill was then ordered to be committed that day, and was afterwards passed.

CHAP. VII.

Motion for a Bill of Indemnity in Favour of the late Administration.—Debates on that Subject in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords.

HISTORIANS have generally considered an act of indemnity as the severest censure upon an administration. It is seldom that circumstances can arise, when even a temporary violation of law is necessary; but when the error extends to nearly the whole of an administration, the fault must be great indeed, and the abuses frequent. We have seen acts of indemnity passed on particular occasions, as on the landing of the Hessian troops during the American war; but Mr. Pitt's we believe to be the first in which an act of oblivion for a period embracing nearly ten years was ever required. What might be the compact made by the ex-ministers on abandoning their offices we cannot presume to say; but we must add our wish that such a requisition had never been complied with, but that their conduct had been left open to the fair investigation of the incomparable jurisprudence of their country. The late parliament unfortunately was not of our opinion; and the only duty

which remains to us is to report the proceedings upon this important measure.

On Friday, May 27th, in the house of commons, the attorney-general rose, according to a previous notice, in consequence, he said, of the urgent recommendation of the committee of secrecy, to move leave for a bill to indemnify all persons in securing, imprisoning, and detaining individuals under the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, since the 1st of February 1793.

He entered into a short explanation of the justice and expediency of the bill. When persons, in doing a public duty, were so situated (in consequence of an act for general tranquillity and good order), as either to be liable to punishment or compelled to disclose what they ought to conceal, it was but justice to give them such protection as common forms of law could not. It was needless then to discuss the bill's principle at large, therefore he should only explain its designed application. He intended it to be

large and extensive, and its operation to apply to all who were liable to be impleaded by executing the act, that they might then be able to stay proceeding, and if judgment were given against them they might apply to stay execution.— After some more observations, he wished that the bill should be read a first time the next day, and, after printing, a second time on Tuesday, and its principles and provisions fully canvassed.

Mr. Grey could not consent to the bill's introduction on the explanation then given. The honourable and learned mover seemed to think it enough to say it was an act of immediate justice; but it might be extremely oppressive to many individuals. In former times, it had been necessary to suspend the habeas-corpus act; and those who exercised the powers then granted had as much responsibility and claims to immediate justice as the present ministers. But he did not recollect that a legislative provision was had in such a case; therefore that should be shown to be necessary now which was not considered so formerly. He said that the principle of the bill was more hostile to the constitution and the system of English jurisprudence than any other measure of the late administration. Therefore he could not consent even to its introduction.

The attorney-general, in explanation, referred the honourable gentleman to two precedents, in 1746 and 1780, when such bills were adopted.

Mr. Archdall quoted lord Somers's authority, that such a bill was not unconstitutional.

Sir F. Burdett thought the bill quite of a piece with all the other measures of the late ministers, who, conscious of their own criminality,

were for screening their inferior agents.

Mr. Tierney strongly objected to the mode of bringing in the bill, saying that the committee had no power to examine the subject of it. The papers referred to them regarded the plans of the disaffected here and in Ireland, and formed the only ground of their inquiry; but they had taken up a subject quite distinct, and founded a measure on it wholly irrelative to the great object of their inquiries. This proceeding was dishonourable to the house, and only intended to screen the late ministers by an *ex post facto* law. He allowed that indemnities might be necessary in some cases, but this was a very peculiar case. Ministers had formerly asserted their conduct to be legal in this matter; and when he and his friends wished to know the extent of their responsibility, they had been told by lord Eldon, now raised to the highest legal honours, that a bill of indemnity was unnecessary. No dreadful consequences to ministers for want of such a bill were then insinuated. But if they had doubts for forming the present bill, why were they not stated for six years, but brought forward with a demand of general indemnity? He asked the chancellor of the exchequer, Whether a bill so introduced deserved his support? It was reported that the change of administration was only a juggler; this he would not now discuss; but bad men might argue in support of this notion from the mode of the bill's introduction, and say that the late ministers had gone out to get a committee for screening them from punishment. He ended by recommending the appointment of another committee, on whose report, if needful, the bill might be grounded.

Mr. Pitt said he would not detain the

the house in this stage of the business, but the bill ought to be rightly understood. It was not to justify certain individual measures, but to protect persons from punishment for acts conformable to their public duty, whose legality they could not defend without endangering the lives of others. The most important information had been derived from sources which could not be disclosed but with danger to their lives who gave it. To prevent this the measure was designed;—that evidence should not come before the house, that the safety of disclosing might be judged of. He owned his responsibility deeply implicated, and trusted that when the independence of the committee was considered, their impartiality would not be disputed.

Mr. Bragge spoke to order, and said, that though select committees had no power to form resolutions, they might suggest what might arise from the subject of papers before them.

Dr. Laurence would accede to a bill of indemnity under proper modifications, but resolved to watch over the bill with constitutional jealousy.

The chancellor of the exchequer hoped what had been stated by his honourable friend would remove doubts as to the committee's power. They might advise what measures seemed expedient. Mr. Tierney had said the bill now proposed did not fairly arise from the papers.—It was impossible that persons wishing for indemnity could be defended without sacrificing public and private duty, and therefore the bill was necessary. As to what Mr. Tierney had said of a juggle between his majesty's ministers, it was unworthy of him. No such expression should ever deter him

from his public duty. He had often differed from those ministers, but never in those measures which had saved the country; and he would protect those who had protected it. He now asked for others what perhaps he might have to ask for himself. But he supported the bill from no selfish emotion. Each who did his duty claimed protection; and, whilst he performed his own, he hoped to experience the same.

Mr. Tierney explained, professing, that though he suspected a connexion between the late and present ministers, he would not hazard an opinion till he had better materials for judging.

Sir R. Buxton defended the late ministers.

Mr. Jones never spoke of the change of administration as a juggle, differing herein from his best friends: but were he asked on his honour whom he thought first minister, he could not tell.

Leave was then granted to bring in the bill.

On Friday, June 5th, the order of the day being read, sir Francis Burdett presented a petition from Jasper Moore against the bill, stating, that he had been confined three years under the suspension of the habeas-corpus, when he had had the severest treatment, chiefly from the jailor of Cold-Bath-Fields' prison: he was arrested in April 1798, and sent to a damp stone cell, where he remained twenty-three hours without any food, or even water. He was examined on the 5th day before the privy council, answered every question, and prayed an immediate trial, which was refused, and he locked up in Newgate in a stone cell, where he was suffered to walk out only a few hours in the day; but Mr. Kirby's treatment was humane, contrary to that of

Mr. Aris. He had been removed to Ipswich jail, and harshly used; but his state was bettered by the magistrates. He was brought to London the 1st of March, and liberated by Mr. Ford, who gave him 15*l.* for his wife and children: he was arrested again on the 12th of April, and soon released. His health was so much injured, and his character, which he longed to clear by a trial, that he was disabled from maintaining his wife and four children, who must now ask parochial aid. He entreated relief, and prayed the house not to pass a bill to indemnify his persecutors.

Petitions of a similar kind were read, and ordered to lie on the table; and one from Thomas Goodluck, presented by Mr. Jekyll.

The attorney-general having moved that the speaker leave the chair,

Mr. Jekyll said, that this measure, though unusual, was supported in a manner still more so. He expected that the learned introducer would have detailed its provisions, explained its operations, and adduced reasons for its policy and justice. But he much regretted the change of those constitutional principles in his right honourable and learned friend which he once so greatly admired. His robe seemed like that in history, producing delirium, and he whom it covered was no longer to be known by his former friends. He was surprised that ministers could come as delinquents, and pray that justice might be stopped for their security. They feared not what parliament might do; but the courts of justice were uncorrupted, and ministers must be screened, lest the injured should apply to those courts for redress. He said, that the report on which the motion was founded was a far-

rago of nonsense, and composed of old and hackneyed materials. He denied any precedent existing for the act. That passed in 1746 indemnified the suppressors of a dangerous rebellion. In 1780 there had been an open insurrection in London, and the act of 1781 reached only to what was done for restoring tranquillity. In these cases there was a right to call for indemnity. But where had been insurrection now, or any danger of rebellion? The period also was indefinite. The *terminus à quo* was the year 1799, but the *terminus ad quem* God only knew. The bill stated the mass of the people as disaffected. He maintained them to be loyal. Those who were discontented had reason. When the people saw a war protracted without necessity, their substance wrung from them by tax-gatherers to be lavished on pensioners, and they deprived of privileges for which their ancestors had bled, could it be wondered at if they were dissatisfied with their rulers? Had they not been deprived of their natural organs, they would have expressed their discontents to the house long before. But the people were well affected to the constitution, and not disposed to innovation. It was now owned, that in some cases persons not charged upon oath had been taken up. What became of the law of treason? No man could be charged with felony but upon oath, and yet the law meant that those charged with treason should be in a better situation. Ought a man to be tried without an information upon oath? He knew that justice Buller had complained that the informations taken before the privy council had not been submitted to him at Maidstone. He condemned keeping secret accusations

tions with the names of the accusers. From a court of this kind no one could be safe for a moment. He was astonished that Aris should be kept in office after his multiplied cruelties. He expatiated on the sympathy of the late and present administration. He thought it so close, that nothing could benefit the one without the other. He concluded by giving his negative to the motion.

Mr. J. H. Browne defended the committee, and their recommendation of the present measure, and thought that the present administration ought to follow the example of the former to deserve the confidence of the country. The necessity of the measure alone induced him to support it.

Sir W. Elford said, that no part of the bill precluded the petitioners from legal redress. He justified the committee's conduct, and his majesty's late ministers, who had acted for their country's good, believing that its preservation was due to their firmness and vigilance.

Sir Francis Burdett said, that the secret committee's report should be called a pamphlet, and only a long vindication, declamatory, but unsupported by facts. He was glad to find that the bill was not to screen the oppressors of their fellow subjects. He thought the secret committee condemned persons without evidence. He asked the attorney-general if the bill was his own, or came from those employed to draw bills? It was crowded with powers, and what even the committee did not intend it to be.

Mr. Martin of Galway said, that ministers alone ought to complain of the bill. Their conduct was legal, which they could prove if suffered to produce their evidence.

Mr. Grey said, that he greatly

regretted the confidence expected from the house in whatever measures were proposed by those in power. He was not surprised at the principles of the bill, nor the mode of its support, but was filled with grief at what deserved reprobation on all accounts. The preamble stated, that, a conspiracy existing, indemnity should be given to certain persons, excusing them from producing the evidence laid before them. The true name of the bill was, "A Bill for the Protection and Encouragement of secret Accusers." Such agents might sometimes be necessary, but now they were openly recognised for the first time. No precedents in point had been brought from the history of this country. In states deprived of their liberties, and oppressed by their laws, such practices had prevailed. In the annals of Tacitus they might be found, but not in the British history. What had made the English administration of justice the wonder of the world? Because it was done *foribus apertis*, and the accuser and accused are confronted. Thus innocence is secure, and punishment effectual, all being convinced of its justice. Arbitrary power might have some conveniences, but the good and evil of systems ought to be weighed together. Secret informers might detect a conspiracy, and often become the agents of tyranny. The escape of a hundred delinquents was less injurious to the community than one breach of the principles of jurisprudence. The powers of government might suspend, but not abolish, the rights of the subject. It was said that ministers, not being tempted to abuse these powers, they would also be deterred by personal responsibility. Now ashamed to detain these men longer, the day

of retribution had arrived, and they applied to parliament to be screened from punishment. So this responsibility ended in a bill of indemnity. —As to the prisoners, he declared, that had he his choice of instant death, and their long train of sufferings, he should consider execution as the much milder sentence. If they were guilty, what fear was there of suits? They would hardly risk being exposed as traitors. If innocent, what could exceed the injustice of their treatment? In the horrors of a dungeon, they still might hope that the day would come when, by an appeal to the laws, they should clear their reputations, and be avenged of their oppressors. But now, after release, they were again branded with guilt, and denied to know their accuser or their crime. This was as impolitic as unjust. They must be driven to despair. When instead of protection they experienced only oppression from government, could they regard it with affection and reverence?

He wished the house to consider the bill's operation upon those who had suffered under confinement; who, though in the lower ranks of life, claimed justice as much as the highest. They might be guilty, but this could not be inferred from government's conduct. He could not, against the grand principle of English law, presume them guilty until convicted. He denied the precedents quoted by the honourable mover of the bill to affect the subject. That from the bill of indemnity in 1780 he first considered, defying any lawyer to prove its smallest relation to the present. It regarded only the riots at that time, and its operation belonged only to acts during that period, not extended to any measures of precau-

tion (like this bill), which might be adopted in exigency, or to acts for public security, but limited only to magistrates and subordinate officers.

In the American war, the habeas-corpus was partially suspended, and acts renewed for it till 1783; yet then no bill was thought wanting to indemnify ministers. The honourable and learned gentleman seemed to rely on the precedent from in 1746, though this would be found equally inapplicable. At the end of the rebellion in 1715, an act of indemnity was past for acts during the rage of rebellion, unjustifiable by ordinary forms of law. In 1746 an act was framed on the same principle, but a little attention would show it wholly different from a bill of indemnity like the present. In 1744 the habeas-corpus was suspended by a message from the throne, on account of internal conspiracies, and the threats of foreign invasion. The suspension had ceased before the bill in 1746, yet there were no clauses of indemnity to ministers for their conduct during its previous suspension. The principle of the present bill (whatever its ostensible object), encouraged and supported a host of secret informers; for it could not be only to indemnify ministers for acts not strictly authorised by law, since it was said that they had acted with the greatest caution, and committed no persons without full evidence of their guilt. The bill established a system of secret accusers; thus adopting the worst part of the worst governments. Why not fairly avow their design, imitate the state of Venice, and confess that this government could be no longer conducted otherwise than by the adoption of the principles of the most degenerate states? He discussed the appointment

ment and conduct of the committee, which could not engage confidence; nor was there any evidence of full examination which alone could enable them to be just to those individuals whom this bill was to condemn. What could that decision be called, which pronounced on their guilt, and deprived them of means to vindicate their character, or regain consideration in society? The bill was subversive of the British constitutional principles, and calculated to favour secret information—a feature of governments the most inimical to liberty and happiness; it was contrary to law, to justice, and to public duty.

Mr. Wyndham denied that the bill was to protect men who had done wrong. Its necessity was founded on the proceedings to which it adverted. If a suit were commenced against any of the persons to be indemnified, their justification must depend on producing information, which could not be brought forward with public safety, because the public interest required men from whom information could be received. It had been observed, “that the predominance of good should be considered, and that such a law should protect innocence, not guilt.” He said, that some might have been committed on insufficient information, yet those who ordered it ought not to be exposed to vexatious prosecutions. The house should determine which principle ought to predominate, and how far ministers and magistrates had abused their power; whether they should be prosecuted where their conduct was right;—and even otherwise, was it proper to compel them to produce such information as had been declared ought not to be disclosed? But the honourable gentleman condemned secret infor-

mation wholly, complaining of spies and informers (which was constantly done on the other side the house) as being contrary to the good old times of the constitution. But times were now changed, and complaints which had never existed till lately could not be met by old maxims. What precedent was there of proceeding against rebellion such as was in modern times? Was the rebellion in 1745 like that lurking in this country? It was strange that nothing was gained by daily practice and experience; that, with all the destruction we had witnessed, gentlemen should want to tie up the house by ancient practices. When our enemies scorned the faith of treaties, and all sacred obligations, was it a time to talk of precedents? Neither Tacitus nor Montesquieu could furnish maxims for the present times. As to the members of the committee being interested in their decision, he said, they had been appointed by the house not only as the most impartial but the most enlightened on the subject; so that, if interested, their channels of information should make the house favour their appointment. The mode of forming the committee had been charged against ministers, as if they had a sinister design in it: but he asserted (for the credit of the house) that there was no other way of doing it but by ballot. If the twenty-one members were chosen singly, and had their individual merits discussed, the house would never get to the end of the business. He did not think the house would have acted impartially had it chosen those who always thought ill of ministers. The house ought to take the predominance of good, and that of the public should prevail over that of individuals. There were men who claimed that house’s protection;

which was not laying down a law for the future, but leaving to future parliaments, by this indemnity, to give the same to others or not, as might be fit. The other side of the house generally denied the existence of danger: this was incomprehensible, when the ruin of Europe had been nearly effected by such dangers as he had described. Such an argument would go to prove equally that no danger had existed in Ireland, and many in that country denied it at the very time; and, while they thus contended, the rebellion suddenly broke forth in all its horrors. It was therefore the duty of parliament to prevent the like here by timely precaution; and, to do so, they must be guided by circumstances and the actual state of things. The opinion of the honourable gentleman as to the present state of the country was quite erroneous. The house felt otherwise, and the committee's report represented its judgment; and if the house, after trusting men with great powers, were to leave them to persecution, irreparable mischief would be done to the country, as it would expose the person's names from whom information was still received, and who were highly useful and necessary in spite of all said against spies and informers. He would therefore support the bill.

Mr. Horne Tooke said that, in resisting the bill, he professed no personal animosity to the late ministers, though subject to the greatest oppressions from them. He was now inclined to speak, as he could candidly and kindly, of some at the head of administration: these he supposed would not follow the late ministers. Owing to the neglect, at least, of the last administration, some under the suspension of the habeas-corpus had suffered

great cruelties. But the present would prevent such enormities.—Those justly now in custody were treated properly, with no reason to complain. The present bill was the honourable gentleman's brief who introduced it. This fee would be found in the treasury. [*A cry of order.*] Mr. Tooke could not conceive himself out of order, as this could bear the question before the house. Acquainted with such events for forty years, during which twenty peerages had been showered on the bar, while different administrations had liberally poured down on the same body ten millions of public money. This he said in defence of the learned gentleman, who being like others but flesh and blood, was alike liable to powerful temptations.—The house were lately seized with a panic, that a few clergymen would taint their order. Though this was groundless, he approved their wished-for independency. He showed the propriety of jealousy observed of all legal authorities. He was old enough to remember that a decision once proved legal was afterwards disgracefully dismissed. He remembered a very great lawyer pronounced something to be legal, and that one of his students had proved from his own public lectures the direct contrary. He thus warned them against trusting legal authorities too much. Mr. Wyndham's speech had met such applause, that he had now little hopes left against the bill. Hearing the right honourable gentleman's assertion universally approved, he had nearly left the house in despair.

Perhaps some laws particularly adapted to circumstances might be changed, while others founded in nature were ever immutable. Such were those of which Mr. Grey had spoken.

spoken. He contended, that those accused were fairly to be heard before condemnation; and it was a duty to protect innocence from oppression. Such laws, imprinted on the heart, were permanent as immortal nature. He now knew not the way of opposing the bill: but, if its passing into a law could be fairly prevented, he would sacrifice *three* lives for that purpose.

The attorney-general said he should not, as personally applied to, answer the gentleman who spoke last, being not worse treated than the whole bench. The present bill was strictly just, not only favouring such as it was pretended to cover, but a measure to be forced against objectors, to save the state by undivulged secresy. The committee was quite constitutional; its selection the fittest possible. Was so important a subject to be trusted on the other side of the house, by whom the whole might be either discredited or disclosed, not being bound either to secresy, or to consider the matter of such importance as the committee did? Should any one treating it as ludicrous be on the committee? Should those who jested with the religion of their country be seriously named with those who did not? The members of the house should exclude all such from the committee. It was then said the committee were carving their own protection. Could that apply to them; since one member only had signed any warrant of commitment? The bill has not passed for them. On the contrary, if any man were so high-minded as to refuse an indemnity, it should be forced upon him. The bill was to indemnify those whom the state could not legally justify. While some were ready for crimes not sufficiently known, should not government learn their

future proceedings? With the mischief universally circulating by the destruction of all authorities, and the intended ruin of the throne and constitution, with all the beautiful order connecting mankind, was it now proper, by the disclosure of secret intelligence, to sacrifice all safety? This were madness indeed. The present act was literally taken from the statute of 1780, copied from that of 1745, from the 5th of William and Mary—the occasions then nearly similar to those now; and those times were favourable to liberty. The difference between them and the present were, that then an open rebellion, but now a secret one, existed. Much was said of men unjustly accused. Maidstone, he thought, might have cured the deception. There, under the disguise of innocence, the foulest treason was discovered. Whatever might be said of spies and informers, by them only could the state remain in safety. Among those traitors, who by an acquired character had imposed on honest men, here was a person of most enlightened mind, amiable qualities, and loyal sentiments; yet scarcely acquitted by the jury, when he was self-condemned, by his own confession, as a most false and wicked traitor.—Let those who talk of spies, &c. behold Mr. Reynolds, who saved Ireland. So far from blaming him, he could embrace him with gratitude, while he spurned the false O'Connor, whom no language could describe.

Ireland had been protected from a daring and unnatural rebellion by the same system as the present bill, added to the great valour of the yeomanry. He discredited the tales of jailors, &c.; but if true, they would authorise prosecution. The present bill would not preclude persons

persons exposed to cruelty from redress. For the public safety, information must be secret, or the state exposed to ruin. This bill he would support with a safe conscience, and, he hoped, unblemished reputation.

Mr. Tierney said, he knew not if the learned member meant to court the present ministry: if so, he took the right method, who from his first career in parliament had rejected all petitions against stated grievances. He viewed the bill as a blot on parliament, preventing all future justification of fair fame once vilified. The learned gentleman had strongly alluded to Maidstone:—Would he say Mr. O'Connor still retained his former friends? Then let him declare it manfully. The present attempt was an unworthy act of those now in power to screen those whom they were indebted to. By this measure the house were surprised at a late period, none such being expected. In this report the committee far exceeded its powers. Fixed laws and variable constitutions had been named; but it seemed the present object to give ours the old one of France, and now to indemnify the late ministers for acts eight years past. Could a precedent be found for that? In 1793 and 1794 the evidence given to ministers was produced in court—no danger being then expected from the disclosure, excepting that of bringing forward other trials similar to those of that period. From this bill a precedent of the most mischievous consequence might ensue, to which the fame and fortune of any man might be sacrificed. Was the report of a committee to serve instead of a trial by jury? He concluded by declaring his utmost abhorrence of the bill.

Mr. Grey explaining, said the doctrine laid down by the learned gentleman was not imputable to him, but proceeded from a wish on his part to substitute the old constitution of France to that which England had boasted of, and hitherto enjoyed.

Mr. W. Smith said he could not be silent: he considered the business of spies, &c. to be—to discover, not to punish crimes. Such might be necessary for the state's security; but after years of confinement on their account, the matter seemed of serious consequence. He thought this bill an indemnity for those in power and influence, while the sufferers were left friendless without it. He disapproved the bill.

Sir William Pulteney allowed it necessary to prevent the disclosure of certain informations fatal to the country, but deprecated the bad effects of the present measure. The dilemma was unfortunate, and the difficulty great. The best remedy was to indemnify the late ministers only during the war, since no danger could be dreaded by its disclosure at the end of it. They might then fairly defend any action, if they could.

The solicitor-general said he would combat the honourable baronet chiefly in what, though seemingly plausible, could not answer its purpose. It must be remembered, that during a war the means of defence might be destroyed, witnesses might die, those who wished for protection might be left equally defenceless against every ensuing action. Actions also for trespass or false confinement could occur only in four years. As to the bill preventing a justification of one's fame, no such justification could succeed under such an action. Could the defendant only prove that

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he acted legally, whether from false or true information, this ended all further proceedings, the defendant being fully justified in law. He thought to argue the question was now in vain, since no alteration could then be made on either side of the house. One rejected all the reports as fabrications; the others were convinced of their truth, as the majority of that house and the country was also. He supported the measure, being perfectly convinced of its necessity and justice.

After a few words of explanation from Mr. Tierney, the house divided on the question that the speaker leave the chair.—Ayes 172—Noes 38.—Majority 137.

The house then went into a committee, and the report was ordered for Monday.

On Monday, June 8th, in the house of commons, Mr. Bragge brought up the report; which being taken into consideration,

Sir Francis Burdett presented a petition from George Blyth, against the bills, similar to that on Friday, and said that he had another.

Mr. Baker said he must speak against so many petitions, without an opportunity left to ministers to answer the charges in them.

The chancellor of the exchequer said much was due to his honourable friend. He thought the petitioner would be redressed in a court of justice, and no petition ought to be received which could not be answered. Long petitions retarded public business; they swelled the Journals; and regular proceedings ought not to be interrupted.

Mr. J. H. Tooke thought the petitioners claimed the indulgence of the house. It were very hard to reject them. That presented by his honourable friend regarded the

present bill; which, if passed, the petitioners would have no redress. It complained not of jailors, but of magistrates, who would certainly be indemnified. He knew not the petitioners, but they had a right to petition; and even their impatience should be overlooked. They merited pity. All their recompense was complaint. If the bill should pass, they must not seek redress by law: he himself had never obtained it. Ministers had brought this bill only to suppress complaints of their cruelty and injustice. He thought the chancellor or secretary of state would not act like their predecessors.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he would not oppose petitions, but they must not take up all the house's time.

Mr. Tierney asked what redress there was but against the ministers? The jailors could say they treated them only like other prisoners.

The chancellor said that the bill did not exclude actions.

Mr. Whitbread supported petitioning in proper language. He was sorry it was said that they only took up the house's time.

Lord Hawkesbury admitted the right to petition, if not abused.

Mr. Grey said the rich and poor had an equal right to petition.

The chancellor explained, saying, that none was more ready to admit the right than himself.

Mr. William Smith supported the petition, as the present bill deprived prisoners of redress.

Dr. Laurence supported petitioning, and hoped never to see its right abridged.

Sir Francis Burdett then brought up a petition from Joseph Batman.

General Walpole presented other petitions, which were read, and ordered

dered to lie on the table. The report being agreed to, the bill was ordered to be read on Thursday a third time.

On Thursday, June 11th, the attorney-general moved the order of the day for the third reading of the habeas-corpus' indemnity bill.

Mr. Jekyll said he hoped that so important a motion would not have been moved at so late an hour, but be postponed to the next, or some other day, that petitioners against it might support the allegations in their petition.

Mr. Sheridan spoke to the same effect: he and his friends had several petitions against it, which he hoped the house would receive, and postpone the debate, this being the last stage of the bill, and the only opportunity for petitioners to oppose it.

The solicitor-general saw no sufficient grounds for postponing the motion.

Sir William Milner said he had attended the house since twelve o'clock, and thought it hard that a business so important should be pressed on the house at so late an hour (nine o'clock), which would detain it necessarily for an extreme long time.

Petitions were then presented by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Whitbread, and sir Francis Burdett, from various persons.

Mr. Whitbread said, that from the committee's report persons confined under the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, when released, were the foremost in promoting sedition. He therefore begged to know what number, who had been discharged, were again taken up and confined?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that if the honourable gentle-

man would move for an account of the number confined, he would then deliver it up to the house.

Mr. Sheridan contended for the postponing the third reading until the information his honourable friend required were given in some shape or other. The house might then judge of the secret committee's report concerning the petitioners.

The chancellor of the exchequer said this question was asked at a singular period, after the committee's report had been two months on the table, when no anxiety for these persons was shown for whom the honourable gentleman seemed now so solicitous, till the moment arrived for finally discussing the measure on which the information was quite unnecessary. In his readiness to satisfy the house, he hoped it would not be thought that he doubted the truth of the committee's report. It was due to the house to inform them on the question, but was it then essential? If so, why had not the house the opinion given before? He should not object to a distinct motion, but would not consent to delay the third reading of the present important bill till that information sought were obtained.

Mr. Sheridan said that illness had prevented his coming forward before on this question. He frankly declared that a committee nominated and constructed by the right honourable gentleman was not entitled to his confidence, and the house ought to allow the unfortunate men libelled by the report an opportunity of clearing themselves.

Mr. Bragge said it was not material to the credit of the report whether the persons freed had been again arrested. They might have fled

hed from arrest, or government declined to commit them on account of their former confinement, and that they were only the tools of more important persons. Unless one of these could be disproved, he had no ground to censure the committee.

Mr. Grey knew not why the required information should be refused, if it was proper at any other time and not dangerous. Those unfortunate men had complained of calumny from the secret committee. He understood that not one had been imprisoned; and they challenged the severest scrutiny of their conduct. If the first law-officer of the crown knew not whether any were confined, could the *house* trust the execution of the powers of this act to a person so inattentive to his duty? If they were guilty and at large, how could he excuse himself? Ministers were in this dilemma; that they neglected the public safety, or disbelieved the secret committee's evidence: the conduct of ministers might be lenient compared to that of their predecessors; but if the men who were released behaved as the report had stated—assembling seditiously, and forming plans of assassination, &c.—they were the last persons entitled to clemency. Could the evidence, justifying such a report, justify gentlemen in suffering those men to be at large?

Mr. Leigh said, that the attorney-general was not bound to know how many were confined under the suspension of habeas-corpus. The question was, Could the house justly refuse indemnity to ministers who had succeeded in saving the constitution; had acted in pursuance of the act for suspending habeas-corpus, which was not intended to punish the open traitors,

who could be reached by the common course of law; but to defeat those cowardly secret traitors, who would urge others to acts of rebellion which they had not the manhood and courage to avow? Such were the men whom his majesty's ministers had quelled. It were injustice to the house to think they could deny their gratitude and protection to that administration.

Mr. Whitbread said, that if the information required was not given, the third reading of the bill ought to be delayed. The last honourable member who spoke, said that the attorney-general was not the proper person to give information (being no confidential officer of the crown): now he admitted that he did possess information; for he owned it was a fact he did not think it a duty to disclose; and, if he had denied it, the house would have known that he had information, being the adviser of ministers who acted unconstitutionally, by not consulting the attorney-general in such cases. This question was therefore fitly put, and ought to have been answered, particularly as he knew the committee's report defective; and no wonder; for by the petitions and facts in them it was plain the committee had been deluded: if they thought otherwise, the question should be answered directly. It was manifest they had taken many things on trust, which was proved by the report stating that the disaffected hoped aid from the soldiers by the high price of provisions; this was otherwise, for the soldiers had them nearly the same as when low in price. He thought this one of the measures which in the mass would destroy the constitution; which might be done by foreign foes, or by the ill-judged measures of its friends,

friends. But for the French revolution, such power as this would never have been given to government, and increased annually till every principle of public freedom was gone. This was first carried on supposing ministers responsible. But where was responsibility now? This bill destroyed it; for now a minister need only to say he acted for the constitution, and then he must be indemnified: but ministers had overturned its principles, and destroyed its vital part. On these accounts, and because the question so often put had not been answered, he should oppose the bill, and move an amendment, leaving out the word "now," and inserting "Monday next."

The question being put,

Lord Hawkesbury said he should vote for the word "now," because there was no ground for delaying the reading the bill from the information. Parliament should watch the power of arresting and detaining persons without bringing them to trial, the extent of it, and how it had been used; but there was no reason for the information coming as an answer, instead of in the regular course upon motion, unless private information were preferable to public document. He was not surprised at the mode of opposition to the bill, when gentlemen had acted similarly against the alien and other bills proposed for the safety of the state. He blamed them not; they acted doubtless conscientiously; but their minds were framed differently from his: they saw no danger where he saw nothing else, and they no security when he saw nothing but safety. These measures would not have been proposed (it was said) but for the French revolution; certainly not; for this alone had made them

necessary. Gentlemen on the other side said the French revolution had no effect on surrounding nations. Its fruits however proved it the ground-work of all the evils of Europe for many years, and therefore those who judged rightly made it the object of their vigilance to preserve government, order, law, morality, and religion. He was as much attached as any man to the general principles of liberty, and also to the constitution, whose true character was a wise medium between despotism and democracy: it was also admirably adapted to remove any evil surrounding it. What then was the peculiar evil of the time? Against this parliament had always provided. Every country and age had its peculiar evils, and in its real discovery and remedy almost all state-policy consisted. The former evils of this country were very different from the present. When a popish pretender, and the abettors of arbitrary power, threatened this country, the system of parliament was directed to prevent their triumph; but towards the end of the last century, and especially about the beginning of the present reign, a new sort of danger became considerable, but not alarming till lately. Every one saw that the great evil of the day was sedition; but then it only needed the due enforcement of the laws then existing: but now, from false philosophy and atheism, it became formidable, and too strong for the established laws of Europe. It then broke out in France under the name of the French revolution, and was followed by the destruction of monarchy, morals, religion, and every principle cementing mankind, and before accounted sacred. This evil was not effected by a mob

mob with a few leaders, but by a system of organisation best fitted for the destruction of establishments. Such a change must affect other nations. Those who had little to lose, and thought they had much to gain, were advocates for it; and both here and in Ireland a system against religion and property was soon adopted. Gentlemen on the other side denied this long, and might perhaps still in part; for they continually said there might be some discontented individuals, but only few and insignificant, and without property, not as in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. But what did these gentlemen think of the rebellion in Ireland? None could be more dreadful, yet there were no leading men of character or property in it; but its suppression was owing to the spirit and heroism of the gentry of the country. This rebellion proceeded from the French system of revolution. But those who saw only good in that saw nothing in the Irish rebellion different from another; but it had this mark, as emanating from the French, that it needed neither property nor names. This system of secret instruments and organisation was not applied to treasonable purposes alone, but to trade and other objects; and had gained ground by giving to numbers a power and influence otherwise unattainable, supplying the want of property, and whatever formerly gave influence and power. The danger of this system being known, and its adoption by the enemies of the constitution, the example of Ireland, and authentic documents from the reports of secret committees, must induce the house to pass the bill. Persons committed on treasonable charges could be found out only from secret

information. This bill was to protect those acting on informations without obliging them to name the informers, which latter would prevent government from frustrating the schemes of the seditious. If gentlemen were right in saying there was nothing dangerous in the French principles, no conspiracies here against the government, and no alarming progress of Jacobinism, then they might reasonably oppose the measure; otherwise, this bill must be necessary for the public security. It was said that it would make the late ministry no longer responsible; but he argued it would leave them so as much as ever. The house might still call them to account. It protected them only from suits in courts of justice; but the public good, and that of the constitution and government, were its main objects. He should certainly vote for the original motion.

Dr. Laurence said, that the noble lord's speech went to divert the house from the question, by declaiming against Jacobin principles, as if the same danger was to be now feared as in the earlier stages of the French revolution.—He approved the amendment.

Mr. Johnstone said Jacobinical principles were now much in discredit. The Irish rebellion arose not from them, but partly from religious views, and partly oppression. He would not hear that our preservation was from the ministry, but from the country's and government's power. All the great European governments had been preserved as well as Great-Britain; and weak states only were destroyed. Never was there less occasion than now, since the French revolution, for the bill.

Mr. Ogle said real ignorance alone

alone of the true state of Ireland could make any one assert that oppression, and not Jacobinical principles, caused the rebellion. Gentlemen on the other side (strange to say!) were always on the subject of Ireland. They might have learned that Ireland was called *Erin* (a green and grassy soil), but they knew no more of its internal police than of Kamtschatka, or Mesopotamia.

Mr. O'Hara supported the bill, saying, it should be judged of not by the present situation of the country, but that of 1794, when the habeas-corpus was first suspended.

Mr. W. Smith said, he rose on account of the lofty tone of the honourable gentleman who spoke last but one. He thought all the opposition well versed in the Irish language, well acquainted with the etymology of the word *Erin*, but not so of Irish politics. His reason for so asserting was only that the opposition differed on certain points; in which he himself had been contradicted by his own countrymen.

Mr. Ogle said, though thirty years in parliament, he had never been accused of a lofty or presumptuous tone. Sent by his constituents in Ireland to this country, a stranger—[Here he was called to order, as being disorderly.]

Mr. Ellison said the Irish members must know most of that country. He thought a fair compliment had not been paid them on their information. [A cry of No! no!] He then generally defended the bill.

Sir W. Elford spoke in favour of it.

Mr. Martin, of Galway, mentioned the lamentations over the constitution's dead corpse; remarking, that those loudest in such cries often felt the least, having been acces-

sary to its death. It was said to be violated; but he thought *a part had only been sacrificed for the whole*. [A laugh.] He meant, that *the whole had only been sacrificed to save a part*. [Continual laughter.] He warmly supported the bill.

Mr. Whitbread's amendment was then negatived without a division; and, on the third reading of the bill, Mr. Johnstone moved that its provisions should last only during the war. This was not opposed; and the gallery being cleared,

Mr. Sheridan examined largely the arguments in its favour. He was hurt at the silent manner in which the minister had rejected this amendment, contending that the constitution was utterly destroyed, and that the people's loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, with quiet submission to the laws, and patient endurance of their burdens, and even with the dread of famine, now, if ever, entitled them to liberty. He inveighed against the bill as the worst that had ever disgraced the senate. He alluded to the figurative language of Messrs. Leigh and Martin on the restraints of our liberties. The latter gentleman, who so elegantly described the Irish howl, admitted there was a dead body, viz. of the constitution. The former gentleman called these circumvallations and bulwarks. All this he allowed right, but they were not built from the materials of the fortress, and nothing left defensible save the ground on which it stood. He was equally afraid of French principles; but chiefly those prevailing at present—of submission and personal regard, and a fawning obedience to power, however obtained.

The dangers to the constitution were greater formerly than now, from the long attachment of many

to the Stuarts: yet in those times such a system as the present was never adopted but in open rebellion. The original object of the war was to restore the old French government; which having failed, the intention was to sow its principles here. He then compared them with those adopted by the late and present ministers, severely reprehending their conduct at the time when this measure was brought forth, which gave a strong suspicion of a juggle. He then spoke of Ireland; arguing that their rebellions proceeded as little from Jacobinism as from a change in the Gentoo laws. Their rebellion was not chiefly owing to such principles, but from the degradation felt on account of religious affairs, from the poor, almost starving, and their oppressed state for near 300 years. Since the union, however, no salvation remained for either country but to stand or fall together. The committee who had reported seemed egregiously imposed upon. He had always heard Maidstone introduced as an instance of his and their incredulity with whom he acted who would not believe plots, and join in harsh measures against them. (He then vindicated his evidence on O'Connor's trial.) Yet if these Jacobin principles (as stated) were detested by the country, which abhorred those who believed not the plots, surely it required no such arbitrary violation of the constitution as proposed. He suspected much of their political craft who furnished reports for the committee. Should this act pass, the innocent person could never retrieve the injury done him; yet the hardened spy would be always protected.—He then treated the intended insurrection at Kennington with ridicule, owning that a despotic go-
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vernment (if well administered) might be preferable. But the excellence of ours was, that these advantages were yielded up to general freedom.

The attorney-general said, that doubtless the complaints of petitioners were exaggerated and groundless; if not, the law was open to them. He repudiated the hint, that the reports were merely ludicrous, and still felt a conviction that a foul treason had been hatched. A verdict might screen from punishment, but still he should be free to judge of the guilt or innocence of the party. He respected liberty as much as the most zealous patriot, and would always make a temporary sacrifice of a part to save the whole for ever. But the sacrifice was not material; merely the confinement of a few to protect the rest from the horrors of France. If we compared the imprisonments under Robespierre for one week with the present measures for our commerce and general good, a striking contrast must ensue. None of ours were imprisoned but for treason, and such detentions had preserved the empire in excellent order. The petitions now presented appeared as false as those attacking Aris in the courts below. He asked, if no French principles were at present in preparation? no assassinations? no atheists? no attempts on our sailors' virtue?—He was completely attached to the house of Hanover. What was said by the honourable gentleman on the Jacobites was a slander when compared with the Jacobins. The former were misguided, but not without morality. There was no treachery of servants against masters, as in France. The honourable gentleman imagined discontents in Ireland proceeding from

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other causes than Jacobinism; but O'Connor had confessed that they were only a blind, and the real object was to separate Ireland from us, and unite it with France. He totally objected to the amendment.

Dr. Laurence reprobated the learned gentleman's principle of a right to oppress to prevent greater evils. This had fostered the French revolution. The question was, were the innocent to be redressed? This bill was *against* all precedent. Former bills were an amnesty to individuals, not vindicating government for illegal acts. The danger from French principles now was not equal to that in 1793, and while the habeas-corpus was not suspended. Even ministers owned that now French principles were not so dangerous as before, since they had now hopes of a connexion with France, formerly thought ruinous. Strange! to resort to such measures in less dangers. As he thought all the persons now arrested were fairly so, it was best to suffer them to bring their actions, and for ministers to defend themselves, and for the country, by a verdict, to decide in their favour.

Mr. Alexander, in answer to Mr. Sheridan on the Irish rebellion, went over the event; remarking to Dr. Laurence, that, if those confined were suffered to bring lawsuits, it would revive a party, and produce discussion better avoided.

Mr. Sheridan, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Ogle, explained. The house then divided. For the amendment 17—Against it 92. On the question for passing the bill, on the division, For it 84—Against it 18.

On the 12th of June, the indemnity bill, brought up from the commons, being read a first time in the house of lords,

The duke of Bedford called their

attention to the important measures before them. He knew not if he could attend the future discussions, but now said, that, since he had taken his seat in that house, no step demanded greater attention, nor more ample information on the subject. He therefore felt it incumbent to move for a list of all persons arrested and detained, charged with treason, &c. from the end of the first suspension of the habeas-corpus act in 1793 to the 13th of April last.

The lord chancellor quitted the wool-sack, not objecting to the motion, but observing an incorrectness of wording in the noble duke. He conceived his meaning to include all persons so apprehended, when, perhaps he meant only those under particular acts in his grace's contemplation. The motion was soon amended, the question put and carried, and another motion for the names of those arrested since the 13th of April was made.

On Friday, June 19th, the order of the day being moved and read,

The secretary of state rose, and said their lordships would find little explanation necessary on this bill, which was founded not only on the report of their own secret committee, and of the present session of the house of commons, but on all former reports to parliament of conspiracy and treason since the year 1793. He knew, that, in a late debate, the earl of Carnarvon had blamed the reports, disbelieving all the inferences drawn from them. But as to the present bill, all must agree that they contained sufficient necessity for indemnifying ministers for acts done since 1792; viz. by imprisoning and detaining various persons suspected of treason. Without such a bill, should any actions be brought against ministers,

nisters, they could not be justified unless by openly disclosing the means by which such treasonable acts were discovered; and, to prevent such practices in future, the informations should remain secret. He said, the conduct of the late ministers, in arresting persons for treason (on solid grounds), might truly be said to have saved the country. And as no corrupt motives could be imputed to them, especially to the duke of Portland, whose known humanity placed him beyond the suspicion of wanton cruelty, the house on every principle of justice should indemnify them for boldly performing an act of public duty so advantageous to the interests of the empire. It need not be repeated, that an act of indemnity was not unprecedented. Such had often passed; especially in 1694, 1715, and 1746, universally approved. If, therefore, such acts had been highly proper for actions not warranted by law, but which tended to suppress rebellion, surely those were equally entitled to them who had prevented it both in Ireland and here by their vigilance and energy. He would now move that the bill be read a second time.

The earl of Suffolk regretted the necessity he was under of opening a debate of the highest importance. Far from thinking, however, that those ministers merited indemnity for the various suspensions of the habeas-corpus, they had greatly abused the powers granted them; while many had been long imprisoned under severe hardships and oppression, against whom no charge had been made to bring them to trial. This sort of conduct (issuing lettres de cachet) first caused the subversion of a neighbouring government. As to the last report of the committee, it

referred rather to Ireland than England. It was therefore an Irish rather than an English report, and he thought it an unfit ground for such a bill as the present. He was sorry to see England and Ireland identified. He must withhold his confidence from the report; because drawn up by a committee who, though individually respectable, were known supporters of the ministers' measures, and consequently prejudiced. Had the committee been fairly chosen from both sides of the house, the report would have met with more credit. Why were not lords on his side, equal in fortune and character to the others, appointed members? Could either he or the noble duke (Bedford) gain any thing by rebellion? Noble lords should reflect, ere they broke down one of the last fences of the constitution, the patience with which the people had borne the heavy burdens necessarily imposed on them by the war, and the aggravation of their distress by two years of scarcity, which had placed provision almost beyond the reach of industry and labour. The partial risings in the west were the only riotous proceedings he had heard of, and immediately imputable to the former causes, and directly quelled. Why then would ministers renew this odious unconstitutional bill? Let their lordships look to the lenity of the late ministers in the exercise of their power, and judge from two instances out of many. One of a noble lord tried for a few inadvertent words, who had been sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in the Tower, without any abridgement of the time. The other of a noble relation of his, who had uttered a few imprudent words, for which he was afterwards extremely sorry. For this

mighty offence he was immediately removed from the lord-lieutenancy of a county, to which he easily submitted. But ministers did more, by depriving him of the best militia regiment in the whole kingdom, though considered by them as a father. He knew, when the duke went to take leave of his regiment at Portsmouth, it was reported that he went for a different purpose. A mutiny was then in the fleet, and was talked of in the army; on which reports injurious to his honour had been grounded. But he deserved not censure: he went to conciliate the minds of the officers, to reconcile them to the loss of their colonel, and to prevent their resigning their commissions. Here he succeeded; for there was no resignation but of a lieutenant-colonel: the rest continued, though all resigned since. He mentioned what had happened to his ancestors; and the fate of that noble predecessor of his, the earl of Surry, put to death by the tyrant Henry VIII.; but his attainder was afterwards taken off. He was about to proceed, but felt so much overcome that he was compelled to desist.

The earl of Caernarvon said he naturally expected the noble secretary of state would have explained the ground for this indemnity, being in a situation of the highest responsibility. Why was it now more necessary than eight years ago? The secretary had only asserted that former acts, granting extraordinary powers to administration, were justifiable on the several reports of secret committees. The question was not to-day on these acts, whatever was thought of them, nor concerning their reports. The sole object was a bill of indemnity for misconduct in executing those powers, on which in-

demnity the reports had not even touched.

The secretary of state appealed to the house if he had not stated that the bill was to indemnify the late ministers from all actions for detaining those apprehended and suspected of high treason; else ministers could not defend the same without openly disclosing the means by which those designs had been discovered. This he thought all the explanation necessary.

Lord Caernarvon continued, saying, he could not think it easy for the noble lord to support this extraordinary attempt of an indemnity, pending those powers obtained under severe responsibility. The defence of the powers themselves, or the secret committee's reports, were not before them then, and it would be disorderly to go beyond the question of the indemnity. Such acts were passed from supposed necessity, admitting of their dangerous tendency, and presuming it obviated by responsibility accompanying it, which gave to those exposed to injuries ultimate redress from wanton oppression. That constitutional responsibility under which ministers always acted, was the country's sole security against the power of the crown; in some measure protecting the people from the possible oppression of new and extraordinary powers. It were indeed a desertion of sound principles and common sense, had the legislature removed responsibility from powers the most dangerous and liable to abuse in the execution of ministerial duties. Parliament granted the powers with responsibility; the present application was to remove this, and leave the power. By this act, therefore, they were freed from fear for past misconduct, and would proceed

proceed without apprehension; but no cause was now assigned pending the existence of these powers, why responsibility should be removed, which by the wisdom of the legislature and constitution had been always attached to them, whatever powers they might possess. The sole reason assigned was inapplicable to such a proposition; for the public inconvenience alleged from their defence, by discovering the incomprehensible mysteries of the secret committee, could not go beyond a temporary suspension of investigating their conduct—during the suspension of the habeas - corpus, the limited time of a year, or to the end of the war. The advice of the secret committee never could be a motive for depriving the subject of all redress from the oppressive conduct of ministers. The grant of extraordinary powers was new, but responsibility was not so. Ministerial discretion must be responsible. The powers not lodged with them, nor entrusted to their discretion, if openly exercised for the public good, might require indemnity. Such was the opening and shutting the ports; with acts done during open rebellion, or when there was no time for deliberation: and the public good must absolutely be secured. But the circumstances should be publicly known, and capable of legislative judgment; liable to objections at the time of indemnity—not given through ignorance of the offence. At present there could be no possible inquiry—no objections admitted—all being secret: therefore there could be no reasonable indemnity, which no more than condemnation could arise from ignorance. The indemnities after the rebellion of 1715 and 1745 were after the whole was over, and time

had for objections. They were given in gratitude for known benefits. The present case was not on that footing, nor pretended to be due to those protected by the indemnity. The pretence now was to protect the public from inconvenience, in disclosing the secret motives of this conduct, in defence of that which maybe pursued vindictively—not for the purpose of stopping vindictive prosecutions. There were no precedents for this case; but otherwise they deserved not to be followed. The powers granted were subject to responsibility. Former indemnities were not controuled by particular responsibility, but were applied to public events past and concluded. Facts pending, or events in contemplation, were out of the question; the bill aimed only at irresponsibility, we being now ignorant of all that justified or condemned ministers—they assuring us of their innocence and merit, but that a disclosure would hurt the public. If, therefore, in total ignorance we indemnified the past, we could not refuse the same in future. Indemnity of all that had been done might be confined to the past in terms, but was perfect irresponsibility for the future. We had now broken down some of the firmest barriers of our freedom upon the assertion of unknown invisible dangers, to arm government for our destruction. We were now invited one step further—to render them invulnerable while assaulting the rights of the people. Step by step each useful maxim was degraded by suspension; first through a disavowal of its permanent use to accustom us to its final disuse. The favoured and essential maxim of responsibility was now first infringed; and this, with the destruction of our liberties, under-

mined the security of the crown. No maxim in the English law was more useful than that the king can do no wrong; which secured the throne and the tranquillity of the people. This was rooted in and grew out of the responsibility of ministers; while the advisers of sovereign power were answerable, the king could do little harm, and the mischief arising from his responsibility was obvious. It was not for the public good that odium should be cast on the throne. It was the most ingenious part of our constitutional fabric, by which a limited monarch sat firm amidst popular liberty, and by which the law has diverted the wrath of an injured people from its sovereign to his advisers and seducers. By intrenching on this, the security of the crown was fundamentally shaken. If we now extended it to say the king and his ministers can do no wrong, the consequence was, that the odium of all the evil done by his ministers would be imputable to the king, whence their powers were derived. This was another dangerous infraction of constitutional principles, not ending even there; for while ministers declared that they could not wrong the people, under the acts subjecting them to their power, they also declared they cannot wrong the king under whom they act, for the act also makes them irresponsible to the king. To make ministers wholly irresponsible, the people must be deprived of their right of redress; and, that punishment might be averted from delinquents, the subject was deprived of the king's parental care and the protection of the law. He therefore gave his dissent.

The lord chancellor said, that after what had passed he must state to

their lordships and the public why the bill had his hearty concurrence. It was highly important, he agreed, and what the house should regard most zealously, and what the genuine principles of the constitution required. The house should be convinced of its necessity before it passed, which ought to be the first consideration. One of his earliest maxims was (and which he now practically thought), that political liberty could not exist long, unless the administration parted with it occasionally to secure it for ever: if not, liberty would destroy itself. It was their duty; and at present the bill before them afforded the best means of defending the genuine liberty of the British constitution from all conspiracy against it; and he trusted, under the providence of God, it would be preserved for ever. As to necessity, he knew it was often the plea of tyrants; yet on this the most moderate men must act when they took prudence for their guide. In all our history it would be found that the habeas-corpus was occasionally relinquished; and that must be so while we would preserve the blessings of the British constitution. These were lately often hazarded; but its security would remain in the wisdom of parliament and the steady loyalty of the people. The suspension of the act did not make ministers irresponsible; yet the general term of suspension was improper. Ninety-nine parts out of a hundred were not suspended, but merely one which was certainly important. But yet a prejudice might be harboured by those ignorant of the circumstances: he therefore rectified the mistake. As to the advisers of the measure, it should be considered how they were obliged to act. He was aware of the irregularity of referring to what

was

was said elsewhere; yet it was sometimes necessary to be "regularly irregular." He was reported to have said that ministers would never need indemnity. He had not so asserted. As to those measures, the house should remember that when attorney-general he was no minister. His advice was legal—not political. These were cases when if a minister did not act he ought to lose his head. For instance, when ambassadors passed from Ireland through England to France, and *vice versa*, for treasonable purposes, where the fact was clear, if a minister would not act what did he deserve? There could be but one opinion. And yet such a man could not be indemnified without such a bill. It was hard to say how such information was obtained: perhaps by secret service—money through persons in the enemy's country, whose lives would be unsafe were some discoveries made. Nor could the real grounds of acting be proved. Therefore they properly applied for indemnity, even against the king's indictment, as the case might be incapable of establishment by evidence. Besides, those who created, not those who acted under, the necessity were responsible. He further observed, that as a member of that house he must act from the committee's reports—not his own private knowledge; and nothing was harder than to fix a term for the act, as it was uncertain when the necessity would cease—he might as well say when assassination would cease. Much had been said of spies, &c. but they deserved much less censure and obloquy. He thought his noble and learned friend had the stout heart of a British judge, not suffering witnesses to be treated as they sometimes were, while stating facts before more than a

hundred persons, when not one contradicted them. Such people as created the necessity of spies deserved the censure and punishment in the organisation of treason and sedition, where some were directors, some delegates, and others chiefs of certain divisions. Persons were thus the instruments of traitors, who went further, and bound them by an oath. No disclosure was to operate against them, but the government was to disclose every thing for them. This were to palsy the sinews of the executive government.—He then mentioned the Maidstone trials, particularly that of O'Connor, on whom some of his defenders implicitly relied. His word was with them sufficient security for his political integrity and love of the constitution. But what was he? what his defenders would formerly have utterly rejected. He assured their lordships, from his own knowledge, that traitorous conspiracies existed still in the country. To oppose effectually, large powers must be given to the executive government, or the legislature, the sovereign, and the people, be sacrificed. That the government might act more effectually, the measure was necessary; for they must be safe, or betray their duty. Much had been said of the late ministry's lenity. He would do them justice: and, as to a prosecution alluded to, circumstances appeared which made inquiry into the accusation necessary. He must exercise or betray that duty—debase himself or the law of the land. For, by the laws of England, the highest peer and meanest peasant were equal: and he believed the noble lord would suffer all the imprisonment sooner than not prove that only practical equality, that all men were equal in the eyes of its laws. [A

cry of Hear! Hear!]) He concluded by saying, that, if their lordships meant not to dethrone their sovereign, and exclude themselves from the house, they would pass the bill, which he entreated them to do if they would secure that constitution preserved to them by the blood and virtue of their ancestors; nor fear those acts done for posterity as well as for themselves.

Lord Rawdon (earl of Moira) opposed the bill, as dangerous. He had expected its object to be explained; and heard with much surprise a noble lord stating gravely to the house that he conceived no such explanation necessary. But for want of it, he said, he must himself collect the motives for the bill. He had perused the report whence the bill originated, and wished to give it all credit; but the conclusion was unfavourable. It showed the bad effects of martial-law in Ireland, from the suspension of the habeas-corpus, and the other measures pursued. This proved not its necessity. At all times the poor wanted the possessions of the rich, but what then? Were there no judges formerly to repress them? Why act differently now? The noble and learned lord preceding him had dwelt much on a conspiracy here, and the necessity of extraordinary measures.—But had not the common operation of the law, with other powers of government, been sufficient formerly to repress rebellion and sedition. But if the ordinary law could not, a specific punishment might be provided. He knew not any conspiracy for which there was no adequate punishment. He proceeded to the mode of appointing the committee—its partiality; and, knowing that the opinions of those composing it had been long decided, their report ought to be received with the

utmost caution. He said, that by all such proceedings the constitution was changed, and was now deplorably corrupted. The system of spies was hostile to all free states, but especially to our English liberty and laws. He stated the fatal effects of such an establishment, formed to create hostility between the governors and governed; and quoted a passage in Tacitus, in the reign of Tiberius—that age of Roman corruption.

Was it consonant with the English law that the accused should not meet his accuser, and thus prove his innocence?—He then mentioned the powers given by the suspension of habeas-corpus, which had been grossly abused; and mentioned two cases, the one of an ingenious foreigner taken up only for not giving up some particular papers and plans:—the other of Lord Cloncurry, who had been twice in custody, and the second time closely confined with the utmost rigour.—Though suffering under the most painful indisposition, he was never permitted to be in a room alone; not allowed to arrange his affairs, though the death of his father had left him greatly embarrassed. Was not this conduct inhuman? How could he consistently agree to a bill destroying all national justice? Were it once passed, all justice would be unsettled; and the confidence in the laws would be destroyed, which had enabled the people to resist dangerous principles. If once agreed to, it would be decisive, and support every enormity and oppression. He would not term the present ministers tyrannical; they had not the energy of tyrants, but they followed their measures in the present instance, which might serve the worst purposes. Once admit this principle, and law and justice would be perpetually

petrally misconstrued. Of all the arrangements of Providence, the most beautiful was, that no one could be happy in schemes destructive to his neighbour. He cautioned their lordships against a bill to silence the unfortunate, and indemnify oppressive acts. The Irish report mentioned the robbery of a mail-coach as a proof of rebellion; but these robbers were no other than militia. He thought, that, if it was possible to lessen the attachment of the people to the constitution, it was by this measure. It was not a partial sacrifice of liberty to secure the rest, but a fatal change in the constitution. There were no proofs of a general dissatisfaction. He adverted to the war, and saw no prospect of peace, but rather an extension of hostilities ruinous to the country's finances. In such expenses was it wise or politic to bring forward such unconstitutional bills? At all events, the object would be fully answered by limiting it to a year, or till the end of the war, and then their lordships might review their own proceedings.

The earl of Westmoreland said this bill was sanctioned by precedents (which he quoted), and requisite from sound policy. To show that the first indemnity bill since the revolution was similar to this, he read the preamble to the act of William III. (1694), where it was deemed wise to indemnify acts of illegal severity to prevent invasion and rebellion. Jacobinism had given occasion to the bill, and if rejected the worst would follow. It would not protect cruelty or oppression, but only secure against vexatious suits. It would not screen ministers from impeachment; but they were not accountable for the conduct of those who had sanctioned severities used un-

der the act upon treasonable persons. None but the secretary of state (who signed warrants and commitments) could be called to account. Noble lords who opposed the bill seemed not to comprehend its object. They were only called to answer for the principles of the bill. Had those who thought it needless forgotten the events of the last ten years, and the affair of O'Connor? The country would be always grateful to those who had preserved them from such dangers. The British constitution suited the powers of government to the occasion, and granted extraordinary powers when requisite; but in times of peace recalled them—as happened in Ancient Rome. Spies and informers had been severely censured, yet but for them many of those he then saw around him would have lost their lives by the schemes of the conspirators. Was it better to arrest a few persons, or suffer the whole nation to be deluged with blood? Great lamentations had been lavished on those who were imprisoned, but none on those whose lives had been sacrificed for their loyalty, the lords O'Neal, Montjoy, Dr. Hamilton, &c. the protestants murdered at the bridge of Wexford, &c. Let their lordships recollect their feelings when the country was threatened by assassins from France and Ireland, by invasion and rebellion, a mutiny in the fleet, and a fear of the army. This bill then was due to those who had warded off these dangers.

The duke of Bedford was still at a loss for the specific grounds of the measure after all that had been said. The arguments of the learned chancellor applied more to the suspension of the habeas-corpus than to an indemnity for those exercising the powers given under such suspension.

suspension: He admitted, that since the French revolution there had been great cause for alarm: but the question was, if it were consistent with the constitution to grant an indemnity for the use of special powers given them for eight years? By this bill noble lords were called on to deprive Englishmen of a great constitutional privilege for ever—to stigmatise those who had never been tried, and ruin their credit in every future part of their lives. He wished them to attend to the distinction between their conduct who were obliged to adopt immediate measures for national security, and those who had exercised powers given them by parliament for eight years. In one case, the emergency was such that the innocent might be confounded with the guilty, and an indemnity not fairly refused; but in the other, matters were wholly different, and no claim of indemnity existed. His grace, after animadverting on the committee's report, and urging all the former objections, said he was unsatisfied with the conclusions drawn from it. He dwelt on that part of the report, that those formerly imprisoned were now active in rebellion, while it was well known that scarce any were in custody. Then how was there any just charge against them? And if so, part of the report (and that important) was falsified. However, he wished not to oppose a limited duration of the bill; but, as perpetual, he felt it his duty to oppose it most decidedly. He referred to the earl of Westmoreland's observations on the compassion felt on his side the house for those suspected of treason, while insensible to their fate who had fallen for their country. He repelled the charge; arguing, that the noble lord must know nothing of their character, if he thought such senti-

ments theirs. They had indeed resisted the bad system and consequences of the late administration, and endeavoured by all means to arrest them in a ruinous career; but he disclaimed unequivocally all such sentiments as had been imputed to them. He and his friends felt as much for those who had fallen in the war as those noble lords who talked so much of their feelings—deploring that fatal contest whence so many ills had flowed.

Lord Thurlow spoke decidedly against the bill. It was contrary to the grand and fundamental principle of law, which was to support innocence against oppression. From this principle he was ready to concur in passing severe laws against conspirators; but as guilt should be distinguished from innocence, the latter should be protected from arbitrary imprisonment. Were the criminal laws here duly administered, they were enough to controul all attempts against the state; and why should a man be imprisoned for eight years, praying for trial, and be refused it? A noble earl had said, that persons suspected of treason deserved no compassion; but he himself must pity those lingering in a prison for a series of years, anxiously soliciting a trial; nor could he think them guilty till proved so. He saw no striking resemblance of this bill to the former; they being passed "*flagrante bello*." His lordship quoted a part of the preamble, from which he concluded that the bill had assumed a wrong name, and, instead of a bill of indemnity, was a bill to suppress actions and suits against informers. Two other clauses were inconsistent with each other. The first gave the defendant double costs, recoverable in the usual way. In the latter, these costs were to be recovered in a sum-

a summary way under a judge's order. This was preposterous; and he thought the drawer of the clause did it in a passion. However, he was willing to agree to it for a certain period; but a perpetual bill of indemnity was monstrous, and subversive of the liberties of Englishmen.

The earl of Rosslyn defended the bill from the attack of the last learned lord. He said it was the same that was to be found in the statute book, both in form and expression. If they were not the best words, they were such as had been often used before, and perfectly intelligible in our courts. He named several acts of indemnity in the reigns of Richard II. Edward VI. Charles I. William and Mary, and George I.; adding, that when extraordinary circumstances happened, such as in 1792, and thence to the present day, indemnity bills had usually passed. Without such an act, a government would be debarred from acting with vigour and effect on emergency, especially when the acts to save the country were illegal. He had been a member of the late administration, not shrinking from responsibility; if guilt was imputable to them, it was so to him. But he felt no fear for having done his duty always; and the rest of his majesty's ministers had done theirs, he could testify. If he had fallen short of meriting thanks, they were entitled to the country's gratitude, which they had saved from that ruin and anarchy overwhelming almost every state in Europe. He observed, that in such perilous times it was nearly impossible for ministers to avoid falling into some error, by apprehending persons on suspicion, and erroneously detaining innocent individuals. Such were certainly entitled to some recompense. Mi-

nisters claimed not indemnity for themselves, but such was necessary for other persons — magistrates, instruments of the police — assisting in apprehending, committing, and detaining the persons apprehended, &c. Lord Rawdon was mistaken in his two cases. The first was a commitment under the alien act, and concerned not treason. The other of lord Cloncurry was attended with lenient circumstances. Upon giving his word that he would surrender when restored to health, he was suffered to go home; and his noble father, struck with the kindness of ministers, had written to him (lord Rosslyn), expressing his warmest gratitude. As to the quotation from Tacitus, relative to the reign of Tiberius, the application of the passage was misunderstood. Tacitus was not speaking of spies and informers in the sense pretended: by *delatores* he meant public accusers. This office was often abused, and accusations brought maliciously and falsely against the enemies of those who patronised them, or whom they hated. Abstract and plausible argument, though pleasing to the ear, was impracticable here where penal statutes had swelled our statute books. Spies and informers were absolutely necessary, and especially in these times. His lordship, after other arguments in support of the bill, and in answer to objections, concluded with resolving to vote for it as a measure of common justice.

On the question for reading it a second time, the house divided —

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CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Bill for the Relief of the Poor—Debates on that Subject.—Bill for preventing the Forgery of Bank Notes.—State of the Clergy with respect to Residence on their Livings—Bill for their Relief—Debates on that Subject—in the House of Commons—in the House of Lords.—Plan for a Military College—Debates on that Subject.

THE other transactions of parliament were of but little importance; but a few of them we shall briefly notice. The distresses of the lower classes of housekeepers, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions and the pressure of taxes, had extended to such an alarming excess, that humane minds became interested in procuring for them some further relief than the laws in being had provided. To the honour of the British aristocracy, lord William Russell was the first to introduce a bill to this effect; and, on the 25th of February, he rose to bring forward a motion he had promised on the preceding day. He said, that the necessity of a measure to release a certain class of persons from the poor's rates was very well known. To procure that relief was his object. Should the house agree to his motion, his wish was for the bill to be read a first time; and on the second reading its merits might be discussed; and, if nothing inconsistent with sound policy and justice should appear in it, then it might be committed, and undergo what modifications should seem necessary. The object of the bill was to invest magistrates with the power of relieving such persons from paying the rates as should appear deserving of such exception; but, in order to guard against the abuse of that discretionary power, such relief should be confined to those who paid under a

certain rent, not over 5*l.* or thereabouts, and that they should make affidavit of their incapacity to pay the poor's rates to obtain relief. He concluded with moving to bring in the bill accordingly.

Sir Charles Bunbury seconded the motion.

Mr. Rose said he should be very sorry to object to any measure for the relief of the poor, but was afraid that the bill proposed would be attended with difficulties that overbalanced its advantages. It would inflict a great burden on the magistrates, and would hold out an invitation to the poor to come forward with their affidavits.

Mr. Jolliffe wished the bill to be printed, that the house might examine its merits.

Mr. Perceval objected to the bill as it was presented. He thought it would be better for the noble lord to attend the committee for examining the high price of provisions, and to state his plan. At all events the house should wait the events of their inquiries before they consented to the measure.

Mr. Manning, Mr. Shaw Levefe, Mr. Buxton, colonel Elford, and Mr. Ellison, opposed the bill as an innovation upon the poor-laws, investing magistrates with a power to interfere with the overseers of the poor, who already exempted those housekeepers from poor's rates who seemed unable to pay. They feared, that if certain housekeepers were relieved from
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the poor's rates, other classes would be additionally burdened, and demand a similar exemption.

Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Robson, defended the measure; and said that it was essentially necessary to carry it through parliament with all convenient expedition.

Lord William Russell denied an assertion of Mr. Lefevre, that magistrates had at present the power of exempting poor housekeepers from the poor's rates. He said, that they could not now refuse a warrant of distress, if the overseer peremptorily demanded it. He had no objection to refer the subject to the committee mentioned, if they would make their report speedily—for the bill ought to pass before Easter, as then the overseers made up their accounts.

The speaker suggested to the noble lord the propriety of having the proposed instruction to the committee more definite than the motion before the house, that they might more clearly comprehend the subject.

Lord William Russell acquiesced.

Mr. Baker maintained, that magistrates had already the power of granting the relief desired, and therefore moved the previous question; which being put, a division was called for—Ayes 3—Noes 49.—Majority 46.

The motion being put was carried without a division.

Lord William Russell then presented his bill for the relief of the poor in certain cases; which was read, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday. On the motion of Mr. Lefevre the bill was ordered to be printed.

On Thursday, March 5th, lord William Russell having moved the second reading of the bill,

Mr. Jolliffe opposed it.

Mr. Rose wished the bill to go to a committee. He thought there were many who paid the poor's rates that could not pay the additional rate, which must be imposed if the bill should be passed.

Mr. Curwen opposed the bill.

The solicitor-general conceived the whole of the bill to be useless. He said he was anxious for the relief of the poor, but that the principle of the bill was carried into effect already, as far as was possible. But he affirmed that no good would be derived to the poor from passing the bill.

Mr. W. Elford explained.

Mr. Wilberforce thought that the bill ought to go to a committee, were it only to prove whether the principle of the bill was then generally carried into practice.

Sir Charles Bunbury wished to know whether an overseer must obey an order of a magistrate to relieve a pauper who had a cottage and an acre of land.

The solicitor-general thought that an overseer was unconditionally bound to obey the order of a magistrate.

Sir C. Bunbury said he knew many cases wherein relief had been refused.

Sir R. Buxton opposed the bill as dangerous.

Mr. Horne Tooke said, that one honourable and learned gentleman had affirmed that the existing law already provided many of the regulations intended by this bill; and another, that there were no provisions till the law should be made. Whoever was right, his opinion was that such a bill would tend to cut up the laws, by creating a new class of paupers, those not paying towards alms, and those taking alms, leaving the burden of parochial

chial duties on the higher ranks; it would also disfranchise the lower order of housekeepers. He had been present at elections where their votes were refused who had been relieved from the parish rates.

Lord William Russell said, if the honourable gentleman had read all the bill he would find the disfranchisement provided against.

Mr. Tooke thanked the noble lord for his correction, but said that he must pursue another argument against the present measure. The bill appeared to him to be one of those which were daily multiplying in the house, and which served to prevent the salvation of the country by the reduction of the national debt. He had spoken to this effect on a former day, affirming that two-thirds of the national debt had been taken off by increasing the price of provisions. Since then the quartern loaf had risen to 1s. 10d. He said, that when the price should become 2s. then three-fourths of the national debt would be taken off.—That the nation did not pay in money, but in quartern loaves—for money was only the sign of what it represented; and when a man was paid for the interest of his 100l. only thirty instead of one hundred and twenty loaves, then three-fourths of the national debt were positively paid off. It would therefore be well to consider, whether by attempting to lower the price of provisions they were not preventing the salvation of the country. Instead of creating a new class of paupers, the right way would be to give the poor an adequate price for their labour, proportionate to the dearness of provisions.

The house then divided—Ayes 55—Noes 22.

The bill (after some dispute) was committed.

Monday, March 9th, lord William Russel moved for a committee of the whole house on the poor householder's relief bill.

Mr. Tierney said he had a petition from the parish of St. George the Martyr, in Southwark, against it; which being brought and read, he said that he was only instructed to move that it might lie on the table, as the opposition of the petitioners would depend on the manner in which the blanks were filled up.

The solicitor-general observed that he would not oppose that the bill should go to a committee; as he trusted, that when it came out its impracticability would only be rendered more apparent.

Mr. Johnson opposed the bill going to a committee. He thought those housekeepers who could not discharge their assessments might be relieved as the law now stood. He said that persons who knew that the poor's rate could be enforced, and could only plead exemption as a favour, would then think exemption a legal right, and intentionally withhold payment. A great burden would be thrown on the higher classes, in his opinion, double of that which they now sustained. He thought that the discussion of the bill ought not to go on, as it only tended to excite hopes which could not be realised.

Mr. Curwen thought the present laws sufficient for the purpose of the bill. He yet wished it to go to a committee, to find how it might be modelled to gratify the laudable views of the noble lord who proposed it.

Lord William Russell said, that the merits of the motion did not seem

seem to be fully understood. It might be more satisfactorily examined in a committee, where he would propose some clauses which might remove the objections to the bill.

On the division there were Ayes 25—Noes 3. But there not being forty members present, the division was ineffectual, and the house adjourned.

On Friday, March 13th, the order of the day being read for the house to go into a committee on the bill for parochial relief in certain cases,

Lord William Russell moved that the speaker leave the chair.

Mr. Vansittart opposed the motion.

Mr. Jolliffe said, that after the pains the noble lord had taken with the bill, it ought to go to a committee.

Sir William Elford thought that the proposed measure was already carried by custom into effect, and therefore should vote against it.

Mr. Simcon was convinced that the noble lord was confident of the utility of the measure proposed. But he could not entirely agree with him. It had been asserted, that overseers could always get a warrant of distress from a magistrate (who must grant it) for seizing the goods of persons for non-payment of poor's rate. This was not so; for magistrates had the power of examining facts, and deciding when warrants of distress ought to be granted. He thought their uncontrollable discretion preferable to any direct line for bounding their justice and humanity, by deciding where relief should be granted and where not. He thought it dangerous for such as received relief from the parish to be allowed

their elective franchise. He was against going into a committee.

Mr. Mainwaring said, that if a magistrate ordered any relief to a pauper, the overseer must obey that order unconditionally, and could only seize his goods when he left his wife and family chargeable to the parish. An exemption was uniformly granted when the person against whom the warrant was issued was really unable to pay the tax.

Mr. Rose quoted a late act, to prove that magistrates could grant relief to those whose labour was unequal to their maintenance, equal to two gallon loaves per week.

Colonel Buxton thought it wrong that a bill should make any class of persons paying rent of five or ten pounds for exemption from poor's rate a principle of general exemption.

Lord William Russell entered into an animated defence of the bill; contending that some such measure was absolutely necessary to prevent the contributors to the poor's rates from being worse situated than even the paupers. With regard to the trouble thrown upon the magistrate, he asked, whether any man of principle or humanity would grudge trouble when he might thereby promote the comfort of his fellow-creatures?

The attorney-general allowed the motive of the noble lord to merit commendation, but said that the law was fully sufficient to remedy the evils complained of. He said, that to enact statutes upon every trifling occasion was mischievous; and concluded by giving his decided negative to the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. Charles Dundas asked for a positive opinion of the attorney-general,

neral, whether a magistrate could relieve a person possessed of a cottage and an acre of land without forcing him to sell them?

The attorney-general thought that, by the 43d of Elizabeth, the magistrate could not; but that under a late act, quoted by Mr. Rose, he could.

Mr. Whitbread defended the bill. He thought that the doubts of the learned and honourable gentleman were reason enough for going into a committee; for, if doubts were existing upon the powers of magistrates, an enactment should be made to dispel them.

Mr. Johnson opposed the going into a committee.

Mr. Braggé thought that the committee was necessary.

The house then divided.—Ayes 35—Noes 35.

The speaker gave his casting vote for the committee.

The house then went into a committee.—Mr. Grey in the chair.

Mr. Spencer Perceval hoped that lord William Russell would introduce a clause to prevent overseers having undue influence in elections; which the noble lord agreed to.

Lord William Russell introduced a clause to prevent persons relieved under this bill becoming again chargeable to the same parish.—Agreed.

Mr. Tierney brought up the clause suggested by Mr. Perceval concerning overseers.—Agreed.

The speaker gave his opinion upon the act 43d of Elizabeth. He said that the law had stated that those should be relieved by it who could not maintain themselves; and his opinion was, that though persons might possess some

property, yet, if this was insufficient for them and their families, they ought to be relieved by magistrates without being deprived of the property they had, and not be refused relief because they possessed property.

Mr. Whitbread said there were many instances of overseers selling the beds from under distressed people, and they justified such conduct by saying that "they could not want bread while they had any thing that could be disposed of to obtain it." Therefore it was necessary that the act should be explained.

Mr. Perceval said, that if gentlemen expected acts of parliament so explained "that those who read may read," they were mistaken.

The several clauses of the bill being gone through, the house was resumed, and the bill ordered to be reported. On a subsequent discussion, however, the bill was lost by a majority of thirty, and never went to the lords.

The excessive extension of paper credit had, in the beginning of the year, greatly multiplied the number of forgeries on the different banks of the kingdom, and a bill was thought necessary for their prevention. It was introduced by the attorney-general on the 24th of March, and read a second time on the 26th, when a short debate took place.

The attorney-general said it was his duty to apprise the house that this bill extended to country bank-notes and bills of exchange also.

Sir R. Buxton thought that the notes of country bankers should have the same protection as those of the bank of England.

Mr. Curwen said, while country bankers' notes were sanctioned by law,

law, they ought to have its protection.

Sir W. Elford said it was proper to provide that those who were allowed to issue their paper ought to have a certain capital previously.

Mr. Corry co-incided, and hoped that such a provision would also be extended to Ireland. Unless such a plan were adopted in that country, the facility of circulating paper would produce the worst consequences. He alluded particularly to a wretched set of persons, who, without any property, had issued paper to a large amount, and thereby embarked in several speculations, contributing to raise the price of provisions, though they could not make good the sums for which they engaged. He hoped he should not be mistaken as alluding to persons of character and property.— He intended to propose some amendments upon this subject in a future stage of the bill.

Sir John Parnell said that the mischief arose from the evasion of the law. Men, calling themselves bankers, in Ireland, exchanged their paper, which had no security, for bank paper; but if they paid the stamp duties, they would not find their trade succeed. These grievances had been carried to an extreme, and he thanked the learned gentleman for bringing in the bill.

Mr. Alexander argued in favour of the measure, from the conduct of country bankers in the north of Ireland, and the nature of the bankrupt laws there. The motion was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be committed on Monday, March 30th; on which day the attorney-general saying that certain provisions extending to Ireland and Scotland in the bill having been suggested to him, he must wait for 1801.

more information on that head, and therefore moved the committal of the bill for Thursday, which was agreed to.

On Thursday, April 30th, on the motion that the speaker do leave the chair,

The lord advocate of Scotland said he had intended to oppose the bill; but from some conversation with the framers of it, he should not, as it was not to infringe on the privileges of the Scotch banks. He should however reserve a liberty to propose such amendments as he might think necessary.

Mr. Robson thought the nation ought to have the advantage of every discovery. He disapproved the monopoly of the bank of England, given by this bill, and the preference it might obtain to the exclusion of private individuals.

Mr. Allardyce thought that other banks, as well as that of England, ought to be enabled to protect themselves from forgery.

Mr. William Smith defended the bill, and thought it a hardship that the public, who must take paper in payment, should not know whether it was good or bad. He therefore said he should support it.

Mr. Jones said he should not have troubled the house on this subject, had not a friend of his put two bank-notes into his hand (which he held up, quite worn out). He formerly respected the bank-directors, as *gold-merchants*; but they were now *paper-merchants*, and bad ones too. These notes proved the *glorious solid system* of finance lately introduced. He would support no such motion.

Mr. Johnstone opposed the bill.

Mr. William Dundas thought that the bank of England's paper ought to be distinguished from all other.

Sir Francis Baring thought that

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the distinguishing the paper of the bank of England would obtain for it that confidence to which it was entitled—affording the holder of such paper security that it must be genuine.

Mr. Nicholls disapproved such a distinction.

Mr. Peel thought it no hardship for the bank of England to have peculiar discriminating marks. The alarming increase of forgeries called for every measure that could stop them. The present bill would preserve the bank's credit throughout Europe, since the circulation of the paper extended all over it; and nothing could better secure it than the certainty which the holder of bank paper had—that he could not be imposed upon in the kind which he possessed. He should therefore support the motion.

Mr. Hobhouse approved the bill, but regretted that the mover had not devised some protection for the country banks, which was formerly proposed. He supposed that this measure of partiality to the national bank resulted from the reciprocal favour which had so long lasted between the administration and that establishment (as in the case of commutation for stamps), by which the public revenue was deprived of the advance it must have gained from the late increased circulation of bank-notes.

Mr. Thornton disclaimed any other motive on the part of the bank-directors than that of the public good, as they were not liable to pay forged notes. He defended the commutation for stamps as a fair public contract.

Colonel Ellord said, that the bill seemed to be misunderstood. The object of it must be defeated were the marks allowed to be used by other banks.

Mr. Hobhouse explained.

The chancellor of the exchequer said there was no necessity of his entering into a vindication of the former contract with the bank concerning stamps. It had been concluded by the government, and sanctioned by parliament as just and politic. He supported the present bill as humane and beneficial, and not as influenced by personal attachment to the bank-directors. No particular view to the benefit of that institution was proposed by the measure, and it was a great mistake to suppose it designed for the discredit of the country banks, which were advantageous in carrying on our inland concerns, but were not so liable to forgery, not holding out such strong temptation, nor offering such facility to the offenders by their circulation, as the national bank. They might, however, use such devices as they chose for their own security. The present bill only proposed to mark a certain discriminating line to the bank of England, whose protection from forgery more immediately concerned the legislature, whose interests were more connected with the empire than that of the country banks.

The attorney-general argued strongly in support of the bill. The motion was agreed to; and the house having resolved itself into a committee, the clauses were read, and with some amendments agreed to; and the bill was ordered to be taken into further consideration on that day se'n-night, and afterwards passed.

Perhaps there is scarcely a source more prolific of oppression than the sudden revival of statutes which long disuse has made in some degree obsolete, and which the change of manners and circumstances have rendered

rendered inapplicable to the present times. Such were the statutes enforcing the residence of the clergy on their benefices. They were made in popish times, when the abuses through the medium of the monasteries were flagrant; and when that truly useful and respectable body, the stipendiary curates, was unknown. As it is, that body of men serve as a nursery to supply the higher stations of the church, and from their situation and conduct they are in many instances more acceptable to the people than the actual incumbent. It is obvious that it is always the interest of the incumbent to reside on his benefice; and unless the motives to the contrary be urgent, we apprehend it is generally the case; and, except a few idle and worthless pastors, who may trifle away their time in London or Bath, and who are therefore no loss to their respective parishes, we apprehend not many of the beneficed clergy are absent from their cures, unless upon substantial reasons. The only provision, therefore, which appears necessary, is to vest a power in the diocesan to enforce the residence of a respectable clergyman, either as rector, vicar, or curate, in every parish; and this power the act, commonly called the curate's act, has very amply conferred upon the bishop or ordinary.

Taking advantage, however, of the statute, 21st Hen. VIIIth, a set of mercenary informers had for upwards of twelve months harassed the clergy with the most vexatious actions, and had levied very severe penalties in the hardest cases—as where a clergyman actually resided in his parish, but was absent from his parsonage-house while it underwent a necessary repair. To prevent a renewal of these oppressions

till a more adequate remedy could be provided, a temporary bill was introduced. It was moved for in the house of commons, on the 11th of May, by

Mr. W. Dickinson, who stated that the informations against the non-resident clergy having been in many instances very oppressive, and evidently not for the public benefit, since the actions had been often compounded, and there being then upwards of two hundred under prosecution, he rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to suspend for a limited time the act of the 21st Henry VIIIth. He suggested the close of the next session as the period.

It was observed to the honourable mover, that the best way would be to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the said act, an act to suspend not being considered regular. This brought on a conversation between Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Grey, the secretary at war, &c.; after which

Mr. Dickinson withdrew his motion, and then moved, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider so much of the act as related to the clergy's residence.

Sir Robert Buxton opposed the house going into a committee. He thought the act ought rather to be enforced than suspended. There ought to be an act to compel rather than prevent residence. He thought the non-residence of the clergy a crying evil.

Mr. Martin also thought it a great abuse. He said the clergy were amply paid, and employed curates for 40 or 50*l.* a-year to officiate for them, while they amused themselves in riding about the country with three or four servants. He read a letter from an old magazine,

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explaining the injuries arising from the non-residence of the clergy. It appeared therein, that the income of five parishes in Lincolnshire was upwards of 1960*l.* a-year, on which no clergyman resided; and one of these had been sold twice in fourteen years. Mr. Martin said, that as the cause of complaint had increased since that letter's publication, he should oppose the house going into a committee.

Mr. M. A. Taylor said, he was glad that the attention of the house was called to the present subject, because in it the morals and happiness of the people were much interested. He owned the bill was a bad one which the honourable mover wished to suspend, but yet he could not part with it till a better were substituted. He knew of many clergymen in the possession of great livings who never visited their parishes, and the whole duty was done by curates at 40 or 50*l.* a-year. He attributed the increase of methodism throughout the country to this cause. If the clergy of the established church attended their livings, and instructed their parishioners, they would not run after a set of canting hypocrites. In some instances the clergy were subject to hardships, without remedy in the existing laws; for if the non-residence was proved, the judge must pronounce them guilty. When a parsonage-house was uninhabitable (as was frequently the case), the clergyman might reside in the next village; in which case it was hard that he should be equally liable to fines for non-residence as he who never visited his parish at all. Yet such was the present law. He wished it amended, but would not consent to a bill exempting the clergy from residing at their livings.

Sir William Elford said, in the

diocese of Exeter, clergymen without parsonages were under prosecution: this was a great hardship, for which he hoped something would be done.

Mr. Calcraft opposed the measure.

Mr. Nicholls thought that the bill would not answer the purpose intended: he therefore objected to the house going into a committee. Would suspending the present laws stop the prosecutions already begun? He saw not how the house could pass an act to stop an action against clergymen for non-residence, conformable to the existing laws. He thought that the residence of the clergy ought to be enforced. In the county which he represented (Somersetshire), the clergy did not reside as they ought. He thought that parsonage-houses ought to be provided always for clergymen, and they compelled to live in them. As to actions being compounded, both the prosecutor and clergymen were in such cases guilty of breaking the laws, and liable to punishment. He resolved to oppose the measure in every stage.

The secretary at war said if the house went into a committee, it should be to enforce the law. The bench of bishops had something in consideration upon the present subject: he therefore looked to them, suggesting the propriety of postponing the motion.

Sir William Dolben thought, as the bench of bishops were considering the subject, it would be premature to do any thing in it, and therefore recommended withdrawing the motion.

Mr. Dickinson, junior, said, that if the bench of bishops would take up the subject, he was sure that the motion would be withdrawn. The law

law as it now stood was a vicious one; for it compelled the residence of the clergy who had only 120*l.* a-year, as well as those who had 1000*l.* Informers compounding actions proved that they acted not for the public good, and showed that parliament ought to interfere.

Mr. M. A. Taylor said, that a bill occasioning fines must begin in that house, and therefore the bishops could not act in the business.

The Speaker said, that though such a bill could not originate in the other house, it might come to that house recommended.

Mr. Bagwell said, that there was no law in Ireland to enforce the residence of the clergy; and, if it should pass, it might reach to that part of the united kingdom.

Mr. Dickinson had not before heard that the bishops meant to take up the subject. He had no objection to wait a little; but he would not abandon the measure.

The Speaker then asked him to withdraw the motion, which was accordingly done.

Tuesday, June 9th, Mr. Dickinson again moved that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider so much of the 21st of Henry VIIIth as regarded the non-residence of the clergy; which was supported by Mr. Gregor and sir William Scott.

Mr. Buxton opposed it, condemning the practice of clergymen becoming farmers and dealers. He was sorry to have seen a clergyman's name in the gazette among the bankrupts.

The committee being formed, sir W. Leman in the chair,

Mr. Dickinson moved that the chairman should move to bring in a bill to protect and relieve spiritual persons from vexatious actions under the 21st of Henry VIIIth.

The chancellor of the exchequer

said he was glad the honourable gentleman had taken up the subject on the grounds he had done: this method was much less objectionable than the former proposal of suspending the whole of the act of Henry VIII. He thought there were many actions against clergymen for non-residence, from which they ought to be protected. It was not his wish to support their non-residence, but that every encouragement should be given to spiritual exercises, which was best done by their attention to their duty. He believed that there were many blameable instances of non-residence, but that these had been exaggerated. He thought that they should not be employed in different branches of business, but that agriculture was not derogatory to their character, but beneficial to the public; but he wished them to keep within their capital. Some provision to encourage their residence ought to be made by parliament. The proposed bill would be a present convenience, and might lead to permanently useful regulations. The house, he said, would do well to consider the smallness of the income of some of the clergy. They ought to have importance, which could not be with the income on which some were forced to live. He thought money could not be better employed.

Sir Robert Buxton thought if clergymen did their duty they would have but little time for farming. He would not then take up the committee's time, but should make some observations in future on the bill. There were many sinecures in the church proper also to be considered.

Mr. Whitbread approved the bill, as tending to stop vexatious prosecutions. Where non-residence was unavoidable, it was hard that such persons should be prosecuted.

He hoped the subject would be taken up gravely by the other side of the house, and recommended the great difference in church livings to their consideration. By the compulsion to take tithes in kind, the clergy must become dealers and jobbers. Tithes were injurious to morals, as they caused contention and enmity towards those from whom the people were to be religiously instructed. This mode of paying the clergy was discouraging and injurious to agriculture; he wished the system altered, and that the inferior clergy might be made independent and respectable, but not from the public purse; he thought the church revenues sufficient to support all its members in competence.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the clergy's income was generally less than was imagined, and that the income of some bishops was not greater than that of some priests. The subject demanded the greatest caution: he would not venture to say what could be done, but assured the honourable gentleman that he was totally averse from increasing the burdens of the people.

Mr. Whitbread said that all he meant to contend was, that the church's income was quite adequate to all its purposes, and did not deny that the revenues of some bishops were comparatively small.

Sir John Parnell said that he had seen so much inconvenience by meddling with church matters, that he hoped the house would see its way clearly before any interference.

Dr. Laurence approved the measure, but thought it very dangerous to interfere with church establishments, the oldest property of the country.

Mr. Dickinson, junior, supported the bill.

The Speaker said that the subject was of the utmost importance. Many of the observations were irrelevant to it. The law intended to be altered was very ancient, and passed because religious houses had acted improperly. By this act the king had a power which was not practised; but a recommendation on the subject would be proper. The law had some good effect. There were some clergymen who had no just apology for non-residence. He admitted that in many cases residence might be dispensed with, from certain causes. He therefore approved of some alteration in the law as it now stood. The motion was then put and agreed to.

On Friday, June 19th, the order of the day being read for the going into a committee on the bill,

Mr. Dickinson observed that the bill being objectionable in its present state, he should propose many amendments, and wished it to be committed, printed, and re-committed on Monday. He moved that the speaker leave the chair.

Mr. Ellison opposed that part of the bill allowing clergymen to take farms: if allowed to mix in the common concerns of life, they would soon become *Trulliberised*. He read an extract from *Joseph Andrews* about parson *Trulliber* and his hogs. He thought bad consequences would follow if the clergy had no fear of common informers.

Mr. Nicholls said he disapproved all the principles of the bill, which would convert the clergy into traders.

Mr. Gregor defended the bill; saying that clergymen, beneficed or not, were prohibited from taking lands, and so could have only such lands as they possessed in right of their church. If the house refused to go into a committee, they would

would decide against the clergy, and also refuse to hear them. Some such measure was needful. A hard case had lately come to his knowledge. A clergyman died, leaving a widow and eight children: his brother was presented to the living: he let them all live in the parsonage-house, gave them part of his income, and lived himself in a small house near it. For this he was now prosecuted for non-residence.

Mr. Hawkins Browne said, that from some of the speeches one would suppose that every clergyman must be a jobber, and every law requiring residence ought to be repealed. But the truth was, that the duties of the ministry would be better discharged by means of the bill. He said common informers were pests of society; mentioned some cases of great hardship; and affirmed that the clergy deserved protection from vexatious suits.

Mr. Sheridan congratulated the honourable gentleman on what he had said concerning informers, and it was strange to suppose that he had often supported measures tending to multiply and protect those very men. He agreed to all that was said in favour of the clergy, but the arguments of those who praised them corresponded not with their professions. If they were as good as described, would they all become farmers and jobbers, and regraters, as soon as in their power? When engaged in a war for religion, it was impolitic to represent them in a body as ready to run from their duty, and continuing it only from necessity. He was glad that his opinion was sanctioned by the first authority in the kingdom (lord Thurlow's), when a bill was pending for their exclusion from the house of commons. He saw

no injury likely to arise from the clergy's agriculture. In Scotland they were all farmers, and this state had never a more useful ally. How were their characters or usefulness impaired by this employment? In many parishes, all that the parson could do was to preach on a Sunday. Why prevent his example of industry to his parishioners on the week days? If a clergyman of abilities and knowledge were presented to a living in a country where the land was wholly uncultivated, and the inhabitants savages; and this clergyman by his instructions and example changed the whole face of the country, introducing a spirit of industry and improvement, and seeing his own farm, and all the lands in the neighbourhood, highly cultivated; gaining tracts from the sea, and converting a desert into a garden; would it be said that he ought not to have been suffered thus to exert himself for his country's good, or compelled to cease from such exertions? This was not an imaginary case, for Mr. Bate Dudley, rector of Bradwell, in the county of Essex, was considered a public benefactor. Here then was Dudley *versus* Trulliber, and the latter must be driven out of court. He concluded by his assent to the bill.

Mr. Windham considered this as a bill of suspension, not a final measure. He approved it, because a law might be enforced differently from its original intention, and then the legislature ought to restore its first spirit. He was against laws of residence being permanent, because, although he venerated the bishops, licenses might be granted from courtesy; and their writing to grand juries on so delicate a subject, on which they had no right to interpose, deserved the greatest re-
Q 4 prehension.

prehension. He vindicated common informers, and objected to clergymen's taking farms. He severely censured the Board of Agriculture concerning tithes: their correspondence with grand juries was highly indecent. The supposed case of parson Trulliber seemed inapplicable. He was not sure that the opinions in Essex were so unanimous as was supposed. He should support the bill as a temporary measure.

Mr. Jones thought this bill should be suspended for six months, and that clergymen should reside in their parishes, and the bishops should have compelled them: that in this dangerous time pastors should not leave their flocks. To prevent the intemperance of the higher clerical orders was more needful than such a bill; and it were better to buy up all tithes at 50,000,000 only, than adopt the measure.

Sir H. F. T. Mildway was for the committee; and thought that the end might be better answered by settling the term "wilful absence" in the act of Henry VIII. He agreed with Mr. Sheridan upon the case in Essex. No man was more deserving than Mr. Dudley. He could assert that, by his exertions, the soil, inhabitants, and the whole state of the country, were much improved; which was generally attested by the lord lieutenant, justices, and grand juries.

Mr. Simeon thought, as laws could not be enforced without informers, they should be tolerated; and the law should not be altered because of some hard cases. As to pluralists, informations should be given against those having two livings, and residing on neither; or those with one, and without residence: for those with two need not reside on both, but choose

which they will. Besides, the statute of Henry VIII was comparatively mild. Here he recited the ancient ordinances against non-residence, which became by custom the common law; and he said this statute was for bettering the condition of the clergy. There was no novelty in legally enforcing it. The law had been moderately exercised; there was no case carried to an unjust length, either in the king's-bench or common-pleas; on the contrary, the clergyman's health was duly regarded, and also the state of the parsonage-house. He opposed the dispensing power of the bishops, not as supposing they would abuse their power, but that they might be imposed on; and if any hard cases existed, they required no general law. Residence was enforced by law, because all other means were in vain. No complaints were made till lately, and these rather proved the evil of non-residence than of informations. Besides, many gentlemen compounded with good reason:—the penalty was 10*l.* per month. Why were informations numerous?—Because the offence was common. That so many deserved conviction was the real evil. He took a view of the power given by this bill to the bishops over the law of our ancestors, which would subject the inferior clergy too much to them when thus possessed of enormous power. The archbishop's and bishops' power would exceed the king's, and equal the pope's, both dangerous and alarming. He begged them to pause, and consider the necessity of it. Were it asked what was to be done with these informations? Nothing: for there could be none but against a man with two livings, residing on neither, or with one only, non-resident. The number of
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of informations proving the number of offers could be no reason for relaxing the law. He thought this also would be unpopular, and disgust the inferior clergy themselves, by favouring only the higher orders. He censured the clause allowing a clergyman to farm, which invited them to filthy lucre instead of divine pursuits. If preaching once a week were all their employment, they were now overpaid; but if they did their duty, in visiting the sick, and assisting the poor, and setting a general good example, their earthly reward would not equal their desert. For this end they should reside in their parish; therefore he disapproved the bill. he revered the bishops, and their religion, of divine origin; but opposed any further temporal power being given them.

Colonel Strutt rose to observe, that he agreed with sir H. Mildmay in Mr. Dudley's praise, whose agricultural labours had been universally approved by the whole county of Essex.

The bill was then committed to a committee of the whole house.

Mr. Dickinson said, that should the bill go through it with amendments, he should move that the report be directly received, and that the bill be re-printed, and re-committed on Monday, and then be considered. He wished it to pass this session, and not to remain till the next. He should move afterwards that its provisions extend to the 2d of March 1802, and no longer. Another amendment was moved, to oblige each clergyman desiring leave of absence from his parish to fix such notice on the church-door some time previously. These amendments were agreed to *pro forma*, to be discussed

when the bill should be re-committed.

The report was received, and the bill ordered to be printed. It was moved for further consideration on Monday.

Mr. Robson proposed Tuesday.

The house then divided. For the original motion 33—Against it 7—Majority 26.

In the house of lords, on Friday June 26th, on the motion for the second reading of the clergy residence bill, the bishop of Rochester said he did not expect its second reading as a motion of course, but that something would have been said on it, a misunderstanding about it having prevailed, especially among the clergy. He meant not to oppose it, though a warm advocate for the residence of the clergy, as promoting the interests of religion: their frequent non-residence was scandalous to the church of England. It was conjectured that this bill would end all suits and informations already commenced.—Not so. It did not repeal the act of Hen. VIII, but suspended only for a time all present suits, that parliament might revise the law as it stood. Zealous as he was for residence, he allowed there were cases where it was hard to enforce the act against non-residence; as where the decay of the parsonage-house rendered it uninhabitable, and which was frequently the case in London, such houses being often occupied by the lowest mechanics. But this decay, though not owing to the present incumbents, but to the predecessor, was the result of non-residence. However, he saw no necessity for their constant residence, but he contended that still *some* clergyman should be there.

The lord-chancellor left the woolsack

sack to say that the present bill was only to suspend many suits and processes already begun for non-residence, not entirely to quash them, but leave them (as they now stood) when the suspension should cease. More than this would be unjust, since those who commenced the suits and informations had been required by law thus to act, and were entitled to the rewards offered. The present bill was proper and necessary, by which parliament might revise the existing law, to re-consider and place it on a firmer basis for the future residence of the clergy. Non-residence at present prevailed (as was observed) to a shameful excess; as sometimes the incumbent had never entered his parish from the day of induction. As a warm friend to our church establishment, he was for the residence of the clergy, being satisfied that much seditious language lately indulged against the government and nobility arose from non-residence; it being observable that where the clergy resided less sedition had been heard than where they did not. As to the act of Hen. VIII, it called for amendment. In trying actions for non-residence, he was much grieved in being frequently obliged to find a verdict for conviction, as otherwise he could not have done his duty as the law stood. In some causes he was compelled to convict pious and worthy men who always punctually discharged their duty, but had not resided, there being no parsonage-house; and this itself was the result of non-residence. The law therefore called for revision. It unjustly punished those who were not residents by necessity, as well as those who were not. It was also unequal, since the penalty of 10l.

per month was the same on a living of 1200l. per annum, holden by a single man without any incumbrance, and possibly with an independent fortune, and on that clergyman who, with a wife and numerous family, possessed but 110l. a-year.

Lord Alvanley agreed to all that had been said, having no other objection than to the day of suspension (25th of March), which was inconvenient to the suits already begun, whose costs would be the same as if the bill had not passed. He wished for a nearer day—six weeks after the commencement of the session, or any other near day; but if this should limit the time of the legislature too much, he would now assent to the bill—which, being again read, was committed for next day.

On Monday, June 29th, on the third reading of the bill,

The duke of Norfolk rose, and said that this was a bill of serious importance to the legislature. Their lordships had often reason to complain of such bills presented so late in the session, when a competent judgment of them could not be made: they must either necessarily pass them in ignorance, or entirely reject them. It was then too late to consider the bill, though material to the clergy, the church of England, and general morality. The act of Henry VIII had long required amendment; and as that branch of the legislature had the reverend bench to assist them, it was thought the bishops would have taken the lead in a concern which was their peculiar province, namely, the residence of the clergy. Perhaps so much of the session had elapsed without anything done, because the measure was expected at their hands; but

but nothing being done, the commons had brought the bill before the house to proceed towards it. The present bill concluded the suits and proceedings already commenced. He had much to say, were it not useless at so late a stage of the bill. He hoped that the subject would be duly considered hereafter; and parliament should recollect, that the evil of non-residence was not confined to this country, but extended also to the united kingdom, who, having no legislature of their own, trusted to the wisdom of the imperial parliament to legislate for them, and to provide a proper and effectual remedy, liable to no objections of harshness and injustice, which the existing law was subject to. He said much lay in the power of the prelates, who were the proper guardians of the church, and thus were peculiarly bound to provide for the residence of the clergy, and their discharge of their duties. He hoped therefore that they would seriously consider the subject, and frame some bill or measure better calculated for the evil than the present. He remarked on the prelates of Ireland, that great complaints were made on the non-residence of the clergy: and he believed much of the troubles and rebellion were owing to the neglect of the protestant clergy in their clerical functions, which evils could not have been had those prelates more narrowly inspected the conduct of the clergy. Had they exerted themselves with vigilance and precaution, Ireland might now have been in a different situation, and become a protestant country. The admonition he had given the reverend bench would, he trusted, be well received by them, as they must concur with him that it be-

came them to attend to the proper conduct of the clergy, which the public had a right to expect. He concluded with declaring in favour of the bill.

Lord Somerton (archbishop of Cashel) complained of the unmerited stigma cast by the duke on the Irish prelates, and the conduct of the clergy, by ascribing to their neglect of duty the troubles and rebellion that had happened. He rose to rescue them from the imputation, and to assure the house that, had the noble duke always lived there, he would have found no reason for it. He could not ascribe it to personal motives, but imagined the mistake founded on misinformation. The very reverse of neglect in the prelates of Ireland to their clergy was the fact, the truth of which several noble lords would assert. He could answer for the diocese of Cashel, over which he had presided for twenty years, where residence and the regular discharge of all duties were strictly attended to. The archbishops, he said, in that part of the kingdom, were provided with the means of enforcing the good conduct of their clergy. They visited their diocese annually, and their province triennially. This he had himself personally done, and visited his province five times in twenty years. He should have not said so much, had not the noble duke's observations called him up; and it became absolutely due to the Irish prelates then absent that so unmerited a charge against them should be refuted. As to the present bill, he observed, their lordships should consider it as it now was, not as it might have been: it was to prevent suits and causes commenced under the act of Henry VIIIth, which had been followed as to the letter, but not the spirit of it; not

not to prosecute, but persecute the clergy, many of whom could not reside in the glebe-houses, they being ruinous and untenable; but they performed all their duties scrupulously, though exposed to prosecution. But the present bill only stayed such proceedings as were founded on *qui tam* informations; and should no further measure be taken before the 25th of March, those causes would then proceed. His grace approved of the bill.

The bishop of Rochester said he admitted it was the duty of the reverend bench to enforce the residence of the clergy, and repeated what he had formerly urged against non-residence, in which all his reverend brethren agreed. His feelings, with theirs, were affected by a law which inflicted penalties on the innocent, but did not extend to the guilty. He said, in illustration, that those who could not reside in the parsonage-house, but yet strictly did their duty, were liable to be punished alike with those who had no sense of it. As to a more effectual remedy proposed in parliament by the reverend bench, the noble duke had forgotten that the house of commons would not readily entertain a money-bill (and all bills of pains and penalties were such) originating in their lordships' house. He also had mistaken the operation and effect of the present bill, which would not stop suits already commenced, but only suspend them till the 25th of March, to give an opportunity for revising the law on the subject, and afford such remedies to non-residence as might seem best.

The lord-chancellor left the wool sack, and repeated much of what he had formerly said. He assured the reverend prelate who

had spoken last, that several causes which he had tried were not founded merely on the letter of the statute of Henry VIII, but were brought according to the pure spirit and laudable view of that statute. Some were certainly actions in which he lamented the conviction of the clergymen. One concerned the minister of Bow-church, who found it the practice of his predecessors to lease the parsonage-house, and as such it was now actually possessed. He did not know, as a lawyer, the best way of obtaining it; but if he had, he could not have lived in it from its smallness, as their lordships might see at the pocket-book shop, the corner of Bow-church-yard. He tried in vain to get another house, and he took one in Ely place, discharging his duty in an exemplary manner, and at all times exercising each branch of his ministry. On his trial, the counsel for the prosecution avowed boldly that his client thought he benefited the public by enforcing the residence of the clergy, and therefore chose out one of the best for prosecution, to show that this law was peremptory. Some of a different description were prosecuted: he mentioned one with a living in London, and another in Somersetshire, much more advantageous. This gentleman was employed for nine years together in fox-hunting instead of the Gospel, and had not once visited his town living. Yet such was the incumbency in Somersetshire, that the non-resident escaped the penalties. What was 112*l.* out of 1200*l.* a-year?—1090*l.* was surely much for doing nothing. Supposing then a living of 110*l.* a-year only, that whole income must be paid for eleven penalties. Such a statute as Henry the VIIIth's defied discrimination. He mentioned

tioned another case where the glebe-house was too large. An attorney with a large family proposed to the clergyman to change houses. The latter came for his rent: the former would not pay him, and threatened him with an action at *qui tam* for 110*l.* on account of non-residence. His lordship repeated that the act was unjust and unequal; but a judge must comply, the policy of the law being nothing to him, he being bound to enforce it. As to non-residence, informers were harshly dealt with in both houses. The legislature, having made a law, called on informers to help its execution. When they complied, they were abused for it as common informers living by *qui tam* actions. This was quite unfair; and, in respect to the enforcement of the present statute, he asserted that most of the informers were conscientious men, and depriving them of rewards would be unjust. The operation of the present bill was not new or unknown to the legislature. Several bills had passed to suspend actions and prosecutions. Two he named, concerning raw hides and the coal-trade. Both these came within old statutes, now obsolete, but still in full force: bills therefore were passed to prevent these penalties; but the present case was quite different. All knew the statute of Henry to be in force, and non-residents offended openly against it; nor could they plead desuetude in extenuation.

The duke of Norfolk replied that he meant no disrespect to the pre-lacy or clergy, but spoke from personal knowledge, having lived several years in Ireland, and some time in the learned prelate's archbishopric, and had seen parishes with neither minister nor church.

All they knew of the clergyman was from the collection of his tithes. With respect to what the reverend prelate opposite had said, about the other house originating money-bills, it was true. But had he never heard of a bill framed by the reverend bench, being brought into the other house, passed, and sent up to their lordships? To his former admonition (taken in good part) he would also hint to the reverend prelate, that the other house had already disabled the clergy from sitting with them; and if the reverend bench in regard to the church were not careful, a bill might pass to prevent their having seats with their lordships.

The marquis of Buckingham, in a few words, said he should have spoken at large, had not the advanced period of the session prevented the probable operation of his suggestions. He opposed the bill, thinking that of Henry salutary and useful to the public. He knew some flagitious cases of non-residence that called for punishment, and he hoped that this evil would soon be at an end. But he would not resist the present bill. He ought to do justice to that part of the kingdom where the archbishop of Cashel resided. While he was lord-lieutenant, he had often consulted the reverend prelates concerning the regulation of the clergy; and he assured the noble duke that much was done to enforce residence by building churches, parsonage-houses, &c. and none could act with more attention and vigilance than the diocesans of Ireland:—a fact which other noble lords in the same situation with himself had witnessed, as well as the clergy's good conduct.

The duke of Clarence said that
what

what the noble lord on the wool-sack had said would have changed his opinion had it been different; and as the law must be revised, he hoped that ministers would attend to it, and introduce a bill more adequate to the object.

The bill, having been read a third time, was passed.

The reputed success attending the *écoles militaires* in France had rendered it long an object with ministry to establish something of a similar institution in England. On its propriety in a trading and manufacturing country, and defended as we are by wooden bulwarks, which we trust will ever be impregnable, it is not our present business to treat; and therefore to the arguments urged in the debate, we shall, without further preface, refer our readers.

On Monday June 8th, the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply,

The secretary at war said his duty was to address them on his majesty's message relative to a military college. He would only shortly state the object:—to instruct youth in the profession of arms, military tactics, and in each science which might render them skilful officers. War being now unfortunately a science, its study must be regarded for the defence of this country against other nations, and the states neglecting it had been all reduced to subjection. This institution was more needful, from the distinction between the navy and army. In the former, nautical science was necessary for their daily duty; nor could they obtain a lieutenancy without a strict examination. Not so in the army: a youth of sixteen, quite ignorant of military science, from a public school, obtained a commission, and

was sent to join his regiment, where no further knowledge was to be had. He commended the courage of the British army warmly, and the conduct of the royal commander-in-chief. The army, however strong and courageous, without skill would be useless, especially now, when the greater part of Europe were our enemies through envy, and surrounded by rebellion as we were, when even a peace would be only an armed truce. He then moved that “a sum not above 30,000*l.* be granted his majesty for building a military college.”

Mr. Jones did not object to the motion, but thought the like institution needful for the navy.

Mr. Martin was surprised at the secretary's allusion to a public standing army. He wished Old England had nothing but her navy and militia for defence.

The secretary at war said this measure had nothing to do with a standing army, as this and the army might be discontinued at pleasure.

Mr. Wilberforce supported the motion, which was agreed to.

The secretary at war said the number of soldiers' children for education was to be increased from 500 to 1000.—20,000*l.* was already granted, and 8000*l.* more would be sufficient: the whole would not exceed 20,000*l.* annually. It was disgraceful for soldiers to contribute to it: the sums given by them should now cease. He then moved that not more than 8472*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* be granted to enlarge the premises and increase the institution for soldiers' children.

Mr. Windham said this was his plan of last year, and he was glad to find it on a larger scale. He approved the soldiers' exemption from contribution.

Mr.

Mr. Wilberforce asked what its precise nature was?

The secretary at war said it was for educating soldiers' children, a preference being had to orphans.

Mr. O'Hara disapproved any distinction between soldiers and their fellow-subjects.

Dr. Laurence thought it unconstitutional to divide soldiers from their fellow-citizens; but as a measure of public humanity he would not oppose it.

The secretary at war said, boys of fourteen might be either soldiers or tradesmen, as they chose.—The motion was put and agreed to.

On Wednesday, June 10th, the report of a committee of supply for a military seminary and asylum for soldiers' orphans was brought up. The first resolution being read,

General Walpole disapproved the measure, which would only increase the influence of the crown, and ruin the constitution, by rendering the country altogether military. No such establishment existed when our military fame was at the highest, and the duke of Marlborough was victorious; therefore unnecessary for the country's success. It would better become ministers to sacrifice their disposal of military preferments; to advance officers solely on their merits and services, and to encourage them in military science by certain rewards, enforcing strict responsibility without hurting the constitution.

Colonel Wood dissented totally. He allowed the utmost height of military glory in this country when no such institution existed. But times were much changed. The enemy's power was increased, and we acted against an armed nation; their principles and ambi-

tion required new measures against both. He therefore supported the bill.

The secretary at war stated that the bill had been proposed on full deliberation, being desired by the commander-in-chief and the ablest officers. If properly regulated, no danger could ensue from it. He allowed that our armies had acquired great glory without it: but the question was, whether still greater glory and skill would not be obtained with it? It was indisputable that great attention had been paid lately to the most deserving officers.

Mr. Whitbread thought that, allowing the merit of the institution, its expense was much greater than the object would authorise. He also objected its giving too great power to the commander-in-chief. The proposed vote of 30,000*l.* was merely to cover the present expense. The whole was estimated at 67,000*l.* and a large annuity for the institution, which the present distressed state of the country could not afford. He owned that the bill came from high authority, the commander-in-chief, but that did not induce his consent to it. He thought that, by joining this plan with that of Woolwich, it might be effected. Besides, though the present expense was great, in future it might prove much greater, and beyond calculation.

The secretary at war observed, that annexing this institution to Woolwich would not save expense, but produce great inconveniences. He could not engage that the expense would exactly correspond with the estimate, which was made out by an able officer, colonel Markham, whose accuracy he could safely trust.

Mr. Grey said he had expressed his

his dissent in the committee. Gentlemen supported the measure on a partial ground, considering its utility, but not its evils. The glory of the army was allowed without such an institution; but now new means of security were supposed necessary. Great as the military powers of the French now were, they were not greater than when directed by a Turenne, a Condé, a Villars, Catinat, and Berwick. Did the French power now alarm us? He allowed it augmented much of late, but not greater than when Marlborough frustrated Louis XIV's ambitious designs. Were the views of France more alarming now than formerly? It might be said that it now aimed at the destruction of our liberties and religion. He would ask what was Louis XIV's chief object? Was it not the establishment of arbitrary power and popery, by restoring James II.? In all respects France then seemed as formidable as now: but we thought not of combating the danger thus; yet our arms were eminently glorious. Then the defence of the country from the plans against its religion and liberties was left to its courage and zeal. Let the same be done now, and the result would be the same. The same courage and spirit had lately been displayed. Leave the people their liberties, they would not be wanting to defend them. The present measure would not improve officers in military science as much as was supposed. In other professions, skill was not wanting, because merit was sure of encouragement. Emulation was sufficient for advancement in law, physic, architecture, and other sciences:—in the army the same. Several able generals appeared in the parliament's army in Charles the First's

reign, without military education, whose skill must have resulted from ambition. In later times, how were the French generals formed? Not in military schools: their skill came from experience, and military science was promoted by rewards. These had defeated the Austrians, and generals trained in the art. As to the assertion of Mr. Yorke, that lately more attention was paid to the promotion and employment of able officers, he knew not enough of the patronage of the army to decide on the subject. He knew of some instances of officers promoted over others, solely on rank and family influence. As to the expense of this institution, it seemed very large and oppressive. No security was given that it might not be much greater. The house was told to think this trifling, because not greater than the erection of a barracks. Barracks were unknown till lately. When first proposed, the house was told of their great convenience and small expense; but gentlemen might not be aware that they cost more than two millions. What security that this measure would not be equally expensive? His main objection was its danger to the constitution; for this measure, viewed with others, gave strong suspicion of this being made a military country. He believed that 300 boys of the lower class only were to be educated at this school, which might become generally fashionable for youths of high expectation. Then what would be the habits and opinions of these young men?—Not only the highest in the army, but in the civil establishment, when they should come forward in life.—Submission only to their superiors, habits of command, and impatience of disobedience,

obedience, would characterise their tempers—dispositions inconsistent with the free constitution of this country. As to an asylum for soldiers' children, he fully approved it, and was glad to hear they were not all to be military. This would be repugnant to Christianity, and inconsistent with the British constitution. He remarked also on the time the measure was brought forward. At the beginning of the session, when the failure of the expedition to Holland, and those of Ferrol and Cadiz, were fresh in mind, no such plan was proposed: now, at the close, when our arms were distinguished by the most heroic courage and excellent discipline, this measure was introduced. When needed, it was not mentioned. At any rate, such an expense should be deferred till the country had recovered itself from war. Its officers had been trained in the best school, that of experience, in the course of nine years; therefore the measure was unnecessary, and years must pass ere we should want officers again. He was sorry to hear Mr. Yorke, respecting peace, on a former night; namely, that we could not hope for one sincere and solid, but only an armistice; convenient only at present, but not allowing the reduction of our force. He hoped when peace was made, no more jealousy would exist between the two nations: this peace would be as solid, secure, and permanent, as any concluded with a rival nation.

The secretary at war explained, stating, that his language respecting the peace had been misrepresented by Mr. Grey. He said only, that at present we could not hope for a sincere peace—at best, only a hollow, suspicious, and armed peace. He said, that, according to 1801.

Mr. Grey's own expression, we ought to be more than ever jealous of France. This was the policy and system of our wisest and best administrations, and the best that could be pursued. He wished the British officers as superior to the French in military science, as they certainly were in courage, honour, zeal, and loyalty.

Mr. James Martin disapproved the measure entirely, even the asylum for soldiers' children. He was convinced that all thus educated must become soldiers. This he regarded as an hereditary military cast in the country, and a gross violation of its constitution. He thought our proceedings for several years past had tended to its destruction, and the substitution of a military government.

Sir William Elford supported the measure, arguing that all the influence Mr. Grey had assigned to emulation would be answered thereby.

Mr. Hussey warmly opposed it. He averred, that though the army might be improved by this institution, he should dislike an army composed from it. This college was to give military science to the pupils: he asked if our colleges in general taught science?—he believed but few would say so. He thought the promotion of military science should be left solely to emulation. He opposed such a measure twenty years ago, which was then given up. This should meet his opposition in every stage.

The secretary at war showed a difference between the present case and that alluded to. As to the patronage of the proposed bill, the thirty staff-officers were to be appointed by the commander-in-chief: in the junior class, fifty by the East-India company from among their cadettes;

cadettes; one hundred from the sons of officers who had distinguished themselves; and the rest to be appointed by the commander-in-chief—the exercise of this latter power subject to the inspection of parliament: therefore no danger could be feared from it.

The different resolutions were then put, and agreed to without a division.

On the 2d of July the session was terminated by commission, his majesty being at the time absent at Weymouth. The lord-chancellor addressed the two houses in an appropriate speech. He noticed with

some exultation the late victories by sea and land; and added, that they derived at the present moment peculiar value in his majesty's estimation, from their tendency to facilitate the restoration of peace on fair and equitable terms.

The above declaration, so solemnly made to both houses of parliament, added to the strong professions of the minister himself, had the happiest effect—it inspired a confidence that peace would be sincerely sought by the new administration; and the people of England were happily not disappointed.

CHAP. IX.

General View of Domestic Affairs. Consequences resulting from the Change of Ministry. State of Politics on the Accession of the new Ministry to Office. Difficulties in obtaining Peace. The Northern Confederacy. Expedition under Sir Hyde Parker. Battle of Copenhagen. The British Fleet appear off Copenhague—Result of the Negotiation there. Death of the Emperor Paul—His Character. Accession of the Emperor Alexander. Proceedings of the new Government of Russia. Armistice concluded with Sir Hyde Parker. Negotiation between Great-Britain and Russia—Terms of the Treaty. Expedition to Egypt—Engagements there. Death and Character of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Successes of the British Army. Reduction of Cairo—Convention for the Surrender of the French Troops there. Final Conquest of Egypt. Naval Engagement off Algiers. Attack upon Boulogne. Negotiation for Peace with France—Preliminaries signed. Concluding Observations.

IN reporting the proceedings of the imperial parliament in a connected narrative, we have pursued our usual practice, and the debates will not be found uninteresting; but the events which occurred out of parliament, though the detail will be shorter, will be found to be of still greater importance.

Those who have not been accus-

tomed to have their minds intent upon public transactions, who have not looked into the interior of cabinets, have not learned to expect great events from causes apparently trivial. It is, however, a great truth, that all the little passions of men are carried into the career of political life; and often what appears the effect of deep designing policy is no more than the ebullition

tion of humour, of resentment, of envy, or of fear. Though commonly regarded as a circumstance of little moment in this country, a change of ministers is in reality a matter of great magnitude, since the character of the moving power is changed; and on the character of the men who direct the national councils the measures will depend. There are no prescribed rules for the conduct of statesmen, there is no recipe for the government of a nation; but the man will always appear through the disguise of the minister. Rash, insolent, vain, and sanguine, measures of an intemperate character were only congenial to the persons who lately filled the highest offices of state. To restore peace and tranquillity, men of a more sober and cautious temperament, of a less haughty and daring spirit, were required: and, perhaps, having less of what is thought to be political reputation to support, and an humbler opinion of their own talents, the new administration were less fearful of descending from the high pretensions which had been previously advanced. It was no longer the idle ambition of the British cabinet to direct the councils of Europe; and they had consequently leisure and disposition to consult the immediate welfare of the British nation.

The reader must have observed, in the communications and speeches of the new ministers, in the course of the debates, a frankness and moderation to which his ear for some years past must have been unaccustomed. The same character they carried into their transactions with foreign nations; and it has been remarked, that from the period of their accession to office the public business was

conducted, in all respects, with a degree of method, regularity, and impartiality, to which those who transacted business with the servants of the crown had been strangers before; and if Mr. Addington and his colleagues did not aspire to the useless glory of shaking the senate by the thunder of their eloquence, of appearing as the first declaimers in Europe, they proved themselves something better—men of business.

To repair the errors of their predecessors was not an easy task. Peace with France at this time appeared even more impracticable than at any former period of the war. The disgust excited by the haughty rejection of Bonaparte's overture, on his assuming the government, was heightened by the breach of a treaty honourably and beneficially concluded by a meritorious (and we think an authorised) officer, and by an order as wantonly issued as it was meanly revoked, for seizing the fishing-boats off the coast of France. Even the accredited agent of the French government had found his situation so little correspondent with his wishes, that his recall had been determined. France was now strengthened by the alliance of Russia; and a formidable confederacy of the maritime powers of the North threatened the dissolution of the naval empire of Great-Britain. To these we may add, the evils of a famine actually existing, and exaggerated by the probable exclusion of our vessels from the granary of Europe.

To prevent the active co-operation of Denmark with the designs of Russia, an armament was fitted out in the British ports, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, three frigates, and about twenty bomb-

ketches, gun-brigs, &c. under the command of sir Hyde Parker and lord Nelson. This fleet sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, and triumphantly passed the Sound, which was deemed impossible, and reached the capital of Denmark.—The Danes appear to have made very formidable dispositions. Before the city was stationed an armed flotilla, consisting of ships of the line, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats. These were flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns, the largest of which mounted from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon. The attack was made by a division of the English fleet under lord Nelson, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. After a very severe engagement, an end was put to the contest by lord Nelson spontaneously offering a cessation of arms, which, it is said, was not less necessary to his own than the enemy's forces. After the battle, it appeared that the Danes had lost eighteen ships, among which were seven old men of war of the line fitted up for that particular occasion. Lord Nelson next proceeded to approach Copenhagen, into which some bombs were thrown; but an attack on the city was prevented by a flag of truce, which was sent on board lord Nelson's ship; and an armistice was soon after concluded with sir Hyde Parker by the Danish court.

On the 19th of April the British fleet appeared off the entrance of Carlsrona; and the admiral acquainted the governor, That the court of Denmark having concluded an armistice, by which the unfortunate dispute with the court of St. James's had been accommodated, he was directed to require

an explicit answer from his Swedish majesty relative to his intention of adhering to or abandoning the hostile measures he had taken in conjunction with Russia. An official answer to this demand was communicated from the king of Sweden to sir Hyde Parker, intimating that his Swedish majesty would not fail to fulfil the engagements entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies furnished with proper authority to regulate the matters in dispute.

The termination of the contest is, however, not to be attributed either to the battle of Copenhagen or to the victorious progress of the British fleet, but to an event which had just before taken place, to the astonishment of Europe, and which produced an almost instantaneous revolution in the politics of the North. On the 23d of March the emperor Paul, who had played so versatile and extraordinary a part on the political stage from the period when he ascended the Russian throne, expired *suddenly*. Respecting the cause and manner of his death, a cautious silence has been maintained in Russia; nor would it be safe to report what we have heard even in this country. Of his character, but little is to be said. His conduct was marked by an eccentricity which not unjustly induced a suspicion of mental derangement. His benignity to Kosciusko and the Polish insurgents formed an extraordinary contrast to his zeal in embarking in the crusade against France; and this again was succeeded by another change no less wonderful—in his desertion of the coalesced powers, his alliance with Bonaparte, and his quarrel with England.—Whatever

ever may be urged in favour of the general principle of what has been called the Northern confederacy, nothing can justify the seizure of the British vessels and the subsequent confiscation of British property. It is said by some one, that "justice is the law of kings;" and certainly nothing can be more inconsistent with honour and character than a breach of justice in those whose peculiar function it is to administer and protect it. This wanton outrage has been attempted to be justified by referring to the attack on French and Dutch property in the British funds at the commencement of the war; but we reply, whatever might be the reasons for that measure, one violent action does not justify another. As a sovereign, Paul might inspire terror; but he could not be respected. The same eccentricity which marked his character in his foreign relations distinguished his domestic policy; and many of his acts can only be characterised as the capricious outrages of a tyrant. His mortal career was too soon interrupted to admit of a complete developement of his character; but, from what we saw, it was impossible to predict that he would have lived either to his own honour or the benefit of his country.

The day succeeding his decease, his eldest son, Alexander, was proclaimed emperor of all the Russias. On the 13th the new emperor visited the senate, and several ukases of a popular nature were issued: one, in particular, reviving and confirming all the regulations of the late empress Catharine for the encouragement of industry and commerce.

The conduct of the new emperor, on his accession to power, was at least characterised by an apparent

moderation, which formed a contrast to the hasty violence of his predecessor. The claim on Malta was relinquished; though it has been rumoured that his imperial majesty expressed a wish to be elected grand master of the order, by the free suffrages of the knights. —Soon after, a cessation of arms, and the general outline of a pacific accommodation with Great-Britain, were agreed on between the Russian court and sir Hyde Parker; and lord St. Helen's was dispatched from our court with full powers to terminate the dispute. In the mean time, the embargo on the British ships detained in the ports of Russia was removed; and this honourable conduct was answered by a correspondent act of liberality on the part of Great-Britain. Under these favourable auspices the negotiation commenced, and from such appearances it was natural to conclude that each party would be disposed to concede a little; and such, in truth, was the result. It is rather an awkward circumstance in a treaty of peace to provide for the events of a future war; but the present treaty comes not precisely under that predicament: its object was, in case of the prevalence of hostilities among the other European powers, to prevent a rupture between the contracting parties. We are not so cynical as to cavil at the conditions: on the contrary, we think they are such as a liberal system of policy would have conceded on our part, had there not even been any power in the other parties to resist our demands. One stipulation is particularly deserving of praise; and that is, confining the right of search to the ships which are employed entirely in the service of government. Such vessels are at least under a more

rigid discipline, their commanders ought to be better informed, and a stronger responsibility attaches to them, than to that motley race of adventurers who are found in privateers and letters-of-marque. Indeed, every restriction that can be laid upon these legal pirates must be salutary to commerce, and conducive to the welfare of mankind. —The manner in which this right of search is to be exercised is also well calculated for the prevention of contest and dispute. Every merchant-ship of a neutral power, which sails under convoy, is to be furnished with a passport, or *sea-letter*, containing a true description of the cargo with which it is freighted; and this is to be subjected to the inspection of the officer who superintends the convoy. Under these circumstances the convoy is to pass unmolested by the ships of war of the other contracting party, that party being in a state of war with another nation. All that can be demanded is to inspect the papers, and to ascertain that the commander is properly authorised to convoy such vessels, laden with articles not contraband, to a certain port. It is only upon good ground of suspicion that the commander of any ship of war can detain any merchant-ship under these circumstances; and should he detain any without just and sufficient cause appearing, he must then make full compensation to the owners of such vessel for any loss, detriment, cost, or damages, which may be incurred by such detention. The number of articles which are to be in future considered as contraband is also reduced; and among the exemptions are iron, copper, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and sailcloth, which were formerly regarded as prohibited articles.

Thus, by the dissolution of this famous confederacy, one of the great obstacles to a peace between Great-Britain and the French republic was happily removed. How far the possession of Egypt by the French may be regarded in the same light, we shall not pretend to determine. It is, however, not probable that the possession of Egypt was an object on which the cabinet of the Tuilleries had founded any sanguine hopes; since the capitulation of El-Arish, negotiated with general Kleber by sir Sydney Smith, was a proof that the ultimate view of the French was a safe return to their native country. Posterity will regard with indignation the violation of this treaty; and the authors of that rash act are certainly responsible for the blood which was afterwards shed in accomplishing what sir Sydney had achieved without contest or expense. To remedy, however, this error, a considerable force had been dispatched from Great-Britain, under the conduct of an experienced and gallant officer—sir Ralph Abercrombie. The British forces, under the command of lord Keith and general Abercrombie, after unexpected delays on the coast of Asia Minor, arrived off Alexandria on the 1st of March. The following day the fleet made sail for the bay of Aboukir, and anchored there. Till the 7th, the sea ran high, and no disembarkation could be effected; but on that day the first division made good their landing at ten o'clock in the morning in the face of a body of French, who were evidently aware of their intention, and were posted in force with considerable advantages of position. The front of the disembarkation was narrow, and a hill which commanded the whole

whole appeared almost inaccessible; yet the British troops ascended the hill, under the fire of grape-shot, with the most perfect intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them seven pieces of artillery and a number of horses. The disembarkation was continued during that and the following day. The troops which landed on the 8th advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th the whole army moved forward, and came within sight of the French, who were formed advantageously on a ridge, with their left to the Canal of Alexandria, and their right towards the sea.

It was determined to commence the attack on the 13th; and with this view the British army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention of turning the right flank of the enemy. The attack was in some measure anticipated by the French; and they descended from the heights on which they were formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines. The British troops were therefore compelled to change their position, which was done with the greatest precision; and the rest of the army immediately followed their example. After a severe conflict, victory declared in favour of the English, though not without considerable loss—that of above two thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the French we have never heard, but it must have been considerable.

It is but candid to add, that, with some advantages of position on the side of the French, the advantage of numbers was undoubtedly on the side of the English. Sir Ralph Abercrombie took with him from England upwards of

15,000 infantry and cavalry; and with the seamen, who from the official returns appear to have been engaged, the troops, in the whole, could not be much less than that number. The battle was fought with only a division of the French army under general Lanusse; which, according to the French accounts, amounted only to 4,600. But this must be a misrepresentation, as no rational person would risk an engagement with such an inferiority of numbers; and it is evident the French accounts take no notice of the native troops which were engaged on their side.

The British army followed up their success with becoming spirit and vigour; and on the 21st of March a still more decisive battle was fought, with a similar event, at the distance of about four miles from Alexandria. It commenced before daylight in the morning, by a false attack on the left of the English, under major-general Craddock, in which the French were repulsed. But the most vigorous efforts of the enemy were directed to the right of the English army, which they endeavoured by every possible means to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. The contest was unusually obstinate. The French were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with the English infantry; but at length gave way altogether. While this was passing on the right, the French attempted to penetrate the centre of the British army with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat. A corps of light troops however was advanced, supported by infantry and

cavalry, to keep in check the left of the English, which was certainly the weakest of the whole line; but all their efforts were fruitless, and the British remained masters of the field. The loss on our side was great, being in killed, wounded, and missing, upwards of 1,500. The loss of the French was vaguely calculated in the English accounts at 3,000.

Amidst such a prodigal expenditure of human life, it may seem trifling to fix the attention of the reader on a single death; yet we must remark, that one of the severest losses the British nation experienced on that day must be accounted their gallant and accomplished commander — sir Ralph Abercrombie. This gentleman was a North Briton by birth, of a respectable though not opulent family. Being destined to the profession of arms, the first commission he bore was that of a cornet in the third regiment of dragoon guards. He rose by successive gradations to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and, about the commencement of the American war, was made colonel of a new-raised regiment—the one hundred and third, or king's Irish infantry. Of his services during that contest we are unable to speak; nor was it till the year 1787 that he was promoted to the rank of major-general. Early in the late war sir Ralph Abercrombie was employed upon the continent. He commanded the advanced guard in the action on the heights of Cateau, and conducted the march of the guards from Deventer to Oldenzaal in the retreat of the British troops in 1794. In the following years, till 1797, he was engaged as commander-in-chief in most of the successful enterprises of the British in the West-

Indies. On his return to Europe he was invested with the rank of lieutenant-general, and appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland. In this station his conduct was truly meritorious: to preserve the people from military oppression, and to restore discipline to an army, who, according to his own forcible expression, “were formidable to every one but the enemy,” occupied his most arduous endeavours. But the public are already in full possession of these facts. In the famous expedition to Holland, he displayed his great military talents in such a manner as even to be distinguished by the reluctant praises of the hostile generals. In the battle which we have just described, which was won chiefly by the excellent dispositions which he planned previous to the action, he received a wound, of which he died on the 28th of March. Of his ability as a military commander, were there no other proof, this expedition, which proved fatal to his life, but which established his reputation, would be a sufficient evidence. The independence of his character was evinced by his conduct in Ireland. His modesty is generally allowed to have been equal to his talents; and while he was regarded as a strict disciplinarian, he had the singular felicity of still conciliating the esteem of his soldiers. In the same action general Moore was also dangerously wounded. The French general Roize was left dead on the field, and generals Lanusse and Rodet afterwards died of their wounds.

These actions may be considered as decisive of the fate of Egypt. After the death of sir Ralph Abercrombie, general Hutchinson, the son of the celebrated Irish lawyer, who

who was provost of Trinity college, assumed the chief command of the British forces there. The British general lost no time in proceeding towards Alexandria, where the principal force of the enemy was yet concentrated. In the mean time, the town and castle of Rosetta was taken by a division of the British army under colonel Spencer, aided by a body of Turks. The French garrison, amounting to 800 men, made but a feeble resistance, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and prisoners.

While such was the state of affairs in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, admiral Blanket, with a considerable force from the East-Indies, effected a landing at Suez. The admiral was separated from the rest of his squadron in the dangerous and difficult passage of the Red Sea; but, before the end of April, was joined by large reinforcements under the command of general Baird, colonels Wellesley and Murray, &c.

As Cairo, next to Alexandria, was a capital object with the allies, a force was detached early in May for its reduction. On the 9th of that month general Hutchinson, with 4,000 British, and an equal number of Turks, attacked the French near Rhamanieh. The French were driven in, and in the night retreated towards Cairo, leaving a small garrison at Rahmanieh, which, on the following day, surrendered to the victors. The loss of the English on this occasion did not exceed thirty men. About the same time, a body of French and Copts, who had moved forward from Cairo to attack the Turks, were defeated by the grand vizier, who was essentially assisted by colonel Murray and other Bri-

tish officers. The French are said to have lost fifty men, and the Turks about thirty, in this action. The whole number of French, &c. engaged, was said to amount to 4,600, and the Turkish army to 9,000.

It was the middle of June before the British army, under general Hutchinson, reached the vicinity of Cairo. He found the works very much extended, though the garrison did not exceed 4 or 5,000 in number. The captain pacha at the same time invested Gizeh (which may be regarded as a suburb of Cairo), on the left bank of the Nile, and the grand vizier took a position within cannon-shot of the city. Thus invested on every side, the garrison, on the 22d, sent a flag of truce to the English general, offering to treat for the evacuation of Cairo upon certain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, the surrender was finally agreed upon in a convention of twenty-one articles—the substance of which was, that the French army at Cairo, and its dependencies, should be conveyed in ships of the allied powers, and at their expense, together with their baggage, arms, ammunition, and other effects, to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean; and of this convention general Menou was to be at liberty to avail himself. Our reader will recollect that these terms are precisely the same as those which were agreed upon by sir Sydney Smith and general Kleber, which the late ministry most unaccountably rejected.

The final conquest of Egypt soon after succeeded; and general Menou accepted the conditions of the convention of Cairo for himself and the rest of the army under his command.

In

In Europe, the war was languidly carried on between Great-Britain and France. Some naval engagements took place, between single ships and frigates, of little consequence—the detail of which our readers will find under the head of Principal Occurrences. An action which happened off the coast of Spain, between sir James Saumarez and a squadron of French and Spanish ships of war, is, however, more worthy of being recorded. On the morning of the 6th of July, the British admiral stood through the Straits of Gibraltar, with the intention of attacking three French line-of-battle ships, and a frigate, which were at anchor off Algesiras. On opening Cabrita Point, he found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries; and, having a leading wind up to them, he conceived he had every reasonable hope of success. He had previously directed captain Hood, in the *Venerable*, to lead the squadron; but, though it was not intended, the captain found himself under the necessity of casting anchor, from the wind failing. Captain Stirling, in the *Pompée*, at the same time anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and the action commenced. In the ardour for engaging, the *Hannibal* was unfortunately run aground: every effort was made by the admiral to cover her from the enemy; but, being only three cables' length from one of the batteries on shore, he was obliged to retire, and to leave her in the hands of the enemy. The loss on board the English squadron was 375.

Whatever disgrace might have unjustly attached to the British admiral on this occasion, it was very soon retrieved; and fortune, in the subsequent engagement, seems to

have amply compensated for previous deficiencies. The admiral was scarcely in harbour before he was apprised that the three French line-of-battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th, were on the 8th reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish ships of the line, under the command of Don Juan de Mozen, and a French ship of seventy-four guns. He learned further, that they were all under sail on the morning of the 12th of July, together with his majesty's late ship *Hannibal*. "I had almost despaired," says admiral Saumarez, "of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose such numbers;" but by great exertion he was able to warp out of the Mole with all the ships under his command, the *Pompée* excepted, which had not time to get in her masts. The object of the British admiral was to obstruct the passage of this powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening he observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabrita Point, and at eight he bore up to stand after them. At eleven the *Superb* was up with them, and opened her fire on the enemy's ships at not more than three cables' length. At this critical period a fatal mistake of the enemy decided the battle. The Spanish ships, in the darkness and confusion, fired upon each other; the *Real Carlos* took fire, and blew up; and the *Hermenegildo*, still mistaking her for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. The *San Antonio*, of seventy-four guns and 730 men, commanded by Le Rey, chief of division, being thus left unsupported, struck to the *Superb*. The remaining ships of the enemy now crowded all the sail they could carry, and stood out of the Straits. At day-break only one French ship appeared

appeared in sight, which was standing to the shoals of Corril. At this juncture the wind failed her, and the Venerable was able to bring her to action, and had nearly silenced her, when the loss of the mainmast obliged the captain of the Venerable to desist; and this ship, which was an eighty-four, escaped along with the rest.

In the course of the summer an expedition was fitted out, under the command of admiral lord Nelson, for the purpose of destroying the harbour and shipping of Boulogne; but, like all the other expeditions to the coast of France, it ended only in discomfiture and disgrace. On the 4th of August lord Nelson found the enemy's vessels (consisting of brigs and flats, lugger-rigged, and a schooner, twenty-four in number), anchored in a line in the front of Boulogne. The wind being favourable for the bombs to act, he made the signal for battle, and gave orders to direct their shells at the vessels, and not at the town. After a severe engagement, however, the noble admiral was compelled to retreat. Lord Nelson imputes his failure to the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide which separated the divisions of the British fleet. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to about 130.

Why the British ministry engaged in no offensive operations of greater importance has since been explained to the complete satisfaction of the nation. It was because they were occupied with a matter of much higher consequence, and because they wisely anticipated the event. Attached to no party, we feel a sincere pleasure in giving honour to whom honour is due; and we cannot but allow that the negotiations with France, which

commenced in the beginning of the summer, were conducted with equal ability and moderation. We had always predicted, that a ministry of a truly English spirit, with English honesty and frankness—a ministry who depended not on stratagem, but integrity, would be successful in any negotiation for the restoration of peace. The dissolution of the Northern confederacy, and the successes in Egypt, had removed the most powerful obstacles; and administration had the wisdom not to lose the favourable opportunity which these circumstances presented. The negotiation was carried on with a prudent reserve. The agents, lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto, did not enter the list as prize-fighters, and call in the whole of Europe to decide on the diplomatic skill which they respectively evinced. The objects in dispute were discussed with temperance, as if discussed by men seriously bent on bringing them to a happy termination. Not even the persons who were in official situations, except those immediately concerned, were acquainted with the state of the negotiation; and the lord-mayor of London was the first person out of the cabinet to whom the result was communicated. Thus no unfair advantage could be taken; and this treaty stands almost singular on our records, since, at a period when the practice of gambling in the public funds was, from the wide extension of public credit, more predominant than at any previous crisis, not a single instance occurred of any sinister practice whatever. The treaty, thus honourably conducted, was in every part consistent with justice, and with an enlarged and wise system of policy. The great object in all pacific arrangements

rangements should be to leave as little cause of regret and dissatisfaction to the respective parties as possible. Great-Britain did not want colonial possessions: almost all new acquisitions of that description must have interfered with the interest and advantage of those she already possesses; and the state of the French West-India islands rendered them most dangerous and improper connexions. Great-Britain gained some acquisitions by the treaty, which were of considerable importance without being burdensome or dangerous; while the justice and moderation of her demands were such as were well calculated to inspire confidence in those nations with whom she had been unfortunately engaged in hostilities.

The aggrandisement of France and the enlargement of her European territory are circumstances which, however they may be regretted, were not to be remedied: for, as that incomparable statesman, Mr. Fox, has most justly observed, "France was made great by the war, and not by the peace."—She had acquired what could not be wrested from her by Great-Britain; and of the only two powers able to contend with her on the continent, one (the court of Petersburg) was united by a strict treaty of alliance, and the other (that of Vienna) had been reduced to the necessity of accepting such terms of peace as she thought proper to impose. Yet increase of territory is sometimes contemplated by politicians with a more anxious eye than the circumstance deserves. Increase of territory does not always imply proportionate accession of strength. The amalgamation of different people with different habits, and even a difference of language under the same government,

is not always an easy task; and it is the less easy if any degree of political liberty form a constituent part of that government. Time will evince whether France is made really more powerful by the addition of the Netherlands and the other countries which she has acquired by the war. We think we see in them the seeds of discontent and disorganisation; but we may be mistaken.

By the preliminary articles which were signed at London on the 1st of October, 1801, by M. Otto on the part of the French republic, and lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic majesty, Great-Britain agreed to the restoration of all her conquests, the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon excepted. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port to all the contracting parties, who were to enjoy the same advantages. The Island of Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Egypt was restored to the Ottoman Porte. The territory of Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity: and the French troops were to evacuate the territory of Rome and Naples. The republic of the seven islands was recognised by France. The fishery at Newfoundland was established on its former footing: and, finally, plenipotentiaries were to be named by the contracting parties, to repair to Amiens, to proceed with the formation of a definitive treaty in concert with the allies of the contracting parties.

Thus terminated a contest the most dangerous and disastrous in which this country was ever engaged—a contest which we have said, and which we still believe, might have been avoided in its origin,

origin, and which at different times might have been terminated with infinite advantage to this country; but which would perhaps have not been concluded till the country had been drained of its last shilling, had not the old ministry (who we conscientiously believe engaged in it from fantastical dreams of ambition, and carried it on under the most puerile and delusive hopes) been fortunately dismissed. We hope, for the sake of our country and of mankind, never to see these men employed in any public capacity. They are not ministers adapted to the character of the English nation: they might be fitted for the crooked and intriguing politics of a despotic court, but their habits and their measures we trust are as foreign to the plain and open disposition of the sovereign as to that of his people. The fairness, the candour, the moderation, and the constitutional principles of Mr. Addington, form a happy contrast to that motley conduct, that tissue of pride and meanness, of intrigue and arrogance, to which we had unfortunately been accustomed before; and if he perseveres in the same career, we have little doubt but he will prove one of the most popular ministers whom this country has seen for a series of years.

We can with pride and pleasure contrast the present state of this country, notwithstanding the difficulties we have encountered, and the burdens we have incurred, with that of most of the continental nations. While every thing there is menacing and uncertain, we enjoy both freedom and security. The

nation is still in a comparative state of wealth and prosperity. Theoretical politicians may arraign our ancient constitution; they may project reforms which would probably disappoint their hopes, though it is even possible that in some instances it might admit of some amelioration, could it with safety be attempted. But, in the mean time, it may satisfy us, that under a legislature elected by ourselves, and by the protecting influence of such a system of jurisprudence as no other country in Europe can boast, we can individually sit "under our own vine and our own fig-tree," unmolested by the hand of tyranny or the machinations of fraud. Compare this happy constitution with that of other countries, for by this only we shall learn to estimate its value: compare it even with what has been the result of theoretical reform: compare it with the experiments on government, which we have lately seen! The time is not yet arrived for us to present our readers with an analysis of that complex form of despotism established in a neighbouring country: when it does, our readers will feel grateful to their ancestors for the invaluable privileges which their wisdom and their valour have secured to their posterity. And that we may be just to all men, when we reflect on these blessings, and resolve to defend them on every emergency as our dearest "rights," let us not forget that to Mr. Addington and his colleagues we are at least, for the present, indebted for the restoration of **PEACE** and the **CONSTITUTION**.

C H A P. X.

Foreign History. France. Delays in the Ratification of the Preliminaries signed by Count Julien at Paris. Preparations for opening a fresh Campaign. Positions of the two Armies. Dismission of the most meritorious of the Imperial Officers—Resignation of others. Emperor and Archduke John repair to the Army. Notification from Moreau of the Re-commencement of Hostilities. A further Armistice concluded at Hohenlinden. Internal State of France. Inspection and Reform of the Emigrant List. Return of Emigrants. Treaty between France and the United States of America. Changes in the Ministry. Negotiation for Peace with Great-Britain. Proposal on the part of France for a general Armistice by Sea and Land—Rejected by the British Ministry—Rupture of the Armistice. Opening of the Winter Campaign. Attack upon Augereau. Capture of Aschaffenburg by the French. Moreau attacked by Klenau. Battle of Hohenlinden—Flight and rapid Pursuit of the Imperial Army. Recall of Prince Charles to the Command of the Austrian Forces. Austrians again defeated. Third Armistice. French enter Florence and Leghorn. Contention of Treviso.

IN our account of foreign transactions during the last year, we left the French, who are the principal actors in these interesting scenes, masters of Germany almost to the banks of the Inn; and of Italy almost to the confines of Venice. The preliminaries of peace, which had been signed by count Julien at Paris, in July, had been the subject of frequent negotiations between the cabinet of the Tuilleries and the court of Vienna. Embarrassed as the situation of this court was now become, the influence of the partisans for the continuance of the war overpowered all pacific considerations. Whatever might be the hopes or secret views of that court, the refusal of the ratification was intimated in a note from the British government, who insisted that a minister should be sent to the congress at Luneville, conjointly with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

The French and imperial armies were now preparing to open the

campaign a second time. The imperial army had concentrated its forces between Wassenburg and Alt-Oetting, having its advanced guard on the left side of the Inn, stretching its right wing to Braunau, and its left to Kufstein, where it formed its junction with the army of the Tyrol. A few corps of cavalry skirted the Inn, below Braunau, to preserve the communication with the division of general Klenau on the left side of the Danube. The whole of this force consisted of about 60,000 men: the army on the Tyrol amounted to 10,000, who were seconded by an equal number of volunteers of the country.

The right wing of the French army was about 36,000 men. This wing skirted the mountains of the Tyrol on the north side, which it menaced with three columns of 12,000 men each by the passes of Ehrenberg, Scharnitz, and Arleberg. The centre was composed of nearly an equal number, and was posted in a line of eight or ten leagues

leagues beyond the Iser, facing the centre and left wing of the imperial army. The left of the French army consisted of 25,000 men, stretched along the river Vils, and threatened to hem Braunau, and cut off the imperial army from its magazines on the Danube and the division of general Klenau.

The changes which had been made in the imperial armies, in consequence of the late defeats by the French, boded still less good for the future. The generals Kray, Hanendorff, Schmit, and Chateler, who were the most distinguished of the imperial officers, and who had yielded only to a valour and impetuosity which commanders more able would have had difficulty in stemming, were replaced by others whose names had scarcely been heard of, and in whom little confidence could be reposed. The court of Vienna had thought fit, however, to dispense with the services of men whose misfortunes were imputed to their own mistakes rather than to the enterprise of the enemy, and whose sentiments respecting the final issue of the war were but little in correspondence with its own. The dismissal of these officers was followed by the resignation of general Kinks, commander of Vienna, who alleged, that he could not answer for the tranquillity of the capital, since the garrison was withdrawn to be sent to the army. The state of the imperial forces in Italy at this period was scarcely more favourable for the successful continuance of the war. This army had received reinforcements of 25,000 men; but as it was found necessary to leave 10,000 men in Vienna to secure the tranquillity of the city, there were scarcely 40,000 more left to keep the field.

The generals Ott and Hohenzollern had sent in their resignations; and the only officer of distinguished talent that remained at his post was general Wackassowich.

This situation of affairs, which carried apprehension into the minds of every person interested in the safety of the imperial court, roused it to a seeming temporary effort of personal courage. In a rescript notified to the diet of Ratisbon by the imperial minister, the rupture of the negotiation with the French, and the conclusion of the armistice, were declared. His imperial majesty informed them, that, seconded by the fidelity and love of his people, he had determined to put himself, with his brother the archduke John, at the head of the army; hoping that this example, as well as the general danger, would reanimate the ancient courage of the Germans, and engage the subjects of the empire to join themselves to his majesty, to secure an honourable peace.

Agreeable to the rescript of the imperial minister to the diet, the emperor, and his brother the archduke John, repaired to the army, where the latter entered on his office as commander-in-chief. On his arrival in this quality, he received a letter from general Moreau, inclosing the instructions which had just been transmitted from Paris, and which he thus literally transcribed:—"Inform the general who commands the Austrian army, that the emperor refuses to ratify the preliminaries of peace; and that you are obliged to re-commence hostilities. You may, however, agree to an armistice of a month, on condition that places of surety be immediately put into your possession." Moreau sent at the same time an officer to state the terms

terms of this new armistice, or notify the commencement of hostilities the following day.

Whatever might have been the intentions of the emperor on leaving Vienna, of tempting once more the fortune of war, a nearer review of the state of his forces, and the peremptory demand of general Moreau, led him to favor more pacific sentiments. The interview between the archduke John and general Lahorie ended in an arrangement for another armistice, of which the principal conditions were the delivery of the three fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburg, into the hands of the French; and the sending M. Lehrbach as plenipotentiary to Luneville from his imperial majesty. The lines of demarcation for both armies continued to be the same as were fixed by the last armistice. The present armistice, which included also the armies in Italy, was to terminate in forty-five days, if no definitive arrangements were taken in the mean time. This treaty was signed at Hohenlinden, the 20th of September, 1800.

The great probability of an approaching peace, not more from the splendid victories which had been obtained by the French in the course of this campaign than from the total inability of the imperial court to carry on the war, afforded the French government the means of reviewing and correcting still further the internal evils of the state. One of the greatest abuses of the revolution during its various phases, and particularly in the reign of terror, had been the facility with which one part of the inhabitants of the French republic had consigned the other to misery and ruin, by inscribing their names on registers which were called lists of

emigration. The general list of emigrants, such as it was printed, presented a nomenclature of 155,000 individuals, or collections of individuals, such as whole families, without distinction of names; which general list was formed from partial lists framed by local authorities, such as departmental and municipal administrations; and to which was added a supplement which had not been printed, making together the complete list of those who were accused of emigration.

The legislative assembly, the national convention, and the committees of legislation of the convention, had struck off definitively a considerable number of those who were inscribed: the directory had annulled 13,000 names; and since the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire 1200 more had been excepted. Such was the state of the list when the minister of police made a report to the consuls, in which he represented the various abuses of power which had contributed to the formation of this general list, and pointed out the means by which they might be remedied. In consequence of this report, the government, by a decree, reduced this formidable prescription to a very moderate size, by confirming all that had been done by antecedent authorities, and by striking out of the list all individuals who were inscribed under the qualifications of labourers, journeymen, workmen, artists, and all others exercising mechanical professions, servants, and others receiving wages, and the wives and children of all persons thus qualified. Of these descriptions the number was very considerable, amounting according to different statements, to upwards of forty thousand. The next

next class was that of persons who had been inscribed collectively, and without individual denomination; such as those who had been indicated in general, as heirs or children of some person whose name had been inserted, women emigrants who had abandoned their husbands, minors, knights of Malta, such persons as had left France before the 14th of July 1789, the names of such as had been executed by judgment of the revolutionary tribunal, ecclesiastics who had been banished, and all such persons as had been continued on the list after precedent revisions of commissions, were included in this act of elimination, and definitively struck off.

New lists were ordered to be formed, in which were inscribed as real emigrants, and definitively expelled from the territory of the French republic, those who had borne arms against France; such as since the departure of the French princes had continued to make part of their civil or military establishments; such as had accepted from these princes, or the persons at war with France, places of ministers, ambassadors, negotiators, or agents; such as had been preserved on the list by the present government, on the report of the commission established for the examination of claims; and, finally, such as had made no reclamations previous to the establishment of the said commission, in consequence of the proclamations and invitation which had been made by the government.

By this decree, which on various points was in contradiction with that article in the constitution which respects emigration, the frontier towns of France were soon crowded with persons of every description of emigrants, demanding passports for

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the interior; and as the flood-gates of mercy were thrown so wide open, numbers availed themselves of the general disposition which had been evinced in their favour who had no right by the decree to participate in the indulgence. This decree was however accompanied by restrictive articles, such as the injunction on the emigrants to take the oath of fidelity to the government, to remain during the war, and a year after the peace, under the inspection of the constituted authorities of the places where they should reside; but as they brought with them for the most part the same dispositions of hostility against the republic which they had been habituated to feel while absent, these restrictions were in general but very little attended to; and though some received the proffered boon with thankfulness, the greater part, as was naturally to be expected, found new causes for discontent on seeing their confiscated estates in possession of others; since the law, though it admitted their return, confirmed the confiscation, except of such domains as had not been sold, and which were returned to the former owners.

The negotiation between the diplomatic agents of the United States and the French government, which had lasted several months, was now brought to a termination. By this treaty, which was negotiated as if a regular war had taken place, it was agreed among the other articles, that henceforth a firm, inviolable, and universal peace should take place between the two countries; the restitution of captured vessels should be made on both sides; the debts contracted by the individuals of both nations should be paid, as if no misunderstanding had taken place; the com-

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mercé between the two nations should be free, and their vessels respectively treated like those of the most favoured nations; and the citizens of each should enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the respective countries. This reconciliation was celebrated by unusual demonstrations of amity in a magnificent fête given to the American ministers at the country seat of Joseph Bonaparte, one of the negotiators, which was attended by the first consul, and other distinguished members of the French government.

The French ministry, which since the consulship of Bonaparte had been less subject to vacillation than under former administrations, underwent at this period a partial change, by the removal of Carnot from the superintendence of the war-office, and of Lucien Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, from that of the interior. By the skill, and particularly the probity with which Carnot had conducted this vast machine, he had not only redeemed his reputation, sullied by his association with the members of the committee of public safety under the reign of terror, but had acquired so much the confidence of the nation, and of the army, that his removal was considered as a public calamity; nor was this sentiment alleviated from the nomination of his successor Berthier, who had no such claims to general respect.— But if public opinion on this occasion did not justify this act of consular power, it sanctioned loudly that which was manifested in the removal of Lucien Bonaparte, who, though he had discovered at periods of difficulty and danger, much courage, ability, and strength of character, had nevertheless during his ministry, and particularly near the

close, indulged dispositions of dissipation and rapacity almost beyond any of his predecessors.— His mal-administration became at length so notorious, that the consul caused his dismissal to be signified to him; but, desirous of saving him from open disgrace, sent him on an embassy to the Spanish court.

While the French were seeking peace by conquests in Germany, a negotiation for the same end was opened at London. In the beginning of August 1800, M. Thugut had addressed a note to M. Talleyrand, in which he sent, by order of the emperor, an invitation to the first consul to name respective plenipotentiaries to treat on this subject; declaring at the same time, that his Britannic majesty was disposed to concur in this negotiation, as had been announced in a note of lord Minto's, the English minister at Vienna; which note was included in the baron Thugut's letter. M. Thugut proposed choosing for the place of negotiation, Schalestadt, Luneville, or some other central town of France, to facilitate the communications with England. Lord Minto, in his note, declared that his Britannic majesty was ready to send his plenipotentiaries to treat of peace in concert with the emperor, as soon as the French government should have signified its intention of entering into negotiation with the cabinet of St. James's. The French government dispatched immediately to M. Otto, commissary for the exchange of prisoners in England, a copy of the propositions made by the cabinet of Vienna, with instructions to enter into a negotiation with the English ministry.

M. Otto, in conformity to his instructions, addressed to lord Grenville

ville a note, in which he declared himself authorised to demand from the ministers of his Britannic majesty further explanations with respect to the proposition communicated to the court of Vienna; observing at the same time, that it appeared impossible that at the moment when England and Austria took a common part in the negotiations, France should have a suspension of arms with Austria, while she continued hostilities with England. He declared himself authorised at the same time to propose and conclude a general armistice between the armies and fleets of the two states, by adopting measures with respect to the places besieged and blocked, analogous to those which had taken place in Germany relative to Ulm, Philipburg, and Ingoldstadt. Lord Grenville named captain George to treat with M. Otto. These commissaries met in conference, (28th August,) when the former confirmed the assurance that his Britannic majesty was disposed to enter into negotiations for peace, and to send a plenipotentiary to Luneville; but that as to the armistice, he had orders to declare that such a measure, applied to naval operations, had never taken place between Great-Britain and France during negotiations for peace, or even till the preliminaries were signed; that such a measure could not be looked upon as necessary; and that the disputes which must inevitably take place in the execution would rather impede than facilitate the success of the negotiations: in short, that no determination could be taken with respect to this object before the French government had previously explained how the principles adopted in the German armistice relative

to the blockade of towns could be applied to ports and arsenals of France, so as to be executed in the manner required.

The French agent, in reply to these objections, observed, that he had every reason to believe that the continuation of the armistice in Germany depended on the conclusion of the armistice with England; since the French government regarded the advantages of the maritime truce as an equivalent for the evident disadvantages of that of Germany. He dispatched, however, a courier to Paris, to inform his government; during which interval Mr. Grenville was named minister plenipotentiary to Luneville. The answer of the French government confirmed that which M. Otto had already given; observing also that the intervention of England rendered the question of peace so complicated, that it was impossible to prolong the armistice on the continent, unless his Britannic majesty rendered it common to the three powers; with the menace, that if this armistice was not concluded, hostilities would recommence in Germany.

The result of this negotiation was unfavourable to peace. The demands of the French government respecting a maritime armistice were found inadmissible, and the English ministers declared officially to M. Otto, that all further discussion on that point was become superfluous. The rupture of this negotiation was followed by that of the continental armistice, which had given time only to the belligerent powers to recruit their shattered forces in order to renew the contest. During the armistice the French government had made it a condition, that, till the definitive peace, the republican troops should

take the Inn for the line of demarkation, and extend their cantonments as far as Lintz. But the absolute refusal of the British cabinet to treat on the conditions prescribed by Bonaparte—namely, the maritime armistice—made a rupture unavoidable, unless a definitive treaty was framed on the basis of the preliminaries assented to by count St. Julien at Paris. To this decision the cabinet of the Tuileries adhered, after the declaration made by count Cobentzel that he could neither conclude nor negotiate a definitive peace, but in concert with the British ministry, who he hoped might be prevailed on to send a plenipotentiary to Luneville.

The French government had not flattered itself that the British court would yield to its demand respecting a naval armistice; but if a temporary cessation of hostilities was favourable to the emperor, it was no less so to the French armies, whose victories, though splendid, had not been purchased without considerable loss, though less from the military tactics and conservatory dispositions of Moreau than it would have been under any other French general. The French army was now about to attempt a great and no less perilous expedition; and it was necessary, in order to make an effective winter campaign, of which the hereditary dominions were the prize, to take such measures as should ensure success.

The deficiencies in Moreau's army were entirely made up by the successive arrivals of detachments of conscripts: the corps under St. Suzanne, on the Lower Rhine, which had hitherto consisted of 7 or 8000 men, was augmented to 30,000, and marched in order to form the left wing of the grand army, now detached

from the division under Augereau; another army, under the name of that of the Grisons, had been formed, consisting of from 25 to 30,000 men, and which was extended from the chain of communication between the army of the Rhine and that of Italy; while Augereau had completed his division on the Maine, by the arrival of fresh troops from Holland, and conscripts from the Belgic departments.

The winter campaign opened on the 24th November, by an attack on Augereau's division, who, sallying, drove back the assailants, and, passing the Maine, took possession by capitulation of Aschaffenburg. Finding every probability of peace had vanished, Moreau hastened back to Munich, where were assembled the generals Dessoles, Ehlé, Richepanse, and Laborie; and where, after issuing a proclamation to his army, he prepared again to enter the field. While Moreau was maturing his plan of operations, the Austrian army had prevented him by a daring attack on his left wing by Klenau, which seemed to have put the French in their turn on the defensive. Prompted by this success, with a confidence equal to their imprudence, the imperial army was led to abandon their strong positions on the Inn, where they might have made a long, if not an effectual resistance, and march into the plain. This march was the completion of Moreau's plan; which was to get them dislodged from the position they had taken, and which could not have been effected but with a great effusion of blood. The Austrians following up their success, marched upon the army of the French, stationed near the village of Hohenlinden. Moreau, who waited for them in the positions he had

had taken, met the attack as if he had intended only to keep himself on the defensive; and this hesitation in the French general was construed by the Austrians into an indisposition to come to a decisive action. This error, however, was not of long duration. While the Austrians, confident of victory, assured at least of compelling the French to abandon the field, were endeavouring to force Moreau to some determinate purpose, they were astonished to find a French division in their rear, led on by Richepanse and Decaen. It was for this moment of surprise and confusion that Moreau waited;—this moment of hesitation in the Austrian army was the signal of his attack: the French generals Grenier and Ney poured down their divisions on the Austrian lines, and met half way those of Richepanse and Decaen. These last divisions, having innumerable obstacles to encounter, had performed prodigies of valour. Richepanse, cut off from the rest of his division, without looking behind him, had marched with five or six battalions directly into the midst of the Austrians. The imperial army, surprised, broken, overwhelmed, and panic-struck, endeavoured to retreat; but, ingulfed in defiles and woods, and surrounded by enemies, no mode of rallying or escape presented itself. In the space of a league and a half the carnage was horrible; the centre of the Austrian army had disappeared or perished.

But though the centre was destroyed, the right and left wings were yet sufficiently strong to keep the victory in suspense. The combat had lasted eight hours; and, after the affair seemed to have been completely decided, the French had to sustain several vigorous attacks

from bodies of reserve which had not yet been brought into action. The defeat of the centre drew on eventually that of the wings. The French remained masters of the field, with eighty pieces of cannon, 200 caissons, 10,000 prisoners, and a considerable number of officers, among whom were three generals. This battle was called the battle of Hohenlinden.

This victory was decisive of the campaign in favour of the French; but in order to prevail on the imperial cabinet to offer again or accept terms of peace, it was necessary to follow up with vigour this important conquest. Moreau, without losing time, or suffering the retreating army to muster its scattered forces, or recover from its surprise, marched directly upon the Inn, which he crossed (9th December) at Neupesen, between Rosenheim and Kuftein. The Austrians, who were in a state to make but little resistance, retreated to Stephenkirch. The dispositions of attack made by Lecourbe led them to make a further retreat behind the Salze; and the French, without much opposition, entered Salzburg. Continuing the pursuit, the French came up with the remains of the imperial army successively at Neumark, Vonakluplach, and Lambach; at each of which passes engagements took place, which ended always in the further destruction of the Austrian army, and in the taking of cannon and considerable numbers of prisoners, among whom was the prince of Lichtenstein and his staff.

The battle of Hohenlinden, and the passage of the Inn, had thrown not only the court of Vienna, but the capital also, into the greatest confusion; and in proportion to the presumption of the former, was

now its terror and dread of seeing the French soon at the gates. One resource was still left, since that of arms had proved fruitless; and of that the imperial cabinet was sufficiently prudent at this crisis to take advantage. Prince Charles, who had been dismissed from the command of the army at the opening of the campaign, and who retreated into honourable exile, as governor of Bohemia, because he had freely declared his opinion respecting the events of the war, which the result had justified, was once more resorted to, as the saviour of his country. The court had flattered itself that his presence and efforts would once again establish an equilibrium of force with the French, and conceived hopes that its military affairs were yet retrievable. This charm was now dissolved; the prince, though adored by the army, found that this prestige was departed; and the soldier of every rank hailed his return, not as the hero who was to lead them to victory, but only as the herald of peace. The archduke, with whatever hopes he might have flattered himself at the moment of his recall, saw, on his arrival at the army, how utterly those hopes were destitute of foundation. Before he decided, however, on making a submission, which, from the circumstances of the French army and his own, he presumed must be almost unconditional, he resolved on making a last attempt. The attempt was unsuccessful, the Austrians met with a most severe defeat, and, after losing 7 or 8000 men, withdrew in disorder behind the Ens. This new event at length convinced the imperial cabinet of the truth of what the archduke had re-iterated in his correspondence from the time of his recall, that

there was no safety for the Austrian monarchy but in peace at any rate, and on any conditions; since in the space of twenty days the army had lost seventy leagues of ground, 25,000 prisoners, 15,000 killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, immense magazines of every description, while the enemy was in a position to dictate orders to the capital.

During former campaigns, Moreau had been considered in the light rather of a prudent than an enterprising general. He had at different periods exhibited great proofs of his skill in preserving from destruction retreating or routed armies, and had deservedly acquired the reputation and title of the French Fabius. The events of this campaign had exhibited him under a new form, that of an ardent and daring chief, who nevertheless by the most profound combination and extensive foresight made fortune a faithful auxiliary. To any other person than Moreau, the position he held at the moment of signing this last armistice would have appeared tremendous. He had plunged himself and his army into the very heart of Austria, leaving behind him, on his right, the Tyrol filled with troops, which amounted to 30,000 men, on his left the divisions of Klenau, Simbschen, and Riskenfeld, besides the legion of Bohemia, forming more than 50,000. He was now a hundred leagues advanced before the armies of Italy, and the Lower Rhine under Augereau. Of the movements of the former he was yet uncertain; and the Gallo-Batavian army, from the opposition it met with, and the many desperate and bloody engagements which took place, had great difficulty to keep its positions in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Forckheim and Nuremberg. It was in this situation—glorious indeed, but attended with no common danger—that Moreau accepted (27th December) the armistice that was offered, on condition that peace should without any further delay follow this third cessation of hostilities.

The winter campaign had but just opened in Italy, when this third armistice took place. In the interval between the second and third (18th October), the French, under the pretext that the rising in mass of the Tuscans under the orders of general Sommariva was an infraction of the private convention made at Castiglione, after summoning this general to disperse this irregular army, had entered Florence and Leghorn. The insurgents had withdrawn to Arezzo, which, after a most obstinate resistance, was taken by assault; and the whole body, except three hundred who took refuge in the citadel, and capitulated, were put to the sword. The Austrians some time after took possession again of Arezzo, and threatened Florence; but the rupture of the armistice announced by the army of the Rhine obliged them to concentrate their forces, to await more serious operations. The Mincio was the line which divided the two armies; and as the invasion of the Venetian territory was the object of the French, the

Austrians had made extraordinary efforts for the defence of this river. After a valorous attack (28th December), and no less obstinate resistance, this passage was effected at Menzabano, but with an incredible loss of men on each side;—the French made 8,000 prisoners. The army under Brune, aided by the army of the Grisons, which, after painful marches across the mountains, had descended into Italy, continued its march, crossed the Adige with the same loss of men on each side, and took post at Vicenza (8th January). Continuing their pursuit, the French crossed the Brenta, and found the Austrian army re-inforced, and drawn up in the plains of Salvatoza, where both sides prepared for a decisive engagement, which was to determine the fate of the Venetian territory. It was in this position that the armistice which had taken place in Germany prevented the further and useless effusion of blood in Italy. A convention for the cessation of hostilities was agreed on at Treviso (16th January) between the generals Bellegarde and Brune, by which the Austrians, retiring behind the Tagliamento, ceded to the French the fortified places they had left behind them untaken, including Mantua, which was given up by the subsequent convention at Luneville.

CHAP. XI.

Internal Regulations in the French Republic. Numbers and Powers of Justices of the Peace abridged. Proposal for the Erection of special Tribunals. Plot for the Murder of the chief Consul. Infernal Machine. Punishment of two Persons asserted to be concerned in that Plot. Arbitrary Proceedings of the French Government. Plot attributed first to the Jacobins, and then to the Royalists. Some of the latter executed. Law passed for establishing special Tribunals. Negotiation at Luneville. Terms of the Treaty. Peace with the Elector of Bavaria. Secret History of the Confederacy of the Northern Powers against Great-Britain. Terms of the Quadruple Alliance. Affairs of Naples. Proceedings of the French Legislature. Discussions on various Laws proposed by the Government, subversive of the Trial by Jury. Law for regulating the Election of Representatives.

WE leave the negotiations for peace which were now seriously opened at Luneville, to turn back, and cast a rapid glance on the internal affairs of the republic. The meeting of the legislative body had taken place agreeably to the constitution on the first day of Frimaire. Amidst a variety of other objects, two had particularly engaged its attention—that of the reduction of the number and the powers of justices of the peace, and a proposition which was made for the creation of special tribunals throughout the republic. The number of justices of the peace in France were 6000, and the government had reduced this number to 3600. Their jurisdiction comprehended a space of five square leagues, and a population of 5000 souls; it was proposed to extend the jurisdiction of each to ten square leagues, including a population on the average of 10,000 inhabitants. With respect to their power, they were to remain clothed with all which had hitherto been granted them as conciliators; that is, no civil cause could be brought before the courts till the parties had submitted their pretensions to the justice of peace, who

either settled the matter in dispute, or, in default of such arrangement, certified to the civil tribunal of his district that such matter had regularly come before him; without which formality no action whatever could be brought forward. This attribute the law proposed still to leave to this officer, taking from him every thing that respected criminal affairs, of which he had hitherto the initiative, and which were to devolve to commissaries of government specially chosen.

The other bill, or proposition presented to the legislature, was that of the erection of special tribunals throughout the republic. The motions for forming a law of this nature were presented to the council of state by the minister of police, who represented that the existing laws were ineffectual, and the common tribunals insufficient to remedy the disorders which prevailed. He alleged, that the continuance of those disorders ought not to be imputed to his administration; since, though the prisons were filled with malefactors, the want of firmness in the judges, and of principle in the juries, let them loose again upon the public; the audacity

of

of these ruffians, and their intimate connexion with those who by law were appointed to decide on their guilt, rendering their arrest, and their judiciary examinations, illusory. The observations of the minister were well founded. The western and southern departments of France were at this epoch overrun by hordes of robbers, consisting principally of those who had been disbanded by the royalist chiefs after the pacification of La Vendée, and who, either unable or unwilling to return to peaceful occupations, continued to make war on the public. The public diligences, and such persons as were known to have made purchases of emigrant-property, were judged to be lawful prey; and the daringness of these ruffians was carried to such a height, that public functionaries were sometimes killed on the high roads, or carried off from their dwellings, in order to purchase their liberty by a proposed equivalent in money;—the former of which atrocities was committed on the bishop of Quimper, who was taken out of a public carriage, and coolly assassinated near Rennes; and the latter, on the senator Clement de Ris, who was not rescued from his captors till after a fortnight's detention, and an engagement between the robbers and the regular military force.

The ineffective opposition which had hitherto been made to their multiplied depredations, or rather the encouragement which had been given to them by the spirit of party—since the plunder of the public treasure, and the assassination of public functionaries were by this faction not enumerated in the list of crimes—had emboldened some of the chiefs to strike at once at the head, instead of mutilating in detail.

A plan was therefore formed for the assassination of the first consul. There were already in prison about ten individuals accused of having made this attempt in the month of September; and it appeared, by their voluntary confessions at the time they were arrested, that their project was to poniard him when he visited the opera. They were discovered at the moment of execution by one of their accomplices; but the lenity of the government had hitherto prevented their punishment. The plan now projected, and which succeeded, except against the particular object for whom it was concerted, was by means of gun-powder, and the construction of what has since been termed *the infernal machine*. This machine was a barrel filled with powder, into which was inserted a match, so as to cause the explosion at a calculated moment. This barrel, placed in a cart, was drawn into the Rue Nicaise in the evening (24th December), when a celebrated piece was to be performed at the opera, and which it was known the consul would attend. The Rue Nicaise being a narrow street, leading from the Tuileries to the opera, and in sight of the former, it was judged that he would pass through it a certain time after he ascended his carriage; but lest the velocity of his horses, and the burning of the match, should not keep pace together, the cart with the machine was so placed as to embarrass the passage. The coachman not only drove unusually fast, as the consul had exceeded the hour of the opera, but had the address, in driving through the street, to pass the cart which was meant to obstruct the way. The consul and his suite had gained another

another street before the explosion took place, which, failing in the purpose for which it was designed, was destructive to those who were in its neighbourhood, killing some, wounding others, and shattering the buildings to their foundations.

This nefarious attempt was attributed at first to the royalist-party; but as this party had of late, and especially since the pacification of La Vendée, been much in favour at the Tuileries, it was soon determined that none were capable of conceiving or putting it into execution but the Jacobins. An exemplary punishment was therefore deemed necessary, and those who first expiated this crime were two individuals* in whose possession was found a barrel of powder, and some firework machinery; and of these not being able to give, as it was asserted, a satisfactory account, they were sentenced to be shot, and underwent that punishment. The further researches of the prefect of police of Paris discovered that this conspiracy had other ramifications, and that it was decidedly a Jacobin-conspiracy: in consequence of which information the government caused the remaining leaders and principal agents of the late Jacobin faction to be arrested, to the amount of one hundred and thirty-two. Against these individuals there was no specific charge; but it was presumed, from the opinion of some, and the conduct of others during the revolution, that they alone could have been the contrivers of this infernal machine. As there were no proofs, however, it was impossible to convict them by a regular trial: the government had recourse therefore

to what was called an act of extraordinary high police. This act of police was the banishment of those individuals beyond the seas; but the government not possessing this authority, had recourse to the senate, who, by an act called *senatus consultum*, and as guardians of the constitution, gave by their decree the force of a law to what the government had recommended by an act of its council of state.

Although the indignation of the public had never been extinguished against this faction, yet it was with considerable pain and apprehension that it saw so manifest a violation of the rights of individuals as was contained in these acts of the government and the senate. Of the general criminality and atrocious conduct of most of those who were now huddled into banishment there was no doubt; but the latitude which the government had given to its resentment on the present occasion, and the obsequiousness of the senate in being its instrument, gave alarm to almost every party; since every party might become the victim in its turn. This opinion acquired new force a short time after, when, by the diligence of the minister of general police, whose opinion had been just and invariable on the subject, it was discovered that the real authors of this atrocious attempt were of the royalist faction. The confession of two who committed the deed, and who after a legal trial suffered, put the matter beyond doubt; but this discovery did not prevent the execution of the sentence of the senate, and the Jacobins were punished for what the royalists had really committed. The four in-

* There is a mystery in this whole proceeding, which reduces us to the necessity of merely reporting facts and rumours, without pledging ourselves for the integrity of the French government.

dividuals—Arena, and his accomplices—who had some months previous formed a conspiracy against the consul were also executed.

This attempt had the tendency which all unsuccessful attempts of this kind generally produce—that of considerably strengthening the hands of the government it meant to overthrow. Addresses of the most flattering nature poured in from all parts, *Te Deums* were sung in the churches, and something like miraculous interposition was hinted at in the public prints, which were immediately under the influence of the government. The proposition made by the government for the erection of special tribunals throughout the republic was now agitated in the tribunate; but as this law was judged to give a greater extension to the powers of government than was consistent with the liberty of the subject, and tended to the annihilation of the right of trial by jury, even in ordinary cases, it met with considerable opposition. The question was decided, after a discussion of nearly a month, in favour of the erection of such special tribunals. But what made this affair a subject of greater importance, was the mode which the government, by means of its agents, took, of mingling itself in the discussions, by the wide circulation of papers, in which the opinions of the opposition in the tribunate was arraigned, and their conduct assimilated to that of conspirators. The tribunate not having the wisdom or courage to protest against this breach of privilege, and address the government to bring the authors and publishers of this libel to punishment, made way for further violations of the representation of the people; while the senate,

by its vote respecting the banishment of the Jacobins, had also betrayed the constitution.

Meanwhile the negotiations, renewed at Luneville, were carried on with extraordinary dispatch. The French army, by the conventions of the late armistice, in possession of part of the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, within thirty leagues of the capital, and masters of the whole of Italy, gave the cabinet of the Tuileries a decided preponderance with respect to the conditions of peace, which were rather dictated than discussed. By this treaty the emperor ratified in a more formal manner the cession of the Belgic provinces, renounced by the treaty of Campo Formio. The whole of the country on the left side of the Rhine, forming the four new departments, and which had been hitherto provisionally governed by the French—the cession of which had been stipulated for, and assented to, at the congress of Rastadt—was given up; so that, henceforth, the Rhine, from Switzerland to Holland, should form the limit of the German empire and the French republic. In Italy, the possession of the imperial fiefs was confirmed to the Ligurian republic; and the Cisalpine, which ended at the Mincio, was enlarged to the banks of the Adige, including Verona. By the same treaty the duke of Tuscany was compelled to cede the possession of his states in favour of the infant of Parma; and the prior cession of his estates by the duke of Modena was confirmed. In virtue of these various cessions the emperor was permitted to remain in possession of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic depending on those coun-
tries,

tries, and of the state of Venice as far as the Adige. At the same time the imperial cabinet engaged to find indemnities in Germany for the duke of Modena in the Brisgau, and for the grand duke of Tuscany in some other part of the empire, but which were not specified by the treaty. With respect to such princes as had been despoiled of their sovereignties and territories, it was agreed that the German empire should collectively support the loss, and find in its own territory the necessary or proper indemnifications. Such were the principal articles of this treaty, which was declared to be made in common with the Swiss, Dutch, Cisalpine, and Ligu-rian republics. It was signed at Luneville on the third of February, 1801, by count Cobentzel and Joseph Bonaparte, and was to receive its due ratification in thirty days from this date.

The treaty with the chief of the empire necessarily led to treaties with the other subordinate or inferior powers. The electorate of Bavaria was in complete possession of the French, and the conditions of peace were at the mercy of the conqueror. It was well understood that the present elector had never been sincere in the cause of the coalition, his real disinclination to join in the war against France had scarcely been dissembled; but he had been forced by those circumstances which influence the weak in the presence of the mighty to join his forces in what was called the common cause. Previous to the last defeat of the imperial armies, the articles of the treaty between France and Bavaria had been agreed on; the principal points of which were, the withdrawing the armies of the latter from the service

of the emperor and the pay of England, and the payment of six millions of livres, by way of indemnity to the French government. The elector received in return the guarantee of the electorate, and the promise of indemnification for his losses, after the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Austria.

But while the French government was endeavouring by arms and by negotiations to force the imperial cabinet of Vienna to withdraw itself from the British alliance, it was prompting by every means, and by all the motives in its power, the formation of a coalition of the northern powers of Europe. The object of this new coalition was the assertion of the independence of the seas against the pretensions of the British flag. When Paul I. withdrew himself from the coalition against France, it was easy to perceive that, with a disposition turbulent, irascible, and capricious, he would soon find some reason for taking an active part in the present affairs of Europe. Disappointed in his views against France, and disgusted at the secondary part which he soon found he acted in the coalition; deceived also (at least in his own opinion) in the share of the spoils, of which the part he allotted to himself was the island of Malta, now in the power of the British troops; he not only withdrew himself entirely from the coalition, but conceived the project of joining with the neutral powers of the north, or rather of compelling those powers to join with him in an offensive treaty against England. Bonaparte seized the favourable moment, and, by timely communications, enchained to his interests this despot of the north, whose declarations against the

the republic had hitherto been pronounced in an unusual style of censure and invective, and whose magnanimity in the sacrifice made to the common cause had been the theme of panegyric in the British senate. This new alliance between the first consul and Paul was intimated to the public by the official journal of the French government, at the time baron Sprengporten was dispatched with the imperial answer to Paris. The declarations of Paul against the French republic were not forgotten by his friends, and his domestic government was known to co-incide with those declarations; but however useful might be the acquisition of so much force employed against what was deemed a common enemy—the title now bestowed on the British government, or whatever might have been the desire of seeing the pretensions of the British ministry at that epoch humbled, this new alliance between Paul and Bonaparte was not regarded in France with too favorable an eye; nor was the official declaration respecting the generosity and amiable proceedings of two personages, who it was pretended were made to appreciate each other, and whose alliance was formed to restore the liberty of the seas, believed to portend any good to the liberties of Europe.

This hostility against the British government, on the part of Paul, was officially declared by a note communicated in the month of November to the foreign ministers residing at Petersburg; in which the emperor stated, that on his accession he had found his states engaged in a war provoked by a great nation which was falling into dissolution, and that he had joined the coalition from a belief that it was a simple mea-

sure of self preservation; that he had not thought it necessary at the time to occupy himself about a system of armed neutrality for the security of commerce, since he had no way doubted that the sincerity of his allies, and their reciprocal interests, were sufficient to protect from insult the flag of the northern powers; but that having been deceived in his expectations by the perfidious enterprises of a great power, which had sought to enchain the liberty of the seas by capturing the Danish convoy, the independence of the maritime powers of the north appeared to him openly menaced; in consequence of which he regarded it as a measure of necessity to have recourse to an armed neutrality, the success of which was acknowledged during the war with America. This declaration was followed by an embargo laid on all the British vessels in the ports of Russia, under the pretence of the inexecution of the convention stipulated respecting the island of Malta, of which the emperor had made himself grand-master, and which on its surrender was to be restored to the order. This act of hostility was afterwards confirmed by the convention of the northern powers signed at Petersburg the 16th of December 1800, between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and the emperor of Russia, and which consisted of thirteen articles; by which, among others, it was declared that all neutral vessels might navigate freely from port to port on the coast of the belligerent powers, that the effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers, and embarked in neutral vessels, were free, except such as should be contraband by the laws of the country; that neutral vessels could

could be stopt only on proofs that were clear and positive, and could not be visited when the commander of the escort pledged his word of honour that it contained nothing irregular. The court of Berlin acceded to this convention, which formed what was called the Quadruple Alliance: and to make this hostility against England as extensive and general as possible, the emperor laid his commands on the courts of Naples and Portugal to shut their ports under pain of his displeasure, declaring that he would on their refusal cease his intervention with the French government in their favour.

The compliance of the king of the Two Sicilies was rewarded by the conclusion of an armistice with the French. Naples had been left once more at the mercy of an enraged enemy; since the imperial ambassador at Luneville, notwithstanding the supplicating instances of the queen of Naples to the court of Vienna, had been precluded every intercession in favour of this prince. The disposition of Ferdinand during the whole of the war, the unexampled cruelty and perfidy of his conduct towards the Neapolitan patriots at the epoch of their capitulation, and his perseverance in the same system of terror and of treachery, had excited such undissembled sentiments of indignation not only in France, but throughout Europe, that the desire of seeing an exemplary punishment inflicted on this prince was almost universal. The interposition of Paul at this period was, however, too powerful to be resisted. An armistice was concluded, the principal conditions of which were the shutting of the ports of Naples against the remaining hostile powers of England and Turkey, and an

engagement to accede to whatever demands should be made by the French government at the definitive treaty in favour of such persons as were detained, or had emigrated, in consequence of the late troubles.

The session of the legislative bodies finished at the period marked by the constitution the 30th of Ventose. The government had seen with evident marks of displeasure that the laws which it proposed during the session had been sometimes too severely scrutinised, and that some had been rejected. Such particularly was the fate of almost all the last laws which it had presented respecting criminal trials, which law was judged by the legislature as containing clauses hostile to the rights of juries, and affording the means of lengthening criminal prosecution uselessly. The legislature had felt the injuries which circumstances had led it to inflict on the institution of juries by the erection of special tribunals; nor was it forgotten that this institution had been attacked in divers ways and modes, in other laws which had been submitted to the sanction of the legislative body, but which they had persisted in rejecting, chiefly on that account. The legislature had been also at times embarrassed with respect to the clauses of laws offered for their approbation; of which, though they approved the tendency, they disliked the detail. Such were its feelings respecting the lists of eligibility which had been presented by Rœderer, and which consisted of such a number of clauses and details, that few attempted to understand, and still fewer to discuss them. This law, which regulated the mode of the election of representatives, in which national independence, the sovereignty

reignty of the people, and public liberty, were so deeply interested, was hurried through without almost any examination, notwithstanding the general opinion that its clauses were obscure, most difficult of execution, and many absolutely impossible to be executed; that upon the whole, such was the law, that, out of a million of citizens, 995,000 must be ineligible. As the session was, however, drawing near its close, and this question would have demanded a much more considerable time than the pressure of business and the days allotted would permit of, the law, with all its imperfections, was voted by the tribunate; and the legislative body, without understanding it better than their colleagues, who had attempted the discussion, voted also its adoption.

At this period we shall close our narrative of French affairs for the present year—the remaining transactions of the French government being only preparatory to some remarkable changes, which will properly come under consideration in the succeeding volume. There the reader may expect a faithful and authentic detail. Firm to those principles which have ever regulated the conduct of this work, we shall not permit any infringement upon liberty in any part of the globe to pass uncensured. It is the opinion of posterity, which alone can restrain the conduct of those who are out of the reach of human laws—and we might add, of earthly power. That opinion we shall not mislead; and the public may expect an accurate analysis, and an impartial criticism, on those complex codes of arbitrary power which have been issued under the name of republican constitutions.

Under the head of Domestic History our readers will find a detail of the events of the war between France and England during the course of the last year, and of most of the political transactions in Europe; for in most of them the British nation was directly or indirectly concerned. The return of peace may possibly render our future labours somewhat less copious; yet the politics of Europe will not cease for some years to be interesting. It has been said, “that at the termination of the war the French revolution would only commence.” To this proposition we do not assent; but we much fear that it is far from being at an end. The present establishment bears not the characteristic marks of permanence, but (in speaking of French affairs, to use the new republican idiom) it has more the appearance of a provisional arrangement. At the utmost, it hangs suspended on the life of one man; and there are causes which may even operate a change independent of such an event. There is hardly any thing in human affairs more inconstant than the will and affections of military bodies. When the prætorian guards had once disposed of the sovereignty of Rome, the changes were frequent, often destitute of motive, till the disgrace of the empire was confirmed by the public sale of the highest dignity of the state.

Taught by the severe lesson of experience, however, it is to be hoped that, whatever may be the internal state of that unhappy country in future, the great powers of Europe will cautiously refrain from all interference. If their unexampled efforts, if a combination unparalleled as to power, it

if an expenditure which baffled all calculation, and a prodigality of human life such as history seldom has to record,—if all this ended only in forging military fetters for the nation; whom they professed to liberate from anarchy and misery,

the position is proved in this instance; as well as by all former precedent, that war is never productive of good to either party; and that the event of it seldom corresponds with the intention for which it was commenced.

P R I N C I P A L
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1801.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1801.

JANUARY.

THIS day a proclamation was issued for a general fast, to be kept in England and Ireland on Feb. 13, and in Scotland on Feb. 12.

3. This day the members of his majesty's council took the oaths as privy councillors for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty received the great seal from the lord chancellor, and, causing it to be defaced, presented to him a new great seal for the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. His majesty was also pleased to appoint, by proclamation, that "The royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used, in manner and form following: that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words: *Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor;*" and in the English tongue by these words: — 'George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.' And that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom shall be quarterly, first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland. And it is our will and pleasure that there shall be borne therewith, on an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany, ensigned with the electoral bonnet. And

it is our will and pleasure, that the standard of the said united kingdom shall be the same quarterings as are herein-before declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, with the escutcheon of pretence thereon, herein-before described; and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses-saltire of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly, per saltire counter-changed, argent and gules; the latter fimbriated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third, fimbriated as the saltire."

14. This day a proclamation was issued for laying an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the several ports of this kingdom; which has been effectually put in execution.

Admiralty-office, 16. A letter from admiral the earl of St. Vincent introduces the following, which is addressed to capt. sir Richard Strachan, bart.

His Majesty's hired cutter Nile,
SIR, Dec. 11.

I have the honour to inform you, that the vessels you signalled us to chase on the 6th instant never came through the passage, but rowed up along shore again, and went under Fort Lomara. I watched for them all night; but in the morning, seeing them no more, I left the Lurcher off the Morbihan, and proceeded

ed to execute your further orders. On that day I saw a convoy coursing round Croisic, of 15 or 16 sail, but was in no hurry to chase, rather permitting them to get nearer to St. Gildas, and in the evening stood out, and made the necessary signals to Mr. Forbes. It fully answered my expectations, as he, being to windward, turned them all, and they made for the Villain, just where I was. About eight we took a small one, just as the battery of St. Jacques was hailing us, which I immediately manned, and sent her with our own boat along shore, and by four A. M. found ourselves in possession of five more: this is all they could attempt, as the whole coasts were then alarmed, and the battery of Notre Dame, at the entrance of the river Peners, kept up so brisk a fire as to send three shot through the last vessel; but the spirit of our people was such, that they were determined to have her out, and unluckily one man was slightly scratched with a splinter. On joining the Lurcher in the morning, I found she had got three more, making nine, the particulars of which are expressed in the adjoined list: the four largest are decked, and very capable of going to England, but the others cannot. Since the 7th, Mr. Forbes has been continually on the look-out; but not a single vessel, I believe, has stirred since.

I am, &c.

GEORGE ARGLES.

[Then follows a list of six vessels captured by the Nile cutter, laden with provisions for Brest, and three by the Lurcher cutter, bound to Yannes.]

Extract of a letter from capt. Rowley Bulteel, of the *Belliqueux*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at Rio Janeiro, August 24.

On Monday, August 4, soon after day-light, four sail were discovered

from the mast-head, in the N. W. quarter, and apparently steering about N. by E. At seven A. M. they hauled their wind, tacked, and stood towards us; upon which I bore down with the whole of my convoy. At noon the enemy perceived our force (which was greatly exaggerated, in their opinion, by the warlike appearance of the China ships): they bore up under a press of sail, and by signal separated. I stood for the largest ship, and, notwithstanding the light and baffling winds, we came up with her, and after a few chase-guns, and a partial firing for about ten minutes, at half past five in the afternoon (Tuesday) she struck her colours, and proved to be the French frigate *La Concorde*, of 44 guns, 18-pounders, and 444 men, commanded by citizen Jean François Landolphe, capitaine de vaisseau, and chef de division. At seven the same evening, the French frigate *La Médée*, of 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 315 men, commanded by citizen Daniel Goudin, struck her colours to the Bombay Castle, capt. John Hamilton, and the *Exeter*, capt. Henry Meriton. The above frigates were of the squadron which sailed from Rochefort the 6th day of March, 1799, and, having committed great depredations on the coast of Africa, had refitted in the Rio de la Plata, and were now cruising on the coast of Brazil. *La Française*, of 42 guns, and 380 men, commanded by citizen Pierre Jurieu, escaped by throwing a part of her guns overboard, and also her anchors, boats, and booms, and by night coming on; as did also an American schooner, their prize, fitted as a cruiser. On this occasion I hope their lordships will permit me to bear testimony of the spirit of the officers and ship's company of the *Belliqueux*; and I have peculiar pleasure in mentioning the

zeal

zeal and activity I have ever found in Mr. Erdon, my first lieutenant, to whom I only do justice in recommending him to their lordships' notice and favour. Too much praise cannot be given to the captains, officers, and crews of the different ships under my convoy, for their ready obedience to my signals, and for the whole of their conduct on that day, particularly to captains Hamilton and Meriton, who very gallantly pursued and captured the aforesaid frigate *La Medée*; and also to capt. Torin, of the *Coutts*, and capt. Spens, of the *Neptune*, who, with great alacrity, pursued *La Française*, although they had not the good fortune to come up with her, for the reasons above assigned; and my best thanks are due to the whole of the commanders of the ships under my convoy, for their assistance in taking a number of prisoners on board their respective ships. We arrived at Rio Janeiro on Tuesday, the 12th of August.

[This Gazette also contains accounts of the capture of the Spanish privateer lugger, *San Josef*, of six guns and 40 men, by the *Concorde*, capt. R. Barton; and of a French sloop, bound to Brest, with provisions, by *La Magicienne*.]

Admiralty-office, 20. This Gazette contains an account of the *Favourite*, captain Joseph Westbeach, having captured *Le Voyageur* cutter privateer, of Dunkirk, of 14 carriage-guns and 47 men; she had taken the *Camilla*, belonging to Sunderland, the day before.

22. This day the united parliament assembled for the first time.

Admiralty-office, 24. Letter from Rear-admiral Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward islands, to E. Nepean, Esq. dated *Leviathan*, Martinique, Oct. 27.

SIR,

Having directed the *Gipsy*, of 10 four-pounders and 42 men, tender to the *Leviathan*, under the command of lieut. Coryndon Boger, to carry the *Charlotte* merchant ship (in which my late captain, Carpenter, took his passage) to the northward of the islands, I am to beg you will inform the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 7th instant, in passing near Guadaloupe on the above service, he chased and brought to action a French sloop of very superior magnitude, and manned with double his number of select troops of Guadaloupe. For the particulars of this very handsome contest I shall refer their lordships to lieut. Boger's letter; but I should not do justice to his majesty's service, from the knowledge I have of this valuable officer's character, and from the unanimous voice of his crew, if I did not say his modest recital of his gallantry does him as much honour as the action itself; and I flatter myself he will be honoured with their lordships' protection.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

P. S. Since the concluding of the above I find three more of the wounded have died.

Gipsy, in *St. John's Roads*, Oct. 8.

SIR,

At eight A. M. off the north end of Guadaloupe, I chased and came up with an armed sloop. On firing a shot at her she hoisted French colours, and returned it; an action instantly commenced. We remained at very close quarters for an hour and a half, when, finding that her musketry did us considerable damage, I hauled a little farther off, and kept up a sharp fire of round and grape; and at half past ten I had the

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satisfaction

satisfaction to see her strike. She proved to be *Le Quiproquo*, commanded by Tourpie, formerly a capitaine de frégate in the service of the king, and was charged with dispatches from Curaçao to Guadeloupe; she mounts eight guns, six and nine pounders, and had on board 98 men, 80 of whom were Guadeloupe chasseurs and cannoneers. I am sorry to add that our loss is considerable, having had one killed and 11 wounded; among the latter I include Mr. Clarke and myself. Finding it necessary to get medical assistance, as soon as possible, I put into this port, and have got all the wounded into an hospital. The loss on the side of the enemy was the captain and four killed, and 11 wounded. Both vessels have suffered much in sails and rigging; but I am happy to say that his majesties schooner has not suffered in her hull. I cannot omit, sir, mentioning the great assistance I received from the Charlotte merchant ship under my convoy, both in securing the prisoners, and giving every assistance to the wounded that lay in their power. The petty officers and men you did me the honour to place under my command behaved extremely well on the occasion. Two men have since died of their wounds.

CORYNDON BOGER.

Rear-admiral Duckworth.

[This Gazette likewise contains an account of the capture of *La Vénus* French lugger privateer, of 14 guns and 36 men, by the *Jason*, capt. Yorke.]

Admiralty-office, 31. This Gazette contains a letter from lieutenant Pearce, transmitted by admiral Lutwidge, announcing his having, in the King George hired armed cutter, captured *Le Flibustier* French cutter privateer, of 16 men, with muskets and pistols, from

Dunkirk two days, without having made any capture; and also a letter from capt. Gifford, of the *Active*, dated at sea, Jan. 21, stating his having captured the French privateer cutter *Quinola*, of 14 guns, six and two pounders, and 48 men, after a chase of two hours; one day from Morlaix.

FEBRUARY.

Admiralty-office, 3. Enclosure from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. admiral of the white, &c. to Evan Nepean, esq.

Magicienne, Plymouth Sound,

My Lord, Jan. 31.

Capt. Halliday's letter will inform your lordship of my having on the 20th inst. captured, in sight of the Doris, the French ship letter of marque *Le Huron*, from the isle of France, bound to Bourdeaux, and of his directing me to see her into Plymouth. I now beg leave to acquaint your lordship of my arrival with her; she is a remarkably fine ship, sails well, is pierced for 20 guns, had 18 mounted, but threw them all overboard, except four, during the chase. I think her a vessel well calculated for his majesty's service; the cargo is of great value, and consists of ivory, cochineal, indigo, tea, sugar, pepper, cinnamon, ebony, &c.

W. OGILVY.

Admiralty-office, 7. Letter transmitted by lord H. Seymour, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Jamaica, dated Dec. 21.

My Lord, *Apollo*, Dec. 1800.

At noon, on the 10th ult. in the Gulf of Mexico, in lat. 21 deg. north, we gave chase to a xebec to windward of us; but soon after discovering a brig directly in the wind's eye, we chased her, and at two in the morning got up and took possession of the *Resolution* Spanish sloop of war, of 18 guns and 149 men, commanded by don Francisco Darrichena,

richena, (formerly the Resolution cutter in the British navy,) which sailed from Vera Cruz three days before. As soon as her crew were removed to this ship, we made all sail, and an hour after day-break got sight again of the xebec, and captured her at three o'clock in the afternoon; she is from Vera Cruz, and was bound to the Havannah. The Resolution was in general towed by us until the 27th ult. when her main-mast went by the board: an attempt was made to refit her; but her rigging and sails being perfectly rotten, and every thing belonging to her in such a miserable condition, it was necessary to destroy her. On the 7th inst. off Porcillo, in the island of Cuba, we recaptured the schooner St. Joseph.

P. HALKETT.

[This Gazette also contains copies of three letters transmitted by earl St. Vincent, giving accounts of the following captures: the French national ship corvette L'Aurora, of 16 guns, lieut. C. Girault commander, from the Mauritius, having on board the aide-du-camp to the governor of that place, with dispatches to the French government, by the Thames, capt. Lukin; the French brig La Favorite, from L'Orient to Bourdeaux, laden with staves and hides, by the Doris, capt. Halliday; and the Spanish letter of marque Charlotta, by the Sirius, capt. King, the Amethyst being in company.]

Admiralty-office, 10. Enclosure from the earl of St. Vincent, K. B. &c. to E. Nepean, esq.

L'Oiseau, Torbay, Feb. 3.

My Lord,

On Monday, Jan. 26, at eight A.M. in lat. 45 deg. N. long. 12 deg. W. I fell in with the French national frigate La Dédaigneuse, of 36 guns and 300 men, with dispatches from Cayenne for Rochefort, and chased her until noon the following day;

when I discovered his majesty's ships Sirius and Amethyst off Cape Finisterre, whose captains I directed, by signal, to chase, and continued in pursuit of the enemy until two o'clock on Wednesday morning. Being within musket-shot, she opened her fire on the Sirius and L'Oiseau, (which was immediately returned,) and surrendered to the above ships after an action of 45 minutes; distant from the shore, near Cape Belem, about two miles. Her running rigging and sails were cut to pieces; several men killed, and 17 wounded: among the latter were the captain and fifth lieutenant. My warmest thanks are due to captains King and Cooke for their exertions; but particularly to the former, as, from the Sirius's steady and well-directed fire, the enemy received considerable damage; the Amethyst, from unfavourable winds, was unable to get up until she had struck. I am happy to say, notwithstanding the gallant resistance made by the Dédaigneuse, neither of the ships lost a man. The Sirius's rigging and sails were a little damaged, her main-yard and bowsprit slightly wounded. I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation of the officers and company of his majesty's ship under my command; and, in justice to them, must add, their anxiety to close with the enemy, on first discovering her, was equal to what it was on becoming so superior; and must farther beg to acknowledge the very great assistance I received from Mr. H. Lloyd, my first lieutenant, during a long and anxious chase of 42 hours. I trust your lordship will be pleased to recommend him to the lords commissioners of the admiralty as a most valuable officer, and deserving of their attention: on his account most sincerely do I lament the baffling winds that prevented my bringing

ing the enemy to action on the preceding day, which I was several times in expectation of doing. *La Dédaigneuse* is a perfect new frigate, copper-fastened, and sails well; carries 28 twelve-pounders on her main deck, and pierced for 40 guns. I have given the prize in charge of my first lieutenant, with directions to proceed to Plymouth; and have also to acquaint your lordship of my having detained on the 1st inst. the Swedish ship *Hoffnung*, from Valentia, bound to Altona, laden with brandy, burthen 260 tons.

S. H. LINZEE.

12. This day the lord mayor, attended by seven aldermen, the two sheriffs, the recorder, and a select number of the common council, proceeded from Guildhall, at one o'clock, to St. James's, and presented the following address:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled.

"Most Gracious Sire,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, approach the throne with the liveliest sentiments of congratulation on the very important event of the legislative union of your majesty's kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. Unshaken as we are in our firm allegiance to the best of kings, we contemplate with peculiar satisfaction every circumstance which, in its design or operation, can tend to the security and honour of your majesty's crown, and thereby to the declared first object of your majesty's heart, the welfare and prosperity of your people. The accomplishment of this great measure, founded in wisdom, and de-

monstrative of that paternal regard which your majesty has ever evinced for every class of your subjects, the union of the two kingdoms, particularly affords, at this momentous crisis of public affairs, the gratifying prospect of consolidating the joint interests, energy, and resources of the empire, and of confirming, by a mutual participation of the peculiar blessings of each, the prosperity and happiness of both kingdoms. Long may your majesty wear the diadem, which, through unexampled difficulties, has maintained its dignity and preserved its lustre! and long may the subjects of your united empire, with one heart and one voice, confess with gratitude the loyalty and veneration due to a sovereign, whose honour must be their pride, and on whose security is engrafted their immediate welfare! and may the most complete success, under Providence, crown their determinations to subdue your majesty's enemies wherever they may be found!"

To which his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address, and for your warm congratulation on the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; an event which, I trust, cannot fail, under the blessings of Providence, to augment and perpetuate the welfare and happiness of all my people. Your affectionate expressions of attachment to my person and government, and your steady determination to maintain, against every aggression, the security and honour of my crown, are highly acceptable to me, and secure to my faithful citizens of London my constant favour and protection."

Admiralty-office, 14. Letter from licut. Bond, commanding his majesty's schooner *Netley*, to lord Keith, dated Oporto, Dec. 22.

Netley,

Netley, 'Porto, Dec. 22.

My Lord,

His majesty's schooner under my command sailed from Lisbon on the 13th ult. and on the 23d captured the St. Antonio y Animas La Fortuna, Spanish lugger privateer, of six guns and 34 men. On the 1st inst. she took the St. Miguel El Volante, of the same description, of two guns and 29 men; and on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, successively took possession of the Speedy brig, from Newfoundland, with cod-fish; a Spanish coaster, laden with wine, &c. and the Spanish schooner privateer St. Pedro y Sen Francisco, of three guns and 39 men.

F. G. BOND.

Admiralty-office, 17. This Gazette gives an account of the capture of the Espoir French lugger, of six carriage guns and 23 men, by the Lady Charlotte hired armed brig, capt. Morris.

Admiralty-office, 28. A letter from captain Hills, of the Orpheus, dated La Copong, the Streights of Banca, Oct. 25, 1799, announces his having captured, after an action of a quarter of an hour, the Zeevraght and the Zeelast, two vessels belonging to the Dutch East-India Company, each mounting 22 guns of different calibres, from Mecasses for Ternate, with provisions and stores. The Orpheus had one seaman killed; and the first lieutenant, Hodgkins, of whom capt. Hills speaks in terms of high commendation, and four seamen, wounded; the Zeelast had one man killed; the Zeevraght, six killed, and her captain and six men wounded.

Capt. G. Asle, of La Virginie, in a letter dated Amboyna, May 29, announces the capture of a Dutch prow of four swivels and 16 men; another of two swivels and 15 men; and a third of 14 men; a ship of eight 6-pounders and four swivels and 40

men; one of twelve 6-pounders and 20 men; and a brig of ten 4-pounders and 12 men. The three latter vessels, laden with the annual supplies for the garrison on the island of Ternate, had on board, exclusive of their cargoes, specie to the amount of 17,913 Spanish dollars.

Extract of a letter from capt. E. O.

Osborne, of H. M. S. Arrogant, to vice-admiral Rainier, commander in chief, &c. dated on board H. M. S. Arrogant, at sea, June 26th.

The difficulty of getting water at Anjer Point induced me to proceed to Mew Bay, where I arrived with the Orpheus, May 5. We captured a small ship from the Isle of France, in ballast, which was burnt. May 16th, sailed with the Arrogant and Orpheus from Mew Bay, and passing to the northward of the islands off Batavia, made the land of Java, May 16th near Point Indramago, and having Bumpkin Island in sight at the same time to the eastward of Batavia; the same day discovered a large ship and a brig at anchor, to whom we gave chase; and who, after having made some signals to each other, made all sail from us in for the land. It was late in the evening before we got near them; when I discovered the ship to be a vessel of force, and having several guns on her lower deck, and the brig also mounting 14 guns: finding they could not escape us, they both ran on shore, at some miles distant from each other, to the westward of Point Indramago. We were soon within random shot of the ship, and anchored as near her as the depth of water would admit, when she began firing at us, which was returned by several guns from each deck. About this time two boats were observed going from her full of men; and as it grew dark shortly after, some of our boats were sent to prevent the crew of the ship

ship from landing, and to summons her to surrender, which they could not do till the morning: this, I conclude, was with the design of destroying her, if they could have accomplished landing the crew in the night; but the vigilance of our boats prevented this taking place, as her boats were taken, full of men, the first time the attempt was made. At day-break she surrendered, and was taken possession of, when we found her to be the *Hertzoy de Brunswick* (armed ship), belonging to the Dutch East-India Company, Jan Cornelius Panne commander, mounting 20 guns on the upper decks, and eight guns on the lower deck, and manned with 320 men, part of whom had made their escape on shore. At the time the boats were sent to prevent the men from landing from the ship, boats were sent under the direction of lieut. Blayney to board the brig, which was some miles distant from us. This service he accomplished without loss, and soon after brought her near us; when we found her to be the *Dolphin* armed brig, commanded by Jan Vauntyes, belonging to the Dutch East-India Company, mounting 14 guns, and having on board 65 men.—May 24, at day-break in the morning, we captured, close under the land, a small armed brig, of six carriage guns and some swivels, on a cruise from Sumarang, which place she left the preceding day. On the evening of the 25th, we got sight of Japura, and the ship at anchor there; but it fell little wind, and we were obliged to anchor at the distance of 10 or 11 miles from it. As they had observed us from the shore, I thought there was no time to be lost; and, therefore, at eight P. M. sent all the boats, well manned and armed, with lieut. Blayney Rice, who got to the ship about midnight; and, though she had been hauled close to the

shore (on seeing us in the evening) under a small battery, yet the surprise was complete, and she was boarded without any loss, many of the crew jumping overboard at the time. The battery fired on them so soon as they discovered her to be in our possession; but, though some of the boats' oars were broken by the shot, no other accident happened; and they effected getting her out before day-light, when she joined us, and we found her to be the Dutch East-India Company's ship *Underneming*, mounting six carriage guns, and having 80 men on board. After putting the prize in order, May 28, joined the *Orpheus* off Cheribon, and found that in our absence she had captured a Dutch brig, a sloop, and two prows: the three latter were destroyed. Same day ran into the anchorage to the westward of Point Indramago, where we landed most of the prisoners; some of them being very sickly. The *Dolphin* brig is a new vessel, well coppered and equipped, and well adapted for service (particularly in shoal water). She mounts 14 guns, and has good room and security at quarters.

I am, &c. J. HOSMERSON, Pro Sec.

Captain Osborne, in a letter dated *Arrogant*, Madras Road, Aug. 11, 1800, mentions his having captured, Aug. 4, after a long chase, *L'Uni* French privateer, of 32 guns, 16 and 9 pounders, all of which, except six, were thrown overboard during the chase; had on board 216 men: also re-captured the *Friendship*, from Bengal for Madras. The brig *Bee*, from Madras to Masulipatam, captured by *L'Uni*, escaped. *L'Uni* sailed from the Mauritius the 4th of May, and had captured the *Harriot*, from the Cape of Good Hope, and the *Helen*, belonging to Bombay.

SIR, *Bombay*, Sept. 3, 1800.

I beg leave to inform you of my arrival here on the 30th of August, after

after a passage of 11 days from Mocha. About 50 leagues to the eastward of Aden, I fell in with and took the *Clarissa* French privateer, from the *Mauritius*, who threw over her guns, and cut away her anchors, with a view to escape. We found 148 men on board her. She is only between two and three years old; built at Nantz.

Vice-adm. Rainier, &c.

J. BLANKETT.

Lieutenant Mein, of the *Netley* schooner, announces his having, Jan. 31st, off Oporto, fallen in with four privateers, one of which, the *Santa Victoria*, of six guns and 26 men, he captured: the rest escaped, the *Netley* being obliged to rejoin the convoy, some of the ships having made signal for an enemy to windward.

Copy of a letter from lieut. Lloyd, commanding the *Nimble* cutter, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Feb. 24th.

SIR,

I beg you will be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, at the back of the isle of Wight, yesterday, at two P. M. having the trade from Dartmouth under my convoy for the Downs, I fell in with, and, after a chase of six hours, engaged and captured the Bonaparte cutter privateer, of Cherbourg, of 14 brass guns, of 4 and 6 pounders, and 44 men, two days out of port; she had captured a light collier from Plymouth. I am nappy to say, the *Nimble* had no men killed or wounded; and that Mr. Watts, the master, and all the petty officers and crew, behaved like British seamen. The privateer had two men killed, and the first lieutenant dangerously wounded.

MARCH.

Admiralty-office, 3. Extract of a letter from the hon. captain Stop-

ford, of the *Excellent*, in Quiberon Bay, to earl St. Vincent, Feb. 23.

My Lord,

On the night of the 20th inst. I sent the boats of the *Excellent* to endeavour to bring off a cutter and a sloop, which were at anchor near the Point of Quiberon. Unfortunately, that same evening, after dark, a large *chasse marée*, with troops on board, going to the island of Belleisle, had taken her station close to the above vessels; the resistance which the boats met with was, consequently, much greater than there was at first reason to expect. This circumstance, however, did not prevent lieut. Church (having the command of the boats) from making the attack upon the *chasse marée*, in which he gallantly persevered, till, being badly wounded himself, and two men killed in his boat, he was obliged to retire. The other boats, under the command of Messrs. Crawford and Manning (midshipmen), resolutely boarded, and succeeded in bringing off the cutter called *L'Arc*, an armed vessel, in the service of the republic, commanded by an *ensign de vaisseau*, and employed as convoy to and from Belleisle; this vessel had also on board a detachment of troops, who were made prisoners, and who made the vessel's force much superior to that of the assailants.

R. STORFORD.

[This Gazette also states the capture of a French brig privateer, of 16 guns and 130 men, by the *Révolutionnaire*, capt. Twisden; and of the *Espoir* lugger privateer, of 14 guns and 75 men, by the *Lord Nelson* private ship of war, Mr. H. Gibson master.]

Admiralty-office, 7. Letter from sir Charles Hamilton, bart. captain of the *Melpomene*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at Goree, Jan. 3.

SIR,

SIR,

Being off the bar of Senegal on the 3d inst. the weather moderate and the surf low, with the concurrence of col. Frazer, I conceived it possible, if we could surprise a brig corvette and an armed schooner, anchored within the bar, to possess ourselves of the battery commanding the entrance, and by the means of their own vessels, as I had none under my command fit for the purpose, to have finally reduced Senegal. I therefore detached lieut. Dick, with 96 officers and men from the Melpomene, and African corps, in five boats, who left the ship at nine P. M. and were fortunate enough to pass the heavy surf on the bar with the flood-tide without accident, unobserved by the Point battery; but on their approaching within hail of the brig, the alarm was given, and the two bow-guns discharged, by which lieut. Palmer, with seven seamen, was killed, and two boats sunk. Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, the brig was carried after an obstinate defence of 20 minutes, but which gave the schooner time to cut her cable. Lieut. Dick, finding that the loss of his two best boats and many of his best men, added to a constant fire from the schooner and two batteries, must have rendered any farther attempt abortive, judged it right to make every attempt to get her over the bar; but the ebb tide having made, and being totally unacquainted with the navigation of the river, she got aground; and seeing it impossible ever to get her off, and being hulled by every shot from the Point battery, he found it absolutely necessary to retreat; and, under the many obstacles he had to surmount across a tremendous surf, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, excites my admiration even more,

if possible, than the gallant manner in which the brig was carried. I therefore feel it my duty to recommend lieut. Dick to their lordships' notice, who speaks highly of the officers and men employed under him, both from this ship and the African corps; and we had the satisfaction at day-light to perceive the brig had sunk up to her gunwales in a quick-sand. It appears she was called the Senegal; had been fitted out there at the expense of the republic, and was commanded by citizen Renou, who was on board at the time, and of whose fate we are uncertain. She mounted 18 guns, 12 and 9 pounders, and had nearly sixty men on board, some of whom escaped in a boat; the rest were killed in boarding, except 5 whites and 13 blacks, who are now on board this ship. It was chiefly owing to the alacrity and courage of the latter that we met such resistance.

I am, &c. C. HAMILTON.

List of Killed and wounded.

Killed.—Lieut. William Palmer; lieut. Vyvian, first lieutenant of marines; Mr. Robert Main, midshipman; six seamen, one marine, and one corporal of African corps.

Wounded.—Mr. John Hendrie, master's mate; Mr. Robert Darling, surgeon's mate; 10 seamen, one corporal of marines, four private marines, and lieut. Christie, African corps.

C. HAMILTON.

Col. Frazer, in a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated Goree, Jan. 5, communicates the above, but is less circumstantial in the detail.

[This Gazette contains likewise an account of the capture of the French lugger privateer, the Bienvenue, of 14 carriage guns, belonging to Calais, by the Cobourg, lieut. Wright commander; and of the capture also of Le Vengeur French privateer, mounting two large

large swivels, carrying a number of small arms, and manned with 17 men, by the Swan cutter, acting-lieut. John Luckraft commander.]

11. His majesty, for some time previous to this day, had been indisposed with a fever. Regular accounts of its progress were published every day, and this day the bulletin of the king's physicians declared, that "His majesty is free from fever, and seems only to require the time always necessary after so severe an illness for the recovery of his usual health and spirits." His majesty dined with his family as usual. Two horses he was accustomed to ride at Windsor were brought to town this day for his taking the air.

12. The king walked in the gardens of the queen's palace, and was engaged for some time in reading dispatches.

It will not be thought uninteresting by the public to be informed of the remedy to which is to be attributed, under Providence, the abatement of the king's fever. Several opiates having been tried without the desired effect, hops were placed under his majesty's head, which, acting as a soporific, produced complete success.

Admiralty-office, 14. This Gazette gives an account of the capture of La Juste French brig privateer, of 14 guns and 78 men, by the Amelia, hon. capt. Herbert.

Admiralty-office, 17. This Gazette contains accounts of the capture of the following French schooner privateers: L'Optimiste, of 16 guns and 47 men, by the Favourite, captain Westbeach; and Le Général Bessières, of four guns and six swivels, by the Hussar, lord viscount Garlies.

20. We are extremely concerned to state the entire loss of his ma-

jesty's ship Invincible, of 74 guns, captain Rennie, which ran aground on the Norfolk coast. The ridge of sand is called the Hamondsburg, or Hippisburg, and is situated about 14 miles from Winterton. The number of lives lost amounts to upwards of 400, including the captain and the greater part of the officers; 195 only, out of the whole of the crew and passengers, having been saved from the wreck. Rear-admiral Totty, who was proceeding in the Invincible to join the North-sea fleet, is happily among the survivors. He arrived in town yesterday afternoon, and immediately waited on the lords of the admiralty.

Of this truly lamentable event we have the following interesting particulars:

Extract of a letter from a midshipman of his majesty's late ship the Invincible, Yarmouth, March 18.

"Only two days have elapsed since I last wrote to you, and in that short space the most melancholy accident has happened, namely, the total loss of our ship. We set sail from Yarmouth on Monday morning for the Sound, to join the fleet under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker; and about two o'clock in the afternoon the ship struck on a sand-bank, where she beat most violently for upwards of two hours, when her masts were cut away, and she immediately got into deep water. Her anchor was then cast, and we all thought ourselves safe; for, notwithstanding she leaked considerably, the water gained but little upon us. Our signals of distress were heard and answered by a cutter, which immediately bore down to Yarmouth, to give intelligence of our distress; and we therefore hoped, with the assistance that should arrive, to be able to save the ship as well as ourselves; but

but God ordained it otherwise. The rudder being unfortunately gone, the ship became unmanageable, and in the evening she again drove on the bank, when we all gave ourselves up for lost. Through God's providence, however, a fishing smack, at this awful juncture, hove in sight, and the admiral, myself, and two or three more, succeeded in getting on board of her; but the rest, in endeavouring to do the same, lost all the boats they were able to get over-board. In this melancholy condition she remained till the following morning, when, shocking to relate, she entirely sunk; we being all the time spectators of the distressful scene, without any possible means of affording the sufferers the least assistance, as any attempt to that effect would only have involved ourselves in the general calamity. By God's providence, however, the ship's launch, full of men, at length got clear of the wreck, and by her assistance we were enabled to save some others. In the whole, about 195 are saved. The greater part of the officers, including the captain, have unfortunately perished."

The Invincible first struck upon the fatal bank between two and three in the afternoon. In this situation she remained near three hours, when the mizen-mast went by the board, and the main-mast was immediately after cut away. The ship, to the infinite joy of the crew, then dropped from three and a half into 17 fathom water, where, however, unfortunately losing her rudder, she soon became unmanageable, and was again driven upon the bank. A fishing-smack now approached the wreck; on which two boats, belonging to the Invincible, were ordered out. On board one of these, the admiral, the purser,

four midshipmen, three of the admiral's servants, and six or eight seamen, reached the fishing-smack in safety, as did also the other boat full of people. Both of them immediately returned to the ship; but, on re-approaching the smack, one was forced away, and every person on board would inevitably have perished, had not a collier, which happened to be passing at this critical moment, happily picked them all up. This vessel afterwards afforded every assistance that humanity urged, or that she was capable of giving, and was the means of saving the lives of many of the crew. The fishing-smack, with the admiral on board, being unable to afford the least assistance to the ship, remained at anchor during the whole of Monday night. On the approach of day, the master of this vessel expressed an unwillingness to go any nearer the wreck; but admiral Totty, in direct opposition to him, caused the cable to be cut, and immediately proceeded to the ship. Melancholy, however, to relate, while he was doing every thing of which human exertion is capable, to assist the unhappy people on board, the wreck once more got into deep water, and gradually sunk, to the infinite distress of the admiral and the other spectators, who were nearly frantic with grief at this tremendous scene of human misery and destruction. While the ship was thus rapidly going down, the launch was hove out; as many of the crew as she could possibly hold immediately jumped on board, and had only time to clear the poop, when the vessel, with upwards of 400 souls, entirely disappeared, and went to the bottom. A number of the unhappy sufferers attempted to get on board the already over-laden launch; but as no more could be permitted

mitted to enter, without the certain loss of the whole, they were struck away with the oars, and in a few seconds became wholly ingulphed in the pitiless waters. Capt. Renne, after the ship had sunk, attempted to swim to the launch, and, after a severe exertion, got within reach of the oars, when, exhausted with fatigue, and unable to make any farther effort, he calmly resigned himself to his fate. Lifting up his hands, as if to implore the blessing of Heaven, and immediately after placing them on his face, he went directly down without another struggle. Thus perished a brave and meritorious officer, whose virtues, as a man, ensured him the esteem of all who knew him, and whose professional character, had he survived, bid fair to render him an ornament to his country. All the other commissioned officers of the ship, except lieutenants Tucker and Quash, together with all the officers of marines, and most of their men, likewise went to the bottom. About 70 or 80 of the crew were saved by means of the launch, the whole of whom had assembled upon the fore-castle; but all those who remained in the poop were lost. Among those who thus found a watery grave were several passengers, on their way to join other ships belonging to the North-sea fleet. This afflicting disaster is attributed solely to the ignorance of the pilot: he belonged to Harwich, and was taken on board at Sheerness. Instead of taking the ship through the ordinary channel from Yarmouth, he steered her through the narrow passage of the Cockle; and when she ran upon the sands, he insisted that the fatal spot was not laid down in any chart. In this point, however, he was soon confuted by the gunner of one of

the ships of admiral Parker's fleet, who was a passenger on board the *Invincible*: this man soon convinced the pilot of his error, by showing him the exact spot distinctly marked. But the pilot is among the numerous sufferers; and, in common charity, death must now be considered as having expiated all his faults. When the mizen-mast went overboard, he also fell from the deck, and was never after seen. The *Lively* cutter was for several hours within sight of the wreck, but was unable to afford the distressed people on board the least assistance. A boat from Winterton was very active. Daniel Brien, and four seamen, after being on the foremast and fore-top-yard two days and two nights, in a heavy sea, without any provisions, were miraculously preserved by the captain of the brig *Briton* (of Sunderland), who landed them at Yarmouth. The *Invincible* was a very old ship, having been built so far back as the year 1766. She had on board, exclusive of her own guns and stores, a large quantity of heavy ordnance, with shot and ammunition, for the use of the gun-boats and floating batteries in the Baltic.

Admiralty-office, 24. Copies of letters to captain Dixon of the *Généreux*.

Mercury, off Minorca, Jan. 15.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that on the 6th inst. cruising agreeably to your orders, I fell in with a convoy of about twenty sail of the enemy, from Cette, bound to Marseilles; and from the activity and exertions of the officers and men employed in the boats, the weather being nearly calm, I had the good fortune to capture and secure 15 of them, as per margin*, without any loss of men, very little resistance

* Two ships, four brigs, three bombards, two settees, and four tartans.

being

being made by the vessels, their escort, consisting of gun-boats, having fled upon the Mercury's approach.

The prizes are all deeply laden with brandy, sugar, corn, wine, oil, and other merchandize; and I have the satisfaction to add, that they are safe arrived at Port Mahon.

I am, Sir, &c.

THOMAS ROGERS.

Mercury, off Port Mahon, Jan. 22.

SIR,

I put to sea agreeably to my intention, signified to you in my letter of the 17th instant, the moment our prizes were moored in safety, which was on the morning of the 19th. The day following I fell in with a ship (the island of Sardinia bearing E. S. E. forty leagues), which I soon discovered to be an enemy, and which, after a chase of nine hours, blowing very fresh, I had the satisfaction to come up with and capture. She is called *La Sans Pareille*, French national corvette, commanded by citizen Gabriel Renault, lieutenant de vaisseau, mounting 18 long brass nine-pounders, and two howitzers, and having on board a complement of 150 men; she sailed from Toulon the day before her capture, and was bound to Alexandria, in Egypt, quite laden with shot, arms, medicines, and supplies of every kind for the French army, and is as complete a vessel in every respect as I have seen, being quite new, and well found with stores of every description.

THOMAS ROGERS.

[This Gazette also announces the capture of *Le Premier Consul*, a fine new French privateer, pierced for 24 guns, and 150 men, by the *Dryad*, captain Mansfield; and, by the *Netley*, lieut. Mein, of the *San Josef*, a Spanish privateer pierced for 14 guns; the re-capture of two British merchant brigs, and the destruction of an enemy's lugger.]

Admiralty-office, 31. This Gazette announces the capture of *La Vengeance* French lugger, of 10 three and four pounders, and 43 men, by the *Gannett*, captain Colgrave, and also *El Reyna Louisa* Spanish schooner packet, of two guns and 20 men, by the *Hind*, captain Larcom.

In the course of this month arrived the following account of the loss of the *Kent* East Indiaman.

Bengal, Oct. 8th, 1800.

With great concern we announce the capture of the *Kent* East Indiaman yesterday, in the bay of Bengal, off the Sand Head, by the *Confiance* French privateer, of 26 guns and 250 men, after an obstinate engagement of near one hour and 45 minutes, in which captain Rivington, of the *Kent*, was unfortunately killed, bravely defending the Company's property till the last moment of his existence, when he exclaimed, "Do not give up the ship!" Mr. Cator, a free merchant, also fell, covered with wounds. The *Kent* was in 25 fathom water, and took the *Confiance* for a pilot sloop. The crew of the *Confiance* were all armed with sabres and pistols, and had been thrice encouraged with liquor, previously to their boarding; after which the fight continued desperate for 20 minutes. Gen. St. John and his family were on board the *Kent*, and appear to have been particularly unfortunate. All his jewels, plate, and baggage, had been burnt on board the *Queen*, and he was now almost destined to behold his lovely wife, daughter to the margravine of Anspach, and his three charming daughters, victims to the lawless excesses of a savage banditti. The gallant capt. Pilkington, the general's aid-de-camp, was severely wounded in defending the general's family. The French behaved with a cruelty almost unexampled in sea-fights, giving no quarter,

ter, and stabbing with their sabres even the sick in their hammocks. Previous to their boarding, the Kent had evidently the advantage; and, had the crew been equally armed with offensive weapons, or had more musketry, the Confiance would, in all probability, have paid dearly for the rashness of her attempt. This is the same ship which was beat off formerly by the Arniston. Besides the gallant captain, the names of the persons killed are, Mr. Jn. Fairly, carpenter; William Bazely, boat-swain's mate. Passengers, Messrs. James Richard Barwell, writer, Bengal; John Andrew, assistant surgeon, Madras; Anthony Blagrove, writer, Bengal; Wm. Franks, free mariner, ditto; J. William Fuller, writer, ditto, killed; also Robert Moore, cadet, Madras, passenger from the Queen.—Total killed 11—wounded 44—Total 55.—The fate of some of the passengers in the Kent was singularly distressing. They had taken their departure from Europe in the Queen East Indiaman, which was unfortunately burnt at St. Salvador. The Kent happening to be there, captain Rivington very humanely offered them every accommodation his ship could afford, even to the inconvenience of himself in the ship. They fondly flattered themselves they had reached their destination, and their sufferings were at an end, being off the mouth of Bengal river, when they were taken, as has been already stated. In violation of the rights of humanity, as those of war, the commander of the banditti who took them pillaged them of every article of wearing apparel, and, after having done so, put them, including six ladies, in an open Arab boat, with no other sustenance than a little bad water and some dates: in this dreadful state they continued four days, till they reached Calcutta.

1801.

APRIL.

Admiralty-office, 4. [This Gazette contains accounts of the capture of La Pluton French cutter privateer, of one 4-pounder, besides muskets, and 14 men, by the Sheerness hired cutter, J. H. Talbot commander; and likewise the French Trabacolo privateer L'Adelaide, of two 12-pounders, and one 6-pounder, and 57 men, by the Pigmy cutter, lieut. W. Shepheard.]

Admiralty-office, 7. Letter from rear-adm. Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Martinique, Feb. 16.

SIR,

Having learnt, from the arrival of the Calcutta, on the 12th ult. that a convoy might be soon expected, I dispatched all the squadron within my reach to cruize to windward of Barbadoes for its protection, which has eventually proved fortunate; for the particulars respecting it I shall refer you to the letters of captain Manby, of the Bourdelois, of Jan. 16th, and 2d of this month, on which he writes most fully. I must beg you to call the attention of my lords commissioners of the admiralty to the meritorious conduct of Mr. Burrowes, commander of the ship Jupiter, bound to Jamaica, who, after he had lost convoy, collected more than 60 sail, and made such a disposition of the largest ships for the protection of the whole, as evidently deterred the small squadron, afterwards brought to action by the Bourdelois, from attacking them; and by that judicious and public-spirited step, all, but those which branched off for Surinam, &c. arrived safe at Barbadoes.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

(B)

Copies

Copies of letters from capt. Manby to capt. Bradby of the *Andromeda*.

Bourdelois, off Teneriffe, Jan. 16.

SIR,

On the 8th inst. off Palma, in a calm, I dispatched two boats, under the orders of lieut. Barrie, in pursuit of a strange sail in the S. E. After a fatiguing row of 14 hours, lieut. Barrie, at two P. M. with only one boat being up with the chase, boarded her with great gallantry, although opposed by ten Frenchmen, who kept up a smart fire from four 4-pounders; she proved to be the *Adventure*, of London, one of the convoy which had parted company in the first gale of wind; the French prize-master was wounded by a cutlass, the only blood spilled on the occasion. Gaining information from the *Adventure*, that, on the same day she was captured by the *Mouche* privateer, of Bourdeaux, the *Mouche* likewise captured a valuable copper-bottomed ship, bound to Barbadoes, and as both vessels had orders to proceed to Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe, I considered it my duty to push for that port, and by plying hard with the sweeps all the 9th, I arrived off Santa Cruz on the morning of the 10th, when I had the pleasing satisfaction of rescuing the above-mentioned British ship from the hands of the enemy; she proved to be the *Aurora* of London.

T. MANBY.

Bourdelois, Carlisle-bay, Barbadoes, Feb. 1.

SIR,

Three days ago, being on the station you ordered me to cruise for the protection of our scattered convoy, I acquaint you, that at noon three sail were descried to windward, evidently in chase of us, which I soon discovered to be an enemy's squadron, consisting of two large

brigs and a schooner: having shortened sail, enabled them to be well up with us at sun-set, when I wore round to give them battle; at six I had the honour of bringing the largest brig to close action at about ten yards distance, but was not so fortunate with the other vessels, who fought very shy on the occasion, on observing we were enabled to fight both sides at once. Thirty minutes of close cannonade with my near opponent completely silenced him, when he hailed that he had struck, and lowered his top-sails, when his companions made sail from us: but I think I can safely aver that they are sufficiently damaged to spoil their cruise. My first lieutenant, Mr. Robert Barrie, on taking possession of the prize, found her to be a remarkably fine French national corvette, called *La Curieuse*, pierced for 20 guns, but only 18 long 9-pounders mounted, 168 men, and commanded by capt. G. Radelet; sent out from Cayenne 28 days ago by Victor Hugues with this squadron, to intercept the outward-bound West-India fleet. With real concern I acquaint you that we had one man killed and seven wounded in the action; but, from the abilities and attention of Mr. G. Roddam, my surgeon, I trust the latter are likely to do well; lieutenant Barrie forms one of the number, but disdained to quit his quarters. Mr. J. Jones, master's mate, and Mr. J. Lyons, midshipman, are included in this list. The killed and wounded in the corvette amounted to near 50, her deck, fore and aft, being covered with the dying and the dead. The French captain survived but a few hours, having lost both his legs; and many of the prisoners were in an equally pitiable state. A melancholy and painful task is now imposed on me, to relate the sad catastrophe

tastrophe attending this capture, which, after being more than an hour in our possession, was found to be rapidly sinking, in consequence of her innumerable shot-holes: every exertion was made to preserve her; but, alas! at eight, she foundered close beside us. I had, some time previous to this event, ordered every body to quit her; but British humanity, while striving to extricate the wounded Frenchmen from destruction, weighed so forcibly with Mr. Archibald Montgomery and 20 brave followers, that they persevered in this meritorious service until the vessel sunk under them. The floating wreck, I rejoice to say, buoyed up many of them from destruction; but, with sorrow I mention, Mr. Frederick Spence and Mr. Auckland, two promising young gentlemen, with five of my gallant crew, unfortunately perished. The delay occasioned by this unhappy event, securing 120 prisoners, knotting the rigging, and repairing sails, detained me until eleven before I could pursue the flying enemy, which, I assure you, was done with all alacrity, but without success, as the night favoured their escape.

I cannot conclude this account of my proceedings without informing you how highly I approve of the conduct of lieut. Robert Barrie, lieut. James Alexander Gordon, Mr. Mac Cleverty the master, and Mr. Montgomery my acting lieutenant. The proceedings of warrant and petty officers gave me every satisfaction; and I have not words to offer sufficiently in the praise of the ship's company for their steady obedience to my orders in not wasting a single shot. I trust it will not be deemed too assuming in recommending my first lieutenant, Mr. Robert Barrie, to the notice of the lords commission-

ers of the admiralty, as an officer highly worthy of advancement.

T. MANBY.

N. B. Allow me to subjoin the statement of the enemy's force; and to mention, that the only capture made by this squadron was the Susan brig, of Hallifax, bound to Surinam, which they burnt.

La Curieuse, of 390 tons, 18 nine-pounders, 168 men, not two years old, with 34 feet beam, and 90 feet keel, commanded by capt. Radelet. La Mutine, of 300 tons, 16 long six-pounders, 156 men, commanded by captain Raybun.—L'Espérance schooner, mounting six four-pounders, 52 men, commanded by capt. Hammond. J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Admiralty-office, 11.

Letter from capt. sir E. Hamilton, of his majesty's ship Trent, off Cawsand Bay, April 7th, 1801, to the right hon. lord A. Beanclerk, captain of his majesty's ship Fortune.

In obedience to your signal, the chase was continued until dark, at which time, being becalmed among the rocks of the isles of Brehat, I anchored; and the next morning (the 3d inst.) observing a large ship with French colours, under the protection of a cutter and lugger privateers, making sail with the flood from the anchorage of Brehat to Plampoul, the boats were immediately dispatched under the command of lieut. Chamberlayne, having under his orders Mr. Scallon, second lieutenant, Mr. Bellamy, third; Mr. Hoskins, master; and Mr. Taite, marine officer, &c. &c. The enemy seemed at first determined to resist, and defend their vessels, and sent many boats from the shore to their assistance, who, with the lugger, took the ship in tow; but, on the very spirited and near approach of the

(B 2)

Trent,

Trent, the lugger and boats cast off the tow, and after maintaining a severe conflict, aided by a continued fire from five batteries, they were at length subdued and chased on the rocks: after which the ship, in the face of open day, was most gallantly boarded by the first lieutenant and marine officer, who, I am sorry to say, has lost his right leg; and the very meritorious and spirited zeal with which all the officers and men were animated on this enterprise reflects on them the highest honour. The ship appears English-built, about 300 tons, with a cargo of corn, and various other articles; but not having made any prisoners, further particulars are unknown. Enclosed I return you a list of killed and wounded; that of the enemy could not be exactly ascertained; two were killed on board the ship, and several were drowned. The state of the prize requiring protection into port, and the wind being easterly, I judged it prudent to put into this place. E. HAMILTON.

List of killed and wounded.

Two seamen killed; one marine officer wounded.

[This Gazette also acquaints us with the following captures: La Poisson Volant French privateer lugger, of 14 carriage-guns and 55 men, by the Stag cutter, lieutenant Irwin;—La Mascarada, French privateer schooner, of 12 guns and 40 men, by the Fortunée, lord A. Beauclerk;—and L'Héros brig, of 14 guns and 73 men, by the Atalanta, capt. Griffiths.]

Admiralty-office, 15.

Capt. Otway, of his majesty's ship the London, arrived in town this morning, with dispatches from admiral sir Hyde Parker, commander in chief of a squadron of his majesty's ships employed on a par-

ticular service, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the London, in Copenhagen Roads, the 6th inst. of which the following are copies:

SIR,

You will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that since my letter of the 23d of March, no opportunity of wind offered for going up the Sound until the 25th, when the wind shifted in a most violent squall from S. W. to N. W. and N. and blew with such violence, and with so great a sea, as to render it impossible for any ship to have weighed her anchor. The wind and sea were even so violent as to oblige many ships to let go a second anchor to prevent them from driving, notwithstanding they were riding with two cables an end; and, by the morning, the wind veered again to the southward of the west. On the 30th of last month, the wind having come to the northward, we passed into the Sound with the fleet, but not before I had assured myself of the hostile intentions of the Danes to oppose our passage, as the papers, marked Nos. I, II, III, and IV, will prove: after this intercourse, there could be no doubt remaining of their determination to resist. After anchoring about five or six miles from the island of Huin, I reconnoitred, with vice-adm. lord Nelson and rear-adm. Graves, the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on two islands called the Crowns; the largest of which was mounted with from 50 to 70 pieces of cannon; these were again commanded by two ships of 70 guns; and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, and two 64 gun ships (without masts), were moored on the flat,

on

on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal. The day after, the wind being southerly, we again examined their position, and came to the resolution of attacking them from the southward. Vice-admiral lord Nelson, having offered his services for conducting the attack, had, some days before we entered the Sound, shifted his flag to the Elephant; and after having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the Middle Ground, his lordship proceeded with the 12 ships of the line named in the margin*, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships, and all the small vessels, and that evening anchored off Draco Point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the southward. It was agreed between us, that the remaining ships with me should weigh at the same moment his lordship did, and menace the Crown batteries, and the four ships of the line that lay at the entrance of the arsenal; as also to cover our disabled ships as they came out of action. I have now the honour to enclose a copy of vice-adm. Nelson's report to me of the action on the 2d inst. His lordship has stated so fully the whole of his proceedings on that day, as only to leave me the opportunity to testify my entire acquiescence and testimony of the bravery and intrepidity with which the action was supported throughout the line. Was it possible for me to add anything to the well-earned renown of lord Nelson, it would be by asserting, that his exertions, great as they have heretofore been, never were carried to a higher pitch of zeal for his country's service. I have only to lament that the sort of attack, confined within an intricate

and narrow passage, excluded the ships particularly under my command from the opportunity of exhibiting their valour; but I can with great truth assert, that the same spirit and zeal animated the whole fleet; and I trust that the contest in which we are engaged will, on some future day, afford them an occasion of showing that the whole were inspired with the same spirit, had the field been sufficiently extensive to have brought it into action. It is with the deepest concern I mention the loss of capts. Mosse and Riou, two very brave and gallant officers, and whose loss, as I am well informed, will be sensibly felt by the families they have left behind them; the former a wife and children, the latter an aged mother. From the known gallantry of sir T. Thompson on former occasions, the naval service will have to regret the loss of the future exertions of that brave officer, whose leg was shot off. For all other particulars, I beg leave to refer their lordships to captain Otway, who was with lord Nelson in the latter part of the action, and able to answer any questions that may be thought necessary to put to him. A return of the killed and wounded you will receive herewith.

H. PARKER.

P. S. The promotions and appointments that have taken place on this occasion will be sent by the next opportunity that offers; but I cannot close this without acquainting their lordships, that capt. Mosse being killed very early in the action, lieut. John Yelland continued it with the greatest spirit and good conduct; I must, therefore, in justice to his merit, beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' favour.

* Elephant, Defiance, Monarch, Bellona, Edgar, Russel, Ganges, Glatton, Isis, Agamemnon, Polyphemus, Ardent.

No. I.

London, in the Catagat, March 27.

"From the hostile transaction of the court of Denmark's sending away his Britannic majesty's chargé d'affaires, the commander in chief of his majesty's fleet is anxious to know what the determination of the Danish court is, and whether the commanding officer of Cronberg castle has received orders to fire upon the British fleet as they pass into the Sound, as he must deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark.

(Signed) HYDE PARKER."

TRANSLATION, No. II.

ANSWER.

"Cronberg, March 28.

"In answer to the admiral's honoured letter, I have to inform him, that no orders are given to fire on the English fleet; an express is gone to Copenhagen, and should any orders be sent, I shall immediately send an officer on board to inform the admiral.

(Signed) STRICKER, Governor."

TRANSLATION, No. III.

"Cronberg-castle, March 28.

"In answer to your excellency's letter, which I did not receive till the following day, at half past eight, I have the honour to inform you, that his majesty the king of Denmark did not send away the chargé d'affaires, but that upon his own demand he obtained a passport. As a soldier, I cannot meddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intentions are not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle which I have the honour to command. In case your excellency should think proper to make

any proposals to his majesty the king of Denmark, I wish to be informed thereof before the fleet approaches nearer the castle. An explicit answer is desired.

(Signed) STRICKER."

ANSWER.

"On board the London, March 29:

One A. M.

"SIR,

"In answer to your excellency's note just now received, the undersigned has only to reply, that, finding the intentions of the court of Denmark to be hostile against his Britannic majesty, he regards the answer as a declaration of war, and therefore, agreeably to his instructions, can no longer refrain from hostilities, however reluctant it may be to his feelings; but at the same time will be ready to attend to any proposals of the court of Denmark for restoring the former amity and friendship which had for so many years subsisted between the two courts. (Signed) H. PARKER.

"His excellency the governor of Cronberg-castle."

Elephant, off Copenhagen, April 3.

SIR,

In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the squadron named in the margin*, which you did me the honour to place under my command, I beg leave to inform you, that having, by the assistance of that able officer captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of captain Bisbane, and the masters of the Amazon and Cruizer, in particular, buoyed the channel of the Outer Deep and the position of the Middle Ground, the

* Elephant, Defiance, Monarch, Bellona, Edgar, Russel, Ganges, Glatton, Isis, Agamemnon, Polyphemus, Ardent, Amazon, Desirée, Blanche, Alcmena; sloops, Dart, Arrow, Cruizer, and Harpy; fire-ships, Zephyr and Otter; bombs, Discovery, Sulphur, Hecla, Explosion, Zebra, Terror, and Volcano,

squadron

squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco the evening of the 1st; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, 11 floating batteries, mounting from 26 24-pounders to 18 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels. These were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting 38 cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the island of Amak. The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape, and the other 17 sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, after a battle of four hours. From the very intricate navigation, the Bellona and Russel unfortunately grounded; but although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the Middle, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame can be attached to captain Fancourt; it was an event to which all the ships were liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown Islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented the heavy loss in the Defiance and Monarch, and which unhappily threw the gallant and good captain Riou (to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops named in the margin*, to assist in the attack of the ships at the harbour's mouth) under a very heavy fire; the consequence has been the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the fri-

gates and sloops. The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast of the Elephant, and threw some shells into the arsenal. Capt. Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to captain Rose, and, I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions. The boats of those ships of the fleet who were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation. The Desirée took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship of the line, and performed the greatest service. The action began at five minutes before ten.—The van, led by capt. George Murray of the Edgar, set a noble example of intrepidity, which was as well followed up by every captain, officer, and man, in the squadron. It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of rear-admiral Graves. To capt. Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the Elephant, I feel under the greatest obligations; his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle. I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The hon. colonel Stewart did me the favour to be on board the Elephant; and himself, with every other officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day. The loss in such a battle has naturally

* Blanche, Alcmena, Dart, Arrow, Zephyr, and Otter.

been very heavy. Among many other brave officers and men who were killed, I have, with sorrow, to place the name of captain Mosse, of the *Monarch*, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and, among the wounded, that of captain sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the *Bellona*.

NELSON and BRONTE.
List of the killed and wounded in the attack on the enemy's line of defence, batteries, &c. April 2.

Edgar, 24 seamen, 2 marines, 3 soldiers of the 49th regiment killed; 79 seamen, 17 marines, 8 soldiers of the 49th regiment wounded. Total 133.—*Monarch*, 35 seamen, 12 marines, 8 soldiers of the 49th regiment killed; 101 seamen, 34 marines, 20 soldiers of the 49th regiment wounded. Total 210.—*Bellona*, 9 seamen, 2 marines killed; 48 seamen, 10 marines, 5 soldiers wounded. Total 74.—*Defiance*, 17 seamen, 3 marines, 2 soldiers killed; 35 seamen, 5 marines, 7 soldiers wounded. Total 69.—*Isis*, 22 seamen, 4 marines, 2 soldiers of the rifle corps killed; 69 seamen, 13 marines, 2 soldiers of the rifle corps wounded. Total 112.—*Amazon*, 10 seamen, 1 marine killed; 16 seamen, 5 marines wounded. Total 32.—*Glatton*, 17 killed, 34 wounded. Total 51.—*Desirée*, 3 wounded.—*Blanche*, 6 seamen, 1 marine killed; 7 seamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 16.—*Polyphemus*, 4 seamen, 1 marine killed; 20 seamen, 4 marines wounded. Total 29.—*Elephant*, 4 seamen, 3 marines, 1 soldier of the rifle corps killed; 8 seamen, 1 marine, 2 soldiers of the rifle corps wounded. Total 19.—*Alcmene*, 5 seamen killed; 12 seamen, 2 marines wounded. Total 19.—*Dart*, 2 killed, 1 wounded. Total 3.—*Ganges*, 5 killed, 1 missing. Total 6.—*Russell*, 5 seamen, 1 marine

wounded. Total 6.—*Ardent*, 29 seamen and marines killed; 64 seamen and marines wounded. Total 93.

Officers killed. Edgar. Edmund Johnson, first lieutenant; lieutenant Benjamin Spencer, marines.—*Defiance*. George Gray, lieutenant; Mathew Cobb, pilot.—*Elephant*. Captain James Bowden, of the *Cornish Miners*, volunteer in the rifle corps; Mr. Henry Yaulden, master's mate.—*Polyphemus*. Mr. James Bell, midshipman.—*Isis*. Mr. Daniel Lamond, master; Mr. Henry Long, lieutenant of marines; Mr. George M'K nlay, Mr. Thomas Ram, midshipmen; Mr. Grant, lieutenant of the rifle corps.—*Ganges*. Mr. Robert Stewart, master.—*Dart*. Mr. Edwin Sandys, lieutenant.—*Glatton*. Mr. Alexander Nicholson, pilot.—*Monarch*. Captain Robert Mosse.—*Amazon*. Captain Edward Riou; hon. Geo. Tucket, midshipman; Mr. Joseph Rose, captain's clerk.—*Ardent*. George Hoare, midshipman.

Officers wounded. Edgar. Josh. Johnson, second lieutenant; Wm. Goldfinch, fifth lieutenant; Mr. Gahagan, Mr. Whimper, Mr. Ridge, Mr. Proctor, Mr. Domet, midshipmen; slightly.—*Defiance*. Mr. Patterson, boatswain; Mr. Gallaway, midshipman; Mr. Niblet, captain's clerk; Mr. Stephenson, pilot.—*Elephant*. Mr. Robert Gill, midshipman of the *St. George*; Mr. Hugh Mitchell, midshipman.—*Alcmene*. Mr. Henry Baker, acting third lieutenant; Mr. Charles Meredith, lieutenant of the marines; Mr. Charles Church, boatswain; Mr. G. A. Spearing, master's mate; Mr. Pratt, pilot.—*Polyphemus*. Mr. Edward Burgh, boatswain.—*Desirée*. Mr. King, lieutenant, slightly.—*Isis*. Mr. Richard Gormack, lieutenant; Mr. Reuben Pain, Mr. Simon

mion Frazer, Mr. Charles Jones; midshipmen.--Ganges Mr. Isaac Davis, pilot, badly.—Glatton. Mr. Tindall, lieutenant; Mr. Robert Thompson, master's mate; Mr. John Williams, midshipman.—Monarch. Mr. William Minchin, lieutenant; Mr. James Marrie, lieutenant of marines; Mr. James Dennis, lieutenant of the 49th regiment; Mr. Henry Swymmer, Mr. W. J. Bowes, Mr. Thomas Harlow, Mr. George Morgan, Mr. Philip Le Vesconte, midshipmen; Mr. William Joy, boatswain.—Bellona. Sir T. B. Thompson, bart. captain, lost his leg; Mr. Thomas Southy, lieutenant; Mr. Thomas Wilks, lieutenant, slightly; captain Alexander Sharp, of the 49th regiment, badly; Mr. James Emmerton, master's mate; Mr. — Anderson, Mr. Edward Daubenny, Mr. William Sitfort, Mr. Fig, midshipmen.—Amazon. Mr. James Harry, Mr. Philip Horn, master's mates.

Killed. Officers 20; seamen, marines, and soldiers, 234; total 254.

—Wounded. Officers 48; seamen, marines, and soldiers, 641; total 689—Total killed and wounded 943.

Admiralty-office, 18. Letter from capt. Woolley, of his majesty's ship *Arethusa*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Spithead, the 13th instant.

SIR,

At half-past nine on the morning of the 12th, on our way round, we fell in with, and captured after six hours chase, the French privateer lugger, *Le Brave*, of Boulogne, of 14 guns and 57 men, on her first cruize, perfectly new.

T. WOOLLEY.

Admiralty-office, 21. Extract of a letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed on a particular service, to E. Nepean, esq.

London, in Copenhagen Roads,
April 9.

SIR,

The hon. lieutenant. col. Stewart having volunteered his services, by being the bearer of these dispatches, I have accepted thereof, on a belief that it will be more expeditious than by sea. I have the pleasure to transmit an armistice concluded between the court of Denmark and myself. I mean, as soon as the disabled ships are refitted, and the worst of the wounded moved into the Holstein Danish ship of the line, which I have commissioned as an hospital-ship, to proceed over the Grounds into the Baltic, to put into execution the remaining part of my instructions. The *Isis* and *Monarch* being found in so bad a state, from the late action, as to render it necessary to send them to England to have their damages repaired, I shall send them home for that purpose with the Holstein hospital-ship, which has the wounded and sick on board.

[This Gazette also contains an account of the capture of *L'Antichrist* French lugger privateer, of 14 guns, nine and two pounders, with 60 men, by the *Favourite*, captain Joseph Westbeach.]

Admiralty-office, 24. Letter from capt. Dixon, of his majesty's ship *Généreux*, to the right hon. lord Keith, K. B.

Généreux, Port Mahon, March 10.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to enclose a letter from capt. Barlow, of his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, of 36 guns, for your lordship's information. This very gallant and well-fought action, as related in capt. Barlow's letter, and much more strongly marked in the hull of the French ship, warrants me in saying, that
more

more skill or effective gunnery were never displayed in any combat than in the present instance.

Phæbe, at sea, 20 leagues off Gibraltar, Feb. 20.

My Lord,

Yesterday, about four o'clock in the afternoon, his majesty's ship under my command being about two leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar, I discovered one of the enemy's ships under Ceuta, steering with a crowd of sail to the eastward. I had the good fortune to bring her to a close action about half past seven the same evening, which continued within pistol shot with unremitting fury about two hours, the enemy resolutely opposing the animated and skilful exertions of my brave officers and men, until his ship was almost a wreck, five feet water in her hold, her guns dismounted, and literally encumbered with dead, the number of which amounted to 200, and of wounded to 143. She proves to be the French frigate *L'Africaine*, of 44 guns, viz. 26 18-pounders on her main-deck, and 18 9-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle; a very fine ship, about three years old, under the orders of the chief of division Saunier, whose broad pendant was flying, and who (with many principal officers both of the troops and of the marine) was slain in the action, and commanded by captain Majendie, who is amongst the wounded. At the commencement of the action she had 715 men, viz. 400 troops and artificers of various descriptions, under the command of general Defourneux, and a crew of 315 officers and seamen; also six brass field-pieces, several thousand stand of arms, ammunition, and implements of agriculture. She sailed from Rochefort on the 13th instant in company with a frigate,

from which she parted on the following day in a gale of wind. So tremendous and decisive has been the effect of the fire of the *Phæbe* in this contest, that I must regret the inability of my pen to do justice to the merits of those who directed it. It has been my duty, on a former occasion, to report to their lordships the meritorious conduct of my first lieut. Holland, and the lieuts. Bedford and Heywood. Lieut. Weaver, of the marines; Mr. Griffiths, the master; the warrant and petty officers, and the whole of the ship's company are entitled to all the commendation in the power of their commander to bestow. My satisfaction in relating comparatively the small loss we have sustained is more easily imagined than described, as it amounts only to one seaman killed, two officers and ten seamen wounded; our damages are chiefly in masts, yards, sails, and rigging, the greatest part of which are rendered unserviceable. I enclose a copy of the French commander's report of the number killed and wounded on board *L'Africaine*.

I am, &c.

ROBERT BARLOW.

List of killed and wounded on board the *Phæbe*.

Samuel Hayes, seaman, killed; two officers and 10 seamen wounded. Names of officers wounded, but since recovered.

Lieut. Holland, and Mr. Griffiths, master.

P. S. I have reason to believe Egypt to have been the destination of the force under the orders of general Defourneux, and commodore Saunier.

Total killed on board *L'Africaine* 200.—Wounded 143.

[This Gazette likewise contains letters, giving an account of the capture

ture of L'Audacieux French lugger, of 14 guns and 50 men, by the Cambrian, the hon. capt. Legge, who likewise re-captured the Nancy letter of marque, of London; also, of the taking of Le Petit Pirate French privateer, of four guns and 24 men, by the Greyhound revenue cutter, of Weymouth.]

Downing-street, 28. By dispatches received from lord Elgin, dated Constantinople, March 31, it appears that his lordship had received letters from lord Keith, stating that the army under sir Ralph Abercromby effected a landing on the 8th instant, on the peninsula of Aboukir, under a very heavy fire from cannons, mortars, and musketry, the enemy having withdrawn the whole garrison from Alexandria, and many detachments from that vicinity, to oppose them; that after making the necessary preparations on the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the army advanced on the 12th to within five miles of Alexandria; they there took a position with their right towards the sea, and their left supported by the lake Maadie, where sir Sidney Smith, who was posted there with his command of boats, was keeping up a communication with the natives, and supplying the army with fresh provisions and water; that on the 13th, at seven in the morning, the enemy made an attack, and were repulsed with loss about eleven; in the mean time the marines had been disembarked, and attacked by land the castle of Aboukir, the only post in that peninsula occupied by the enemy; that on the 14th, at sunset, when the vessel which brought this intelligence was under weigh, the troops on shore and the gun vessels were throwing shot and shells into Aboukir, and at the same moment a firing was heard towards Alexandria, which ap-

peared, from the Foudroyant, to be a general attack. The grand vizir had marched forward from Jaffa, Feb. 25, having, according to major Holloway's letters to lord Elgin, received a considerable reinforcement.

[Here follows a list of 112 ships and vessels taken, re-taken, and detained in the Mediterranean by the squadron under lord Keith; and also letters from capt. I. H. Talbot, and G. Morris, of the Sheerness and Lady Charlotte hired armed cutters, stating the capture of Le Prefect de la Manche French lugger, of 16 guns and 49 men; and the recapture of five sail of British merchantmen.]

MAY.

Admiralty-office, 2. [This Gazette contains an account of the capture of the Nostra Signora del Carmen Spanish schooner privateer, by the Amethyst, capt. Cooke; and also of four Spanish merchantmen, off Ferrol, by the Magara, capt. Newhouse, all of which were destroyed; likewise the capture of L'Achille French privateer, of six guns and 44 men, by the Pigmy, capt. Shephard.]

Downing-street, 3. The following letter from lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. to the earl of Elgin, together with dispatches from his lordship to his royal highness the duke of York and lord Hawkesbury, and a letter from col. Anstruther to col. Brownrigg, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received.

Letter from sir Ralph Abercromby to the earl of Elgin, dated Camp before Alexandria, March 16.

My Lord,

On the 1st instant, the fleet arrived in sight of Alexandria; on the 2d it anchored in Aboukir bay; the weather did not permit any debarkation before the 8th; on that day

day it was happily effected under the most trying circumstances. The boats had near a mile to row, and were for some time under the fire of 15 pieces of artillery, and the musketry of 2,500 men; still the intrepidity of the troops overcame every difficulty. We took eight pieces of cannon. On the 9th the remainder of the army was landed. On the 12th we marched forward to within two leagues of Alexandria, and one league of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. On the 13th we moved forward to attack the enemy, and to turn their left. They did not, however, wait, but came down and attacked us. The action was warm, but the enemy were every where forced under the walls of Alexandria. Our loss is considerable. Although col. Erskine is wounded, he is doing well. He has lost his leg. His regiment gained great credit, but suffered severely. No officer of rank is killed or dangerously wounded. Excuse this scrawl written on my knee.

I am, &c. R ABERCROMBY.
Extract of a letter from the earl of Elgin to his royal highness the duke of York, dated Constantinople, April 4.

As col. Anstruther's letter to me, which accompanied that to colonel Brownrigg, was written March 16, I take the liberty of adding to your royal highness, that Menou, having with 2,000 cavalry joined the corps at Alexandria, attacked sir Ralph Abercromby on the 21st. The assault was vigorous; but the enemy were entirely repulsed with great loss, not, however, before sir Ralph Abercromby, gen. Moore, gen. Hope, and sir Sydney Smith, had been wounded slightly, and colonel Abercromby had lost a limb. Col.

Paget appears to have had a slight wound. Lord Keith's last letter says, all the wounded are surprisingly well, considering they are all by cannon or grape shot. I may add, that my janissary, who left Rhodes on the 27th, mentions that some of the troops who came there first, or had been left sick, were already so well as to have sailed from thence to join. Nothing could have been more brilliant than our operations appear to have been.

Extract of a letter from col. Anstruther to colonel Brownrigg, dated Camp near Alexandria, March 16.

The fleet sailed from Marmarice February 22, and anchored in Aboukir bay March 2. From that day to the 7th, the weather was so boisterous, and the swell so great, that it was impracticable to disembark. This circumstance gave the enemy full leisure to collect troops and artillery, and to make every necessary preparation to oppose us. The whole infantry of the garrison of Alexandria, 300 cavalry, and 14 or 15 pieces of cannon, were placed on a space of little more than two miles, from near the castle of Aboukir to the narrow isthmus which forms the boundary of the lake. Such was the situation in which we found things on the morning of the 8th, when the descent was made. Nothing, I believe, ever exceeded the boldness and perseverance with which the boats continued to approach the shore, under a shower of bullets, shells, and grape. Every discharge was answered by a shout from the seamen, and all seemed totally insensible of danger. The reserve of the right formed as if on the parade, and in a moment carried a height nearly equal to, and very like, that of Camperdown. The left were charged by the cavalry the moment they got out of the boats:

boats: however, they drove every thing before them, and, in the course of three quarters of an hour, the enemy was completely beaten, with the loss of half his artillery. After a halt of two or three hours, in order to disembark ammunition, and part of gen. Coote's brigade, which had not been landed, the army advanced about four miles, where we remained till the 12th; the landing of provisions and stores being much impeded by the boisterous weather. On the 12th we again marched about five miles, constantly skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy, who had received a reinforcement of two half brigades of infantry and one regiment of cavalry from Cairo. We halted for the night about three miles from the enemy's position, which seemed and proved very advantageous. Next morning the army moved to attack the right of it, marching by lines from the left; the reserve covering the movement, and moving parallel with the first fire. As the columns advanced into the plain, the enemy attacked the heads of both with all his cavalry, supported by a considerable body of infantry, and 10 or 12 pieces of cannon. This attack was repulsed by the advanced guard, the 90th and 92d, both of which behaved most nobly. The first line then formed two lines to the front of march, the flanks of which were protected by the reserve; and continued to advance in that manner, whilst the second line, continuing still in column (except the first brigade of it), turned the enemy's right, and forced him to quit his position. The army followed in the order above stated; and sir Ralph had given orders for renewing the attack on the heights close to the town, to which the enemy retreated: but as, on examining them with at-

tention, it was thought that they were under the guns of the forts, which could not probably be kept if carried, the army took up in the evening the ground which the enemy had quitted.. The force the enemy opposed to us appeared about 5,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and a large proportion of artillery; the ground being particularly favourable to the two last. The movements, although under a constant cannonade, were regular and accurate. The general, in this last action, had his horse shot under him. The position we occupy is good; it cuts off the communication between Alexandria and the Nile, excepting through the desert. Our supplies are conveyed, by means of the lake, with ease and security.

Admiralty-office, 6. [This Gazette announces the capture of the following French privateers: by the *Immortalité*, captain Hotham, *La Laure*, of 14 guns and 78 men; by the *Fortuné*, lord A. Beauclerk (in company with the *Trent* frigate and *Dolphin* cutter), *Le Renard*, pierced for 10 guns; by the *Jason*, lieut. Losack, *La Dorade*, of 14 brass six-pounders and 53 men.]

Downing-street, 9. The following dispatch was this day received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from general sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B. commander in chief of his majesty's troops serving in the Mediterranean.

Camp before Alexandria, March 16.

SIR,

Although it was not originally my intention to have commenced the operations of the British army in Egypt on the side of Alexandria, yet circumstances arose which induced me to change my opinion: We were much longer delayed on the coast of Asia Minor than we had

at

at first any reason to apprehend; and we were ultimately obliged to sail from Marmarice in a very imperfect state of preparation. I am fully sensible of the exertions of his majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, as well as of the quarter-master-general, and the other officers who were sent forward to provide for the necessities of the army. Our delays originated from other causes. For a considerable time previous to our sailing, the weather was extremely boisterous, and the wind contrary. The moment that it became practicable to sail with so large a fleet, lord Keith put to sea; we left Marmarice on the 22d of February, and came in sight of Alexandria on the 1st of March. On the 2d, the fleet anchored in Aboukir bay. Until the 7th the sea ran high, and no disembarkation could be effected; on that day every arrangement was completed; and on the 8th, the troops forming the first division, consisting of the reserve under the command of major-gen. Moore, the brigade of guards under the hon. major-general Ludlow, and part of the first brigade under the command of major-general Coote, got into the boats early in the morning; they had, in general, from five to six miles to row, and did not arrive at the point of landing till 10 o'clock. The front of disembarkation was narrow, and a hill which commanded the whole seemed almost inaccessible. The enemy were fully aware of our intention, were in force, and had every advantage on their side. The troops, however, notwithstanding their being exposed to a very severe cannonade, and under the fire of grape-shot, made good their landing, ascended the hill with an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled, and forced the enemy to retire, leaving behind him seven pieces of

artillery and a number of horses. The troops that ascended the hill were the 23d regiment, and the four flank companies of the 40th, under the command of colonel Spencer, whose coolness and good conduct major-general Moore has mentioned to me in the highest terms of approbation. It is impossible to pass over the good order in which the 28th and 42d regiments landed, under the command of brigadier-gen. Oakes, who was attached to the reserve under major-general Moore; and the troops in general lost not a moment in remedying any little disorder which became unavoidable in a landing under such circumstances. The disembarkation of the army continued on that and the following day. The troops which landed on the 8th advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th the whole army moved forward, and came within sight of the enemy, who was formed on an advantageous ridge, with his right to the canal of Alexandria, and his left towards the sea. It was determined to attack them on the morning of the 13th, and, in consequence, the army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention to turn their right flank. The troops had not been long in motion before the enemy descended from the heights on which they were formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines, which were commanded by major-gen. Cradock and major-gen. the earl of Cavan. The 90th regiment formed the advanced guard of the front line, and the 92d that of the second; both battalions suffered considerably, and behaved in such a manner as to merit the praise both of courage and discipline. Major-general Cradock immediately formed his brigade to meet the attack made by the enemy; and the troops changed their position

tion with a quickness and precision which did them the greatest honour. The remainder of the army followed so good an example, and were immediately in a situation not only to face, but to repel, the enemy. The reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which was on the right, on the change of the position of the army, moved on in column, and covered the right flank. The army continued to advance, pushing the enemy with the greatest vigour, and ultimately forcing them to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights which form the principal defence of Alexandria. It was intended to have attacked them in this their last position; for which purpose the reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which had remained in column during the whole of the day, was brought forward; and the second line, under the command of major-general Hutchinson, marched to the left, across a part of the lake Mariotis, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks; but on reconnoitring their position, and not being prepared to occupy it after it should be carried, prudence required that the troops who had behaved so bravely, and who were still willing to attempt any thing, however arduous, should not be exposed to a certain loss, when the extent of the advantage could not be ascertained. They were therefore withdrawn, and now occupy a position with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and the lake Mareotis, about a league from the town of Alexandria. I have the greatest satisfaction in saying, that the conduct of the British and foreign troops under my command is deserving of the highest praise; their courage and their discipline have been equally conspicuous.

To all the general officers I am indebted for their zeal and intelligence. From the hon. brigadier general Hope, adjutant general, and lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, quarter-master general, I have received every testimony of zeal, and the most able assistance in the operations of the army; and to the other officers of the general staff I feel obligations. On the 8th, the arrangements made by lord Keith were such as to enable us to land at once a body of 6,000 men. The hon. captain Cochrane, and those other captains and officers of the royal navy who were entrusted with the disembarkation, not only of the troops, but of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, have exerted themselves in such a manner as to claim the warmest acknowledgements of the whole army. Sir Sidney Smith, and the other captains and officers of the navy under his command who landed with the army, have been indefatigable in their exertions in forwarding the service on which they are employed. The enemy have left a small garrison in Aboukir castle: it has been necessary to bring up a few pieces of heavy artillery, and there is reason to believe that it will speedily surrender. Majors Mac Karras and Fletcher, of the royal engineers, who went down in the Penelope frigate to survey the coast of Egypt, a short time before we sailed from Marmarice, were unfortunately surprised in a small boat in Aboukir bay; the former was killed, and the latter taken prisoner. Our communication with the fleet is at present kept up by means of the lake of Aboukir. We have been fortunate enough to find water sufficient for the supply of the army, and we begin to derive some supplies from the country. I have the honour to
enclose

enclose herewith returns of the killed and wounded in the actions of the 8th and 13th instant, together with a return of the artillery taken from the enemy on those days.

R. ABERCROMBY.

P. S. I have had no means of ascertaining the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable. Total of killed, wounded, and missing, of the army under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. &c. Aboukir, March 8.

Four officers, 4 sergeants, 94 rank and file killed; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, 450 rank and file wounded; 1 officer, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file missing.

Officers killed.—Ensign Warren, of the Coldstream guards; major Ogle, of the 58th regiment; hon. ensign Mead, of the 40th flank company; ensign England, of the 1st battalion 54th regiment.

Officers wounded.—Guards, captains Plunkett, Frederick, Beadon, Myers, and surgeon Rose.—23d regiment, captains Lloyd and Pearson.—42d, lieut. col. James Stewart: capt. M'Quarrie; lieuts. Alexander Campbell, Dick, Fred. Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, and ensign Wilson.—58th, capt. Best and ensign Rolt.—Corsican Rangers, captain Panattini.—2d battalion Royals, capt. Alexander M'Donald; lieutenants James Graham, Thos. Fraser, and Thos. Lister.—1st battalion of the 54th, capt. Shipley.—2d battalion of ditto lieut. George O'Hallaren.

N. B. Lier t. Guttera, 1 sergeant, and 12 rank and file of the Corsican Rangers, taken prisoners, are returned in the column of missing.

(Signed) JOHN HOPE,
Adjutant-general.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the army under the command of general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. near Alexandria, March 13.

Six officers, 6 sergeants, 1 drummer, 143 rank and file, 21 horses killed; 66 officers, 1 quarter-master, 61 sergeants, 7 drummers, 946 rank and file, 5 horses wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

Officers killed.—Coldstream guards, ensign Jenkinson.—13th regiment, captain Chester.—18th, captain Jones; brigade-major Foster.—28th, captain Godley; volunteer Laut.—30th, ensign T. Rodgers.—50th, lieut. Stewart.

Officers wounded.—26th light dragoons, lieutenant Woodgate.—Coldstream guards, captain Beadon.—1st battalion of the 54th regiment, ensign T. C. Kirby.—2d battalion of the 54th, capt. Gibson, Cairns, Roberts; lieuts. B. Stone, G. Mills; ensign J. Kelly.—92d regiment, lieut.-col. Erskine; capt. Ramsay, Macdonald; lieuts. Macleod, Doule, M'Donald, F. Campbell, Clarke, R. Macdonald, Cameron; ensign Wilkie.—8th, Major Duke; capt. M'Murdo, Fortie; lieuts. Church, O'Brien, Eason.—13th, captain Browne; lieuts. Dolphin, Serle, Copland, Handcock, Rich; ensigns Hewson, Andrews, O'Maley.—90th, colonel Hill; lieutenant-col. Vigoreux; captain Eden; lieuts. Tisdell, Cartwright, Wright.—79th, lieutenant-col. Macdonald; lieuts. Sutherland, Stuart; volunteer Alexander Cameron.—30th, capt. John Douglas; lieut. Duncan, of the 21st regiment.—44th, col. Tilson; lieut. Brown; ensign Berwick.—De Roille's regiment, lieutenant-col. baron Durier; major Sonnenburg; lieutenant Bachenau.—Dillon's regiment, capt. Renaud; lieut. Montureux.

tureux; ensign Canillac.—23th, captain Bevan.—12d, lieutenant-col. Dixon; captain A. Campbell; licut. S. Fraser.—Corsicans, licut. Guslami.—Royal artillery, captain T. Boger; licut. Sturgeon; quartermaster commissary Lanc.—Lieut. O'Brien, of the 8th, since dead of his wounds.

(Signed)

JOHN HOPE,
Adjutant-general.

March 18. Lieutenant-colonel Bryce, of the Coldstream guards, wounded and taken prisoner on the evening of the 14th inst. and since dead of his wounds.

JOHN HOPE, adjutant-general.
Letter from admiral lord Keith, K.B. &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated on board the Foudroyant, in the bay of Aboukir, March 10.

SIR,

My dispatches of the 22d ult. by the Speedwell, will have acquainted you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the armament on that day quitted the harbour of Marmarice for this place, which the whole fleet reached on the second instant; the Turkish gun-boats and kaicks excepted, all of which bore up by night for Macri, Cyprus, and other ports, during the prevalence of strong westerly gales that we encountered on the passage. Too much of the day of our arrival here had elapsed, before all the ships could get to anchorage, to admit of the landing being effected before the approach of night; and an unfortunate succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy swell, rendered it impossible to disembark before the 8th. The necessary preparations were made on the preceding evening. The boats began to receive the troops at two o'clock in the morning, and at three the signal was made for their proceeding 1801.

to rendezvous near the Mondovi, anchored about a gun-shot from the shore, where it had been determined that they were to be assembled and properly arranged; but such was the extent of the anchorage occupied by so large a fleet, and so great the distance of many of them from any one given point, that it was not till nine the signal could be made for the boats to advance towards the shore. The whole line immediately began to move with great celerity towards the beach, between the castle of Aboukir and the entrance of the Sed, under the direction of the hon. captain Cochrane, of his majesty's ship the Ajax, assisted by captains Stevenson, Scott, Larmour, Apthorpe, and Morrison, of the Europa, Stately, Diadem, Druid, and Thisbe, and the respective agents of transports, the right flank being protected by the Cruelle cutter, and the Dangereuse and Janissary gun-vessels, and the left by the Entrepreneante cutter, Malta schooner, and Negresse gun-vessel, with two launches of the fleet on each, armed for the purpose of supplying the places of the Turkish gun-vessels, of whose service I had been deprived. Capt. sir Sidney Smith, of the Tigre, with the captains Ribouleau, Guion, Saville, Burn, and Hillyar, of the Astrea, Eurys, Experiment, Blonde, and Nigre, appointed with a detachment of seamen to co-operate with the army, had the charge of the launches, with the field-artillery accompanying the troops. The Tartarus and Fury were placed in proper situations for throwing shot and shells with advantage; and the Petterell, Cameleon, and Minorca, were moored as near as possible, with their broadsides to the shore. The enemy had not failed to avail himself of the unavoidable delays

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delays to which we had been exposed, for strengthening the naturally difficult coast to which we were to approach. The whole garrison of Alexandria, said to amount to near 3000 men, reinforced with many small detachments that had been observed to advance from the Rosetta branch, was appointed for its defence. Field-pieces were placed on the most commanding heights, and in the intervals of the numerous sand-hills which cover the shore, all of which were lined with musketry; the beach on either wing being flanked with cannon, and parties of cavalry held in readiness to advance. The fire of the enemy was successively opened from their mortars and field-pieces, as the boats got within their reach; and as they approached to the shore, the excessive discharge of grape-shot and of musketry from behind the sand-hills seemed to threaten them with destruction; while the castle of Aboukir, on the right flank, maintained a constant and harassing discharge of large shot and shells. But the ardour of our officers and men was not to be damped. No moment of hesitation intervened. The beach was arrived at, a footing obtained, the troops advanced, and the enemy forced to relinquish all the advantageous positions which they had held. The boats returned without delay for the second division; and before the evening, the whole army, with few exceptions, was landed, with such articles of provisions and stores as required the most immediate attention. I refer to the general's report for the loss sustained by the army in this dangerous and difficult service. I enclose the casualties of the squadron and transports, and feel much satisfaction in conveying to their lordships my full testimony to the merits of all the

officers and men employed under my orders on this arduous occasion.

KEITH.

Letter from admiral lord Keith, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to E. Nepean, esq. Aboukir bay, March 16.

SIR,

The army had a sharp conflict with the enemy on the 13th, as they advanced towards Alexandria, for the particulars of which I refer to the general's details. I enclose, for their lordships' information, an account of the loss suffered on that occasion by the detachment of seamen under the direction of captain sir Sidney Smith, and by the battalion of marines under the command of lieutenant-col. Smith, both co-operating with the army on shore. I am, &c. KEITH.

Return of seamen, employed on shore under the orders of capt. sir W. S. Smith, killed and wounded in the action of March 13.

Five seamen killed; one officer (Mr. Wright, midshipman of the Northumberland), nineteen seamen wounded.

Return of killed and wounded in the battalion of marines, commanded by lieutenant-col. Smith, serving with the army under the orders of general sir Ralph Abercromby, in the action of March 13.

Two officers, 22 rank and file killed; 4 officers, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, 27 rank and file wounded. Total 59.

Names of officers killed and wounded.

P. Hussey, first lieutenant (rank in battalion captain), J. Linzee Shea, ditto, killed.—W. Minto, captain (rank in battalion major), R. Turkington, captain, J. Parry, first lieutenant, G. Peebles, second lieutenant, wounded.

List

List of officers and seamen belonging to the ships of war and transports killed, wounded, and missing, in disembarking the army in Aboukir bay, March 8.

Total, 22 seamen killed; 7 officers, 65 seamen wounded; 3 seamen missing.

Names of officers wounded.

Stately, lieut. J. Bray.—Europa, G. Thomas.—Dolphin, lieut. F. Collins.—Swiftsure, Mr. J. Finchley, midshipman.—Charon, R. Ogleby, master's mate.—Iphigenia, J. Donellan, midshipman.—Dictator, E. Robinson, midshipman, since dead.

KERR.

Extract of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated March 18.

Aboukir castle has capitulated. In the afternoon the capitan bey arrived, with two ships of the line, four or five frigates and corvettes, and some small vessels of the country.

[This Gazette also contains accounts of the following captures: the Vives Spanish privateer, of 10 nine-pounders and 83 men, by La Bonne Citoyenne, captain Jackson; Le Général Brune French ship corvette, of 14 six-pounders and 108 men, having gen. Pelardy and suite on board, by the Amethyst, captain Cooke. La Désirée, of eight men and 70 tons, and Jupiter, of 16 guns and 60 men; also the re-capture of the Bolton of 20 guns and 180 men, and the Portuguese ship Cæsar; all by the Leda, captain Hope. Le Huron French privateer, of 14 guns and 35 men, by the Earl Spencer privateer, Mr. J. Stewart. La Furie French privateer, of 14 guns and 64 men (in sight of part of the Portuguese Brazil convoy, that had been dispersed in a gale, and were totally unprotected, and for whom La Furie was cruising), by the Endymion, captain Durham.]

Downing-street, 11. The following dispatches were last night received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, from lieutenant-gen. Trigge, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the leeward and windward Caribbee islands.

Leviathan, at sea, March 22.

SIR,

Having already detailed, in my dispatches of the 1st, 14th, and 15th instant, (Nos. 7, 8, 9,) the various arrangements that had been made to enable me to carry into effect his majesty's commands, communicated in your letters of the 14th and 31st of January, I have now the honour to acquaint you, that having been joined, on the 16th, at St. John's, Antigua, the appointed rendezvous, by the 8th West-India regiment, from English Harbour, we sailed the same evening with the force there collected, consisting of a detachment of the royal artillery, the 3d and 11th regiments of foot, and the 8th West-India regiment; but, owing to the calms and light winds that prevailed, we made so little progress as not to arrive at St. Bartholomew's until the morning of the 20th, although the passage is generally made in the course of a few hours. Rear-admiral Duckworth conceiving it might be useful to order the Andromeda from Antigua, with a view to prevent any vessels communicating with the island of St. Bartholomew, captain Bradby was accordingly dispatched on that service; of which opportunity I availed myself to send lieut.-col. Shipley, the commanding engineer, for the purpose of making observations, and to discover where a landing might be made with the least risk to the troops. The reports of lieutenant-colonel Shipley and capt. Bradby were very correct; and, had occasion required us to have acted on their information, would, no

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doubt,

doubt, have proved of very essential consequence in facilitating the reduction of this island. A disposition was made for landing on the morning of the 19th; but being becalmed the whole of that day in sight of the island, and thereby losing the advantage that would have been derived from a sudden and unexpected attack, together with the information we had received, by a vessel lately from St. Bartholomew, that the governor was unprepared, and indeed possessed no means of defence, we determined at once to send in a summons; which was accordingly done on the morning of the 20th, and, I am happy to acquaint you, was followed by the immediate surrender of the island. I am, &c.

THO. TRIGGE.

[Here follow copies of the summons and capitulation; and also a return of ordnance, &c. captured in the island of St. Bartholomew.]

Leviathan, at sea, March 21.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that the island of St. Martin surrendered to the British forces on the 24th instant. It being considered of much consequence that the least delay possible should take place after the surrender of St. Bartholomew, every exertion was made to complete the arrangements necessary to enable us to leave that island, which were finally concluded on the 22d. At the moment when we were about to sail, the *Proselyte*, from England, with nine transports under convoy, hove in sight; on which we immediately weighed, and joined them about 10 o'clock that night, when we found that one transport was missing, with 200 men of the 64th regiment on board. On the following day, at noon, we were also joined by the *Coromandel*, with the 2d West-India regi-

ment. The ships of war and the transports, during the night of the 23d, drew as near to the island of St. Martin as appeared consistent with safety, and at day-light in the following morning stood into Little Cole bay. The troops having been divided into two brigades, a disposition was made for landing. The first brigade, under the command of brigadier-general Fuller, was composed of the first battalion of the royals, the 11th regiment, and the 2d West-India regiment, and was destined to make an attack on Fort Chesterfield, near the town of Marigot, situated on the French quarter of the island. The second brigade, commanded by brigadier-gen. Maitland, consisted of six companies of the 3d regiment, the 64th, and four companies of the 8th West-India regiment; and was intended for the attack of Fort Amsterdam and the town of Phillipsburgh in the Dutch quarter, a proportion of field-artillery being attached to each brigade. The bay fixed on for the troops to land in being in the Dutch quarter, and contiguous to Fort Amsterdam the second brigade was in consequence landed first, which was effected without opposition. During this operation, the transport arrived with the part of the 64th regiment which had been missing, and, being ordered to run close in with the shore, the men were landed in time to join the regiment. Brigadier-general Maitland, having gained the heights towards Fort Amsterdam, was soon opposed by detached parties of the enemy. The 8th West-India regiment, being principally engaged on those occasions, was always successful. It appeared that almost the whole force of the enemy had been drawn to the Dutch quarter, whereas it was expected that the principal resistance would have been made at Fort Chesterfield.

field. The enemy, rather than wait an attack from our troops, which they were led to expect by our possessing the heights at no great distance from the fort and town, determined to attack, with a considerable part of their force, one of the positions which we occupied, and brought out two field-pieces, with about 300 men, for the purpose. The body of our troops on which this attack was made consisted of four companies of the 64th regiment, under the immediate command of lieutenant-col. Pakenham, and two companies of the 8th West-India regiment, who evinced on this occasion the greatest courage and steadiness, repulsed and pursued the enemy, and took possession of the two field-pieces. The loss of the enemy, which they themselves state to be much more considerable, was certainly not less than between 50 and 60 killed and wounded; which must appear a great number when compared with the few men we had wounded in this affair. That the 64th, one of the finest regiments I ever saw, commanded as it was, should have behaved in a distinguished manner, is not surprising; but I have peculiar satisfaction in being enabled to add, that the 8th West-India regiment, formed within the last three years, and composed almost entirely of new negroes, who never had before seen an enemy, engaged with a degree of gallantry, and behaved in a manner, that would do honour to any troops. After the attack now mentioned, the enemy made no further attempt; but between four and five o'clock in the afternoon a communication was opened, and the capitulation finally concluded by twelve o'clock that night. The first brigade, when landed, proceeded to the French quarter without opposition, and took posses-

sion of Lee's Hill, which commands Fort Chesterfield, and had prepared to commence an attack, which was ordered to be made on that post at day-break on the 25th. The crews of some privateers, who formed a considerable part of the enemy's force, finding the attack on our position had failed, returned to their ships, and put to sea. The regular troops, to the number of at least 320, had laid down their arms before my departure; and it is probable there were still more who had not then surrendered. The officers of the navy and the seamen went through the laborious task of disembarking the troops, and dragging the guns up steep and rugged hills, with a spirit and cheerfulness highly honourable to themselves, and gratifying to those who witnessed their zeal and exertions. Were I merely to say, that rear-admiral Duckworth gave every possible assistance, I might be understood only to mean that he did his duty; an expression totally inadequate to convey what I feel, as, exclusive of all that can be comprehended under the most extensive meaning of the word duty, his many acts of kindness must be remembered by me with gratitude, and by every officer and soldier serving on this expedition. I have also much pleasure in bearing testimony to the zeal manifested by the whole of the troops, whose conduct was so highly creditable, as to entitle them to my warmest praise. It likewise affords me particular satisfaction to have an opportunity of expressing, through this channel, my acknowledgments to brigadiers-gen. Fuller and Maitland, for the manner in which they conducted the services entrusted to them; and to lieutenant-col. Gledstanes, the adjutant-general, lieutenant-col. Laye, commanding

manding the royal artillery, and lieutenant-colonel Shipley; the commanding engineer, for the unremitting exertions which they used in their respective situations, as well as to the officers commanding the several corps, for the attention and alacrity so eminently conspicuous in the discharge of their duty.

(Signed) THO. TRIGGE.

[Here follow the summons and articles of capitulation; and also a return of ordnance, &c. captured in the island of St. Martin.]

St. Martin, March 24.

Return of wounded.—64th regiment, six rank and file.

(Signed) ALBERT GLEDSTANES,
Lieut.-col. and adj.-gen.

Head quarters, St. Thomas,

SIR, *March 29.*

Having completed such arrangements as appeared necessary for the security of St. Martin's, we were enabled to leave that island on the afternoon of the 26th, and arrived here yesterday. The ships of war and transports having anchored at noon, and the troops being immediately disposed in the order of landing, the summons was sent in without farther delay; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, together with their dependencies, were surrendered on capitulation to his majesty's troops, and taken possession of in the afternoon.

(Signed) THO. TRIGGE,
Lieut.-gen.

Right hon. H. Dundas.

Head quarters, St. Croix,

SIR, *April 1.*

I have the honour to acquaint you, that we sailed from St. Thomas's on the evening of the 13th ult. and arrived off this island the following day. Having issued orders to the troops preparatory to their landing, and made the arrange-

ments necessary for that purpose, it was judged inexpedient to take any farther steps until the summons had been sent in, which was immediately done; and I have the honour to acquaint you, that the island of St. Croix was surrendered to his majesty in the course of the afternoon; but it being then too late in the day to take possession, it was deferred until this morning, when the British troops were landed, and marched into the different forts and towns of Christianstadt and Frederickstadt.

THO. TRIGGE,
Lieut-gen.

Right hon. H. Dundas.

P. S. It must be satisfactory to you to know, that the present crop of sugar in this island will amount to 36,000 hogsheads, containing half a ton each.

Admiralty-office, 11. Capt. Ekins, late of the *Amphitrite*, arrived last night with the following dispatches from rear-admiral Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward islands, to E. Nepean, esq.

Leviathan, at sea, March 27.

SIR,

Having consulted with lieut.-gen. Trigge, on the subject of the orders of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, we determined not to wait for the expected reinforcements, but collect the troops that the general thought might be employed with dispatch; and we sailed on the 16th, with about 1500 troops, for the purpose of attacking the various islands specified in our orders, the general and myself considering it most judicious to commence with the weathermost one, St. Bartholomew, though by calms and very variable winds we were prevented from getting to Grand Saline bay (our intended place of landing) till the

the morning of the 20th, when, having prepared every thing for that purpose, and placed the Andromeda, L'Unité, and Drake brig, to cover it, the general and myself deemed it expedient to prevent delay, by sending brigadier-general King, and captain Fuller of the Leviathan, with a summons, which, after some little hesitation, was accepted, and the capitulation I transmitted entered into. I then detached the Andromeda, with the Alexandria tender, to assist in watching St. Thomas's, when every exertion was used to land a garrison, and form such temporary arrangements as the urgency of the service would admit; all of which were effected by the morning of the 22d. We found here two Swedish ships, nearly laden with the produce of the country, a Danish ship in ballast, besides a variety of small craft, Swedish, and three small French vessels; and I left capt. Thomas Harvey in L'Unité, to co-operate with the commandant of that island, and at ten o'clock A. M. were in the act of weighing, when 10 sail were seen from the mast-head; I therefore ordered the Drake brig and L'Eclair schooner to reconnoitre, keeping the wind, myself concluding that they were our troops from England, which the general and myself had sent orders to Barbadoes to follow us, after landing their sick, with women and children: this, from light airs, was not ascertained till 10 o'clock at night, when they proved as conjectured, and the Proselyte joined in the afternoon of the 24th. Upon this accumulation of force, the general and myself, after some deliberation, judged it would be highly injurious to his majesty's service, and render St. Bartholomew very unsafe, if we omitted attacking the island of St. Martin: we there-

fore (although it was not mentioned in our instructions), prompted by the rectitude of our intentions, decided upon endeavouring to reduce it, and at midnight of the 22d bore away for that purpose; but the unprecedented variableness of the winds prevented our getting there till day-light of the 24th; and on the afternoon of the 23d the Coromandel joined with the 2d West-India regiment; when, having placed capt. Fowke in the Proselyte, with the Drake brig, in Coles bay, to cover the landing, under the direction of captain Ekins, of the Amphitrite, who had been sick at Barbadoes, but joined me in the Proselyte, and handsomely volunteered this service, which commenced at half past eight o'clock; and with his judicious arrangements, the second brigade, of near 1500 men, under brigadier-general Maitland, were on shore, with their field-pieces and 100 seamen, by 11 o'clock, as were the first brigade of 1800, under brigadier-general Fuller, by two o'clock, with their field-pieces and 100 seamen. The second brigade directly proceeded on to take the heights in the approach to the town of Phillipsburgh, which was quickly effected, though not without some smart skirmishing, which afterwards brought on a short action, in which some companies of the 64th, under lieutenant-col. Pakenham, and two companies of the 8th West-India regiment, displayed great gallantry, beat the enemy, and took two field-pieces. At this time brigadier-gen. Fuller, with the first brigade, marched on to take the heights above Fort Chesterfield, or Maregot, where we had reason to expect the greatest resistance; but the former check (in which the enemy lost from 50 to 60 killed and wounded) evinced that opposition could only lead to de-

struction; and they embraced a verbal summons, sent in by brigadier-gen. Maitland, at five o'clock, to propose their terms at nine; when lieut.-gen. Trigge and self being on the spot, the capitulation was signed and exchanged by midnight of the 24th, of which I transmit a copy for their lordships' information. At the commencement of the attack, we observed in Great Bay two privateer brigs, of 12 guns each, and a schooner of the same force, with a merchant ship, brig, and nine or ten small craft; and as I considered them likely to attempt getting off in the course of the night, I ordered the *Hornet*, and *Fanny* armed brig, to work up to Great Bay, to prevent such attempt from succeeding, and at sun-set sent the *Drake* to assist on that service; but, unfortunately, the two first did not get far enough to windward to fulfil my intention, by which means one of the brigs and the schooner got out, with a few small vessels, five of which were taken; but I am to lament the brig and schooner getting away, after a chase of 24 hours by the *Hornet* and *Fanny*. We found remaining in the bay one brig privateer, of 12 guns, an English captured ship, a merchant brig, four small schooners, and a sloop; the particulars of which my time would not allow me to collect, as I began to embark the troops, ordnance, &c. the next morning, the 25th, and sailed for St. Thomas's the afternoon of the 26th, leaving the *Proselyte*, *Hornet*, and *Drake*, to assist in the arrangements necessary for the security of the island, and two transports to embark the garrison in, which consisted of between 3 and 400, besides nearly a similar number which got away in the brig, &c. I have ordered the *Proselyte* to relieve *L'Unité*, keeping with her the

Drake, for the assisting protection of the two islands, and *L'Unité* to conduct the prisoners to Martinique, arranging and getting ready to convoy the trade home. I cannot conclude this account of our successful proceedings, for their lordships' information, without paying that grateful tribute which is due to lieut.-gen. Trigge, for his kind support and concurrence in every instance, and for his anxious endeavours to preserve that particular harmony and unanimity between the army and navy which must always contribute to the success of every undertaking. I should not do justice to the officers and men serving under my command, if I was to omit assuring their lordships they have performed the harassing and laborious service they have been employed in highly to my satisfaction, and with an alacrity characteristic of British seamen.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Leviathan, St. Thomas, March 30.

SIR,

Having had the honour of stating to you the successful proceedings of this armament to the 27th, I have now farther to add, that we arrived off this island at day-light of the 28th, having previously concerted with the general the arrangement for landing at Black Point Bay, about three miles to the westward of the town; but, from the wind blowing off the land, we were not able to obtain anchorage till noon, when I directed capt. Bradby, in the *Andromeda*, with the *Alexandria* tender, to place themselves as close to the beach as the water would admit, to cover the landing; which service was ably executed. I also ordered the *Southampton*, *Diana*, and *Amphitrite* (which had been previously directed here to prevent succour from being thrown in),

in), to anchor close off the town, to be in readiness to attack the forts, if requisite. This service performed, and the troops all ready to land, lieut.-gen. Trigge and self were of opinion it would promote his majesty's service to summon the island, which was sent by brigadier-gen. Maitland, and captain King of the *Leviathan*, when a capitulation was agreed on for this island, St. John's and its dependencies, with the delay only of the governor being permitted to send officers to ascertain that our force was as formidable as represented; and yesterday morning we took possession of the forts, &c. since when I have been so constantly employed in landing a garrison, and forming temporary regulations to move for our next object, Santa Cruz, this evening, that my time will not admit of my giving their lordships an exact detail of the vessels in harbour; but there was one man of war brig, of 18 guns, which appears a very fine vessel, and fit for his majesty's service.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Leviathan, off Christianstadt,

SIR, April 2.

I now have the farther pleasure to acquaint you, that we were off the town of Christianstadt at daylight of the 31st; and having formed the arrangements for landing, and sounded to the eastward of the town, to ascertain that it could be safely effected, lieut.-gen. Trigge and myself thought proper to send a summons similar to that of St. Bartholomew; upon which, confidential officers were sent off by the governor-general Lindeman, and the accompanying capitulation entered into, the whole of which, I hope, will meet with his majesty's and their lordships' approbation; and as I consider an expeditious account thereof, under the present cir-

cumstances with the northern powers, may be very desirable, I dispatch the *Fanny* hired armed brig, and must defer giving any detail of the vessels in the ports, as I have not yet been able to get any exact list. Captain Ekins, of the *Amphitrite*, having been much reduced from a fever, and by his exertions again brought on violently his complaint, I have thought it humanity to entrust that valuable officer with my dispatches, and beg leave to refer their lordships to him for any further particulars. I intend giving an acting order to captain John Miller Garnier, of the *Hawke*, and my first lieutenant George William Blaney, an officer whose exertions in the present expedition entitle him to my warmest support. I should feel very remiss was I to close this without mentioning to their lordships the aid I have received from my captain, E. D. King, in this harassing service.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Downing-street, 15. The following dispatches have been received at his majesty's secretary of state's office.

Camp, before Alexandria,

SIR, March 19.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the articles of capitulation of the fort of Aboukir, together with a return of the prisoners surrendered, and of the ordnance and stores found in the fort.

I am, &c.

R. ABERCROMBY.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, and the return of ordnance, stores, &c.]

Camp, four miles from Alexandria,

SIR, April 5.

I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 18th of March an affair took place between a patrol of our cavalry and one of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. I have to regret that col. Archdall,

of

of the 12th light dragoons, received a wound in the arm, which has since been amputated, and that we have lost some valuable officers and men. I am, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.
Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of major-general Finch's brigade, March 18.

Total.—1 quarter-master, 7 rank and file, 23 horses, killed; 2 officers, 1 sergeant, 6 rank and file, 12 horses wounded; 3 officers, 1 quarter-master, 12 rank and file, 7 horses, missing.—Officer killed: 26th light dragoons, quarter-master John Simpson.—Officers wounded: 12th light dragoons, colonel Mervin Archdall; 26th ditto, lieutenant and adj. John Harte.—Officers taken prisoners: 12th light dragoons, capt. the hon. Pierce Butler; cornet earl Lindsay Daniel; 26th ditto, captain Charles Turner, brigade-major, quarter-master Abraham Moulton.

(Signed) J. ABERCROMBY,
Dep. adj.-gen.

*Head quarters, Camp, four
miles from Alexandria,
April 3.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that, after the affair of March 13th, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the canal of Alexandria (at present dry) and the lake of Aboukir on their left. In this position we remained, without any material occurrence taking place, till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to 11 or 12,000 men. Of 14 demi-brigades of infantry, which the French have in this country, 12 appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment. The

enemy made the following disposition of their army: Gen. Lanusse was on their left with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by gen. Roize; generals Friant and Kampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; gen. Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades, and two regiments of cavalry; gen. D'Estain commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry. The action commenced about an hour before day-light, by a false attack on our left, which was under major-gen. Cradock's command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were, however, directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline: the contest was unusually obstinate. The enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field. While this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate our centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole of the action, refused our right; they pushed forward, however, a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep our left in check; which certainly was, at that time, the weakest part of our line. We have taken about 200 prisoners (not wounded); but it was impossible to

to pursue our victory, on account of our inferiority in cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably. Few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers engaged on both sides. We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander in chief, sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early; but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier—and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity. It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers and to the gallantry of the soldiers of this army. The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit: they resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-gen. Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously: I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer,

whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment. Brigadier-general Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42d regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Col. Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, tho' not quite recovered, returned to his duty. Brigadier-gen. Stuart and the foreign brigade supported the reserve with much promptness and spirit. Indeed it is but justice to this corps to say, that they have, on all occasions, endeavoured to emulate the zeal and spirit exhibited by the British troops, and have perfectly succeeded. Major-general Ludlow deserves much approbation for his conduct when the centre of the army was attacked: under his guidance the guards conducted themselves in the most cool, intrepid, and soldier-like manner. They received very effectual support by a movement of the right of general Coote's brigade. Brig.-gen. Hope was wounded in the hand: the army has been deprived of the service of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer. The loss of the enemy has been great: it is calculated at upwards of 3000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Gen. Roize, who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Boder are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other general officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded. I cannot conclude this letter without solemnly assuring you, that, in the arduous contest in which we are at present engaged, his majesty's troops in
Egypt

Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation.

I am, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, near Alexandria, March 21st.

Total.—10 officers, 9 sergeants, 224 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, 1082 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded; 3 officers, 1 sergeant, 28 rank and file, missing.

Officers killed.—3d guards, ensign Campbell.—42d regiment, maj. Bisset, lieuts. Colin Campbell, R. Anderson, A. Stewart.—58th, lieut. Jocelyn.—Stuart's regt. col. Duten, lieuts. Duvergier, Dejean.—2d battalion of the 54th foot, capt. Gibson.

Officers wounded.—Staff, his excellency sir R. Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief; major-general Moore; brigadier-gen. the hon. Jn. Hope, adjutant-general; brigadier-gen. Oakes; brigadier-gen. Lawson; capt. Doyle (brigade major); capt. St. Peru (ditto), since dead; capt. Anderson, aid-de-camp to maj.-gen. Moore.

Officers wounded.—3d guards, captains Rooke, Ansley, Deare.—Royals, capt. J. C. Gardner, lieuts. Jn. Gordon, Jn. M'Pherson, Chas. Johnson.—2d battalion of the 54th regiment, lieuts. Connor, Predam.—92d, capt. Cameron, lieut. Mathison.—50th, captain Ogilvy, lieuts. Campbell, Tilsby, ensign Rowe.—79th, lieut. Ross.—Queen's, ensign Allman.—30th, capt. Smith, lieut. James.—44th, lieutenant-col. Ogilvie (since dead).—89th, capt. Blake, lieut. Agnew.—Stuart's reg. capt. Misset, Mahony, Richardson, lieuts. M'Carty, Sutton, Hutton, Zeheuder, Loreg, Girard, ensign O'Her-

man.—De Rolle's reg. lieut. Mitzger, adj. La Ville.—Dillon's reg. capt. Dupont, Rinaud, D'Heral, lieuts. Laury, D'Aville.—23d, lieut. Cook.—28th, lieutenant-col. Paget, lieuts. J. Meachem, Hearn, Ford.—1st battalion 40th reg. lieut. Southwell.—42d, major Sterling, capt. D. Stuart, lieuts. Hamilton Row, A. M'Nicol, A. Donaldson, J. M. Sutherland, A. Grant, A. M. Cunningham, Fred. Campbell; ensign M'Kenzie.—58th, lieuts. Curry and Toole.—Roy. artillery, lieuts. Gamble, Campbell, Lawson, Burslem.

J. ABERCROMBY,

Deputy adjutant-gen.

N. B. One stand of colours and two field-pieces taken.

Admiralty-office, 15.

Lieut. Corbett, late of the *Fulminante* cutter, arrived this morning from the coast of Egypt, with the following dispatch from admiral lord Keith, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the *Foudroyant*, in the bay of Aboukir, April 1st.

SIR,

I have very great concern in acquainting you, that, in a desperate attack made upon our lines by the French army on the morning of the 21st ultimo, my gallant and respectable colleague, general sir Ralph Abercromby, unfortunately received a wound, of which he died on board this ship on the 25th. It is unnecessary to say how much this calamity has been regretted by the army and by the fleet. Their lordships will observe, that the enemy were repulsed with very great loss. I enclose, for their information, a copy of sir Sidney Smith's report of that sustained by the detachment of seamen serving under his orders; and have the pleasure of adding, that his

his own wound has not been so material as to deprive me of his services. The marines were not engaged, having been, previously to the action, appointed to the duty of Aboukir-castle and its vicinity.

I am, &c. KEITH.

P. S. The captain pasha arrived on the 26th ultimo, with three sail of the line and a body of troops; and on the following day a Turkish vice-admiral joined.

Return of officers and seamen, employed on shore under the orders of capt. sir Wm. Sidney Smith, killed and wounded in an action with the enemy, March 21st.

Total. — 1 officer, 3 seamen, killed; 2 officers, 18 seamen, wounded.

Name of officer killed.—Mino-taur, Mr. Krebs, master's mate.

Names of officers wounded.—Tigre, sir Wm. Sidney Smith, knt. Swiftsure, lieut. Lewis Davis.

KEITH.

Downing-street, 16. By advices received this morning from major Holloway, dated at the camp of the grand vizir, at Gaza, March 20, it appears, that on the 18th of that month 1000 Asiatic cavalry advanced from that place; and on the following day 1000 Arab cavalry. This body is to be under the command of Tahir Pasha, as an advanced guard. On its arrival at El-Arisch, it is to halt a day or two, until Mahomet Pasha arrives with a very considerable part of the army, probably about 5000 men, when Tahir Pasha is to advance to Catieh. It is the grand vizir's intention that these 2000 cavalry should join the British army, whenever the commander in chief may require it. It also appears, that Djeggar Pasha has entered into an accommodation of all differences, and ordered 5000 of his troops to join the imperial army, for the purpose of the expulsion of the

enemy from Egypt. The first party that joined consisted of about 450 good cavalry, well mounted; and several parties have joined since.

[This Gazette also announces the capture of 119 French, Spanish, Dutch, &c. vessels, by the cruizers under lord Hugh Seymour, on the Jamaica station; of 15 vessels by admiral Duckworth's squadron; and of the Bougainville French brig privateer, of 128 tons, 14 guns, and 67 men, by the Eurydice, capt. Bathurst.]

Admiralty-office, 18.

Letter from rear-adm. Duckworth, commander in chief at the Leeward islands, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Fort Royal, Feb. 9th.

SIR,

Capt. Matson, of the Daphne, informs me, by letter of the 22d ult. that, on the 16th, observing some coasters near the shore, under convoy of a schooner, he detached lieut. M'Kenzie, with the boats of the Cyane, under lieut. Peachy; but, on their approaching, all succeeded in getting under the cover of the batteries at Basseterre, one excepted, which anchored near Vieux Forte: this, in the course of the night, lieut. M'Kenzie boarded and brought off, under a heavy cannonade. The next morning they observed from the Saints the above-mentioned schooner work up in shore, and anchor at Trois Rivières, covered by a battery, and flanked by two others. Notwithstanding these difficulties, lieut. M'Kenzie, with lieut. Peachy, volunteered to bring her out; which capt. Matson was at last prevailed on to accord to; but, for want of wind, this gallant intention was not attempted until after sun-rise on the 18th, when Mr. M'Kenzie, in a manner which exceeds all praise, ran the schooner on board, though a superior enemy, and evidently prepared for him, when

when lieuts. Peachy and M'Kenzie entered with 30 men, and, after a contest of a quarter of an hour, succeeded in bringing her off, under a most tremendous fire from the batteries, she being moored so close to the shore as to have a stern hawser fast on the beach. In this contest the French captain, his first and second lieutenants, and six men, were wounded; besides one killed and two drowned. In the Garland tender, one seaman and one marine killed; the sergeant of marines, and two scamen wounded. Though I was not an observer of this exploit, which appears to me among the first traits of gallantry in the course of this war, their lordships will be able to appreciate the value of lieut. M'Kenzie's conduct, which, I must further add, is, in its probable consequences, of the greatest moment to the trade of our islands, as L'Eclair sails rapidly, and, when fully armed, will carry 12 six-pounders, besides 21 and a half pounder, brass guns, mounted as swivels. She was in her way to Point Petre to complete, having left Rochfort armed only with four brass 4-pounders, the 20 small guns, and 50 men.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

Admiralty-office, 23. [This Gazette contains an account of the capture of the Victoire French cutter privateer, (late his majesty's hired armed cutter the Active), of 14 long four-pounders, and 75 men, by the Lady Anne hired armed brig, lieut. Lake.]

Dublin-Castle, 25. The earl of Hardwicke, who embarked at Holyhead yesterday evening at 8 o'clock, on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, arrived in this harbour at 6 o'clock this morning. His lordship, on his arrival in Dublin, was received by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commons, of the

city of Dublin. His lordship, attended by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded to the castle, and, upon his arrival there at 1 o'clock, was introduced in form to his excellency the marquis Cornwallis, who received him, sitting under the canopy of state, in the presence chamber, from whence a procession was made, in the usual state, to the council chamber. The council sitting, his lordship's commission was read; and, the oath being administered to him, his excellency was invested with the collar of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, and received the sword of state from the marquis Cornwallis. His excellency afterwards repaired to the presence chamber, and received the compliments of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, upon his safe arrival, and taking upon him the government of Ireland.

Admiralty-office, 26. [This Gazette gives an account of the capture of the Heureux privateer brig, of St. Maloes, of 14 guns and 78 men, by the Amelia, capt. Herbert; and also of the destruction of La Mouche French privateer, by being obliged to run on shore (where she very soon became a wreck), in consequence of the damage she sustained from the fire of his majesty's ship Diamond, capt. Griffith.]

Dublin Castle, 27. This evening, about five o'clock, the marquis Cornwallis, late lord lieutenant of Ireland, left the castle, in order to embark on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, on his return to England. His excellency the earl of Hardwicke, lord lieutenant, and the marquis Cornwallis, went together from the castle in the state coach, preceded by the leading coaches, in which were the officers of state, to the South Wall, where the yacht lay. They were escorted by a squadron of dragoons, and attended by a great number

number of the nobility and persons of distinction, the lord mayor, sheriffs, several of the aldermen, and principal citizens, in their carriages, followed by a concourse of people, to the water-side; the streets were lined by the regiments of infantry on Dublin duty. The marquis Cornwallis received every demonstration of respect, in passing through the streets, from the people, who testified their regard by repeated wishes for his welfare and safe return to England.

Admiralty-office, 30.

Letter transmitted by captain Ricketts.

Naiad, in Ponteredra bay,

SIR, *May 17.*

The boats belonging to the *Naiad* and *Phaëton*, manned by volunteer officers, seamen, and marines, under the direction of lieut. Marshall (1st), of the *Naiad*, highly distinguished themselves, on the night of the 16th, by the capture of *La Alcudia*, and demolition of *El Raposo*, armed Spanish Corunna packets, in the port of Marin, near the town of Pontevedra, under the protection of a five-gun battery, 24-pounders, prepared to receive them. *La Alcudia*, the largest, commanded by don Jean Antonio Barbuto, a very old lieutenant in his Catholic majesty's service, was moored stem and stern close to the fort, and her sails were sent on shore the preceding day. This service was undertaken from information that she was a corvette of 22 guns. I am happy to state, that four men only, belonging to the two ships, were wounded.

W. H. RICKETTS.

P. S. I was under the necessity of setting fire to *La Alcudia* soon after she was towed out by the boats, the wind setting in strong at S. W.

JUNE.

Downing-street, 1.

The following dispatch was this day received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, from lieut.-gen. Trigge, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the leeward and windward Caribbee islands:

SIR, *Martinique, April 27.*

I lose not a moment in having the honour to communicate the information, which has been just now received, of the islands of St. Eustatius and Saba having surrendered on the 21st inst. to a detachment of the 3d regiment of foot, under the command of lieut.-col. Blunt, and capt. Perkins, of his majesty's ship *Arab*. The enclosed extract of a letter from Mr. president Thompson, commanding at St. Christopher's, ordering lieut.-col. Blunt to proceed on that service, and of lieut.-col. Blunt's official letter, acquainting me with the result, will explain to your satisfaction all such circumstances as you may wish to be informed of. I have only to add, that the officers charged with the conducting of the service have acquitted themselves with such judgment and promptitude as to merit and receive my entire approbation. I have the honour to enclose to you herewith a copy of the terms on which these islands were surrendered, and have been placed under his majesty's government; but am unable to transmit by this opportunity the return of ordnance, as there is not sufficient time at present to have it made out correctly.

THOS. TRIGGE, lieut.-gen.

Extract of a letter from lieut.-col.

Blunt, of the 3d reg. of foot, to lieut.-gen. Trigge, dated St. Eustatius, April 22.

I have the honour to enclose an order addressed to me by the president

dent of St. Kitt's, in consequence of which I embarked on board his majesty's ship Arab, capt. Perkins, and an armed schooner, his prize, 100 men of the Buffs, with lieut. Brown and 10 men of the royal artillery. We summoned the island of St. Eustatius on the morning of the 21st, which surrendered by capitulation; the terms of which accompany this, and I hope will not be disapproved by your excellency. They had no provisions in the garrison, and very little in possession of the inhabitants. From the extent of the batteries, it will not be in my power to forward, by this opportunity, lieut. Brown's report of the ordnance.

I am, &c. R. BLUNT,
Lieut.-col. Buffs.

Extract of a letter from the president of St. Kitt's to lieutenant-col. Blunt, of the 3d regiment of foot, dated Basseterre, April 20th.

I have just received information that the island of St. Eustatius was evacuated by the French on the 16th inst. Under these circumstances, and considering that a favourable opportunity presents itself to acquire the possession of that island, and thereby give security to the islands in its neighbourhood, and recover a number of negroes who have eloped from hence, and which may be lost by delay, you will therefore embark, with 100 men of the Buffs, on board of his majesty's ship Arab, capt. Perkins, and take possession of the island of St. Eustatius, which you will retain until his excellency general Trigge's pleasure thereupon be known.

I am, &c.

R. THOMPSON.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, which are in the usual forms. It is stipulated, that the persons, properties, religion, and usages,

of the inhabitants, shall be respected and protected till his majesty's farther pleasure be known. The island is to enjoy the same privileges as the British colonies in the West Indies; and commerce to be on the same footing as in the other conquered islands.]

Admiralty-office, 2.

Letter from rear-adm. Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward islands, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Martinique, April 27.

SIR,

On the 16th instant the French garrison evacuated the island of St. Eustatia, carrying with them field-pieces, and as much powder, with other plunder, as their vessels could stow; which circumstance having been communicated to president Thompson, of St. Christopher's, he very judiciously availed himself of the moment, by making the application (of which I enclose you a copy) to capt. Perkins, of the Arab, which he directly complied with; and, on the 21st, col. Blunt, with a detachment of his majesty's 3d regiment of Buffs, and capt. Perkins, of the Arab, took possession of the island, under the accompanying capitulation, which included the island of Saba. The ordnance stores taken in the island of St. Eustatia consist of 48 pieces of cannon, of different calibres, 336 barrels of powder, with a quantity of filled cartridges, as also musket ditto, with some shot, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH.

[Then follows a letter from capt. Perkins, of the Arab, to adm. Duckworth, stating his compliance with the orders of the president of St. Kitt's, (whose letter to capt. Perkins is also enclosed), agreeably to what is stated in col. Blunt's letter to gen. Trigge.]

SIR,

St. Eustatia, April 22.

SIR,

I have to inform you of the surrender of this island yesterday to his Britannic majesty's forces, on terms of capitulation, in which your island is included; you will therefore have to receive the officer that will hand you this, and leave the British flag behind.

DANIEL RODA.

RICHARD BLUNT, lieut.-col.

JN. PERKINS, capt. of the Arab.

*To his excellency Thomas Dezey,
vice-commander of the island
of Saba.*

Downing-street, 2.

The following letter having been humbly submitted to his majesty by the under-mentioned officers who served in the detachment of his majesty's 15th regiment of light dragoons in the action of Villers en Couché, near Cambray, on the 24th day of April, 1794, his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to each of them his royal licence and permission to accept the rank of knight of the imperial military order of Maria Theresa, and bear the insignia thereof, the same having been conferred upon them by the emperor of Germany, in testimony of the high sense which his imperial majesty entertained of their distinguished conduct upon that occasion. Major W. Aylett, now lieut.-col. in the army; capt. Robt. Pocklington, late major of 15th dragoons; capt. Ed. Mich. Ryan, now major in the army; lieut. Thomas Grandby Calcraft, lieutenant-col. of 3d dragoon guards; lieut. Wm. Keir, major of 6th dragoon guards; lieut. Charles Burrell Blount, late captain of 15th light dragoons; cornet Ed. Gerald Butler, now major of 87th regiment of foot; and cornet Rt. Thos. Wilson, now major in Hompesch's regiment of mounted riflemen.

1801.

Letter from his excellency lord Minto, his majesty's envoy at the court of Vienna, to lieutenant-col. Wm. Aylett.

SIR, *Vienna, Nov. 7, 1800.*

I have received from his excellency baron Thugut eight crosses of the order of Maria Theresa, which the emperor has been pleased to confer on yourself and seven other officers, under-named, of the 15th regiment of light dragoons, who distinguished themselves in a most gallant action, near Villers en Couché, on the 24th of April, 1794. His imperial majesty has already testified the high sense he entertained of the brilliant and important service which the regiment performed on that occasion, by presenting the officers engaged with a medal, struck for the purpose of commemorating that distinguished action, and affording to those who achieved it a lasting testimony of his approbation and gratitude. It was deemed at the time worthy of the cross of Maria Theresa; but, at that period, a doubt was entertained whether this order could be conferred on foreigners: that difficulty being now removed, his imperial majesty avails himself with pleasure of the occasion to evince his high esteem for the regiment, as well as his regard for the individuals, by investing with this distinguished order of merit gentlemen who have proved themselves so worthy to wear it. In transmitting to you, sir, these crosses, to be distributed to the officers for whom they are destined, I cannot omit the opportunity of expressing the satisfaction I have experienced from the share which my situation here has afforded me in the transaction, which, while it does honour to the liberality of his imperial majesty, and throws so much lustre on the corps, and on those who are immediately concern-

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ed,

ed, reflects, at the same time, credit on the country to which they belong. I am, &c. Minto.

Downing-street, 4. The following letter from lieutenant-general sir Jn. Hely Hutchinson, K. B. has been this day received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart; as also a letter from lord Elgin, addressed to the right hon. lord Hawkesbury.

Letter from lieut.-gen. Hutchinson;
Camp before Alexandria, April 20.

SIR,

It is with great pleasure that I am to inform you of the success of a corps of Turks and British, under the command of col. Spencer. They were ordered from hence about ten days ago, for the purpose of forcing the enemy from the town and castle of Rosetta, which command the navigation of the Nile. This operation has perfectly succeeded. We are now masters of the western branch of that river, and of course have opened a communication with the Delta, from which we shall derive all necessary supplies, as the French have scarcely any troops there; and none capable of making a serious resistance. The enemy had about 800 men at Rosetta when they were attacked. They made but a feeble effort to sustain themselves, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and prisoners. They left a garrison in the fort, against which our batteries opened on the 16th, and it surrendered on the 19th instant: the conditions are the same as were granted to the castle of Aboukir. I have many obligations to col. Spencer for the zeal, activity, and military talents, which he has displayed in the conduct of this important service; and I beg leave to recommend him as a deserving and most excellent officer.

J. H. HUTCHINSON, maj.-gen.

Copy of a letter from lord Elgin to lord Hawkesbury, dated Constantinople, May 9th, 1801.

My Lord,

Mr. Morier having returned from Egypt, I have the satisfaction of being able to lay before your lordship a far more particular account of the affairs and proceedings in that country than it has hitherto been in my power to communicate. He left the camp before Alexandria on the 22d ultimo. At that time the enemy remained in their strong position upon the heights near the eastern walls of Alexandria, their numbers about 6000 men. They were still in anxious expectation of receiving reinforcements, particularly that which had been announced to them as coming from admiral Gantheaume. The loss of the enemy, according to the numerous reports which had been collected, certainly exceeds 5000 men, and a great proportion of officers; four generals are known to have been killed. Every encouragement seems to have been given and held out to the French army to ensure their utmost exertions. Among other things, they were taught to expect no quarter from the British. The prisoners agree, that in no part of this war had such hard fighting, or such determined bravery, ever been seen, as they have met with from our army in Egypt.

I presume that sir Ralph Abercromby's absence from the camp, in consequence of his wounds on the 21st of March, had created a momentary suspension of our operations; and the irreparable loss occasioned by his death must also necessarily have checked the prosecution of plans, in the formation and execution of which he had always borne so leading a part. The captain pasha did not arrive in time to see

sir Ralph Abercromby; but it appears that general Hutchinson followed his excellency's intention relative to the troops on board the Turkish fleet, by employing them against Rosetta; and accordingly directed colonel Spencer, having under him a corps of about 800 British, to proceed with the Turks to that expedition. The town was evacuated without resistance. Some guns were then brought to bear upon the fort St. Julien, which commands the entrance of the river. The garrison of 368 men surrendered on the 19th ult. Rahmanich was still in the hands of the French. They had fortified it, both in a view to secure their communications from the upper part of the Delta and Upper Egypt, whence they received their provisions. Under these circumstances general Hutchinson has very much strengthened his position between Aboukir and Alexandria, not only by a range of works in front, but particularly by opening the sluices which kept in the waters in the lake on their left; and if, as is supposed, this inundation shall extend over the whole of the plain to the east of the lake Mareotis, the communication between Alexandria and Rahmanich, which is the enemy's nearest point, will be eight or nine days' journey without water. Having taken these measures, general Hutchinson was to transfer his head-quarters to Rosetta on the 23d ult. to which place he had already sent forward a strong detachment, amounting to above 4000 British, including col. Spencer's corps; and he was immediately to proceed from thence, with nearly an equal number of the captain pasha's troops, against Rahmanich, where the French were understood to have assembled 3000 men. On the other hand, advices had been

received, several days before, from the grand vizir, dated at Belbeis, from which it appeared that his highness, reinforced by nearly 5000 men from Djezzar Pasha, had passed the desert, and had advanced so far towards Cairo, without meeting with opposition either at Salahieh or at Belbeis. He had also detached a corps which has taken possession of the town of Damietta, though the fort of L'Elbe is still in the hands of the French. It is not expected that his highness will experience any material resistance at the town of Cairo; and I find it is the determination of gen. Hutchinson to afford his highness such aid as may be requisite towards attacking the fortifications which the French occupy near to the town, if it is necessary to reduce them by force. Gen. Hutchinson has farther received a favourable letter from Murad Bey, saying he is ready to join us when we come into his neighbourhood. I am happy to add that our army is in the highest health and spirits. The climate and weather had hitherto been most propitious. The natives had acquired the greatest degree of confidence from the proclamation issued by our army, and were continuing to bring in horses and provisions in great plenty. Nearly 1000 of our cavalry are now well mounted there; and we have still about 11,000 infantry in the field. The utmost degree of unanimity prevails between the British and Turkish troops.

ELGIN.

[The Gazette of the 6th contains an order of council, dated the 4th, for taking off the embargo on Russian and Danish vessels in the British ports; and for removing the prohibition respecting the payment of bills drawn from those countries. The intercourse between the different

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powers is placed on its former footing.]

[The Gazette of the 13th contains orders by his majesty, dated Kew, 29th of May and June 3d, authorising the dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Cumberland, princes Augustus, Adolphus, and William of Gloucester, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, dukes of Saxe Gotha, Richmond, Devonshire, Portland, Northumberland, Beaufort, Buccleugh, and Roxburgh, marquisses Cornwallis, Buckingham, Lansdown, and Salisbury, earls of Chatham, Westmoreland, Carlisle, Spencer, and Camden, to exercise all the rights and privileges belonging to the knights companions of the garter, as if they had been formally installed; his majesty being pleased to dispense with the statutes and regulations usually observed in regard to installations.]

[The Gazette of the 20th contains an order of council, for taking off the embargo on Swedish property, &c.; the same as in the case of the Russians and Danes.]

Downing-street, 29. The following dispatch has been this day received from the earl of Elgin, by lord Hawkesbury.

Letter from lord Elgin to lord Hawkesbury, dated Constantinople, May 23.

My Lord,

An officer is arrived from the captain pasha, with the intelligence that general Hutchinson had marched from Rosetta on the 8th inst. with 4000 British troops, in company with a corps of Turks of equal force, under the command of the captain pasha, and on the 9th attacked the French near Rahmanich. The enemy were driven in; and in the course of the night they retired towards Cairo, having left a small garrison in the intrenchments of Rahmanich.

On the 10th the fort surrendered; and the combined force then proceeded towards Cairo, having concerted their movements with the grand vizir, who was at El Hanka, a position four leagues distant from Cairo, in a north-east direction. Our loss at Rahmanich is stated not to exceed 30 men. The Turkish officer reports, that a reinforcement of 3000 British troops had arrived at Aboukir, about the 6th of May.

ELGIN.

Tuesday, 30. This afternoon, between two and three o'clock, there was experienced in this metropolis, and its neighbourhood, one of the most violent storms of thunder, accompanied with a most furious hurricane, and torrents of rain, that was ever known. The thunder was very loud, and the lightning vivid. The wind was most tempestuous; and the rain fell, not in drops, but in whole sheets. It never was remembered that so much rain fell in the same space: the sewers could not carry off the water so fast as it fell. The Strand, in some places, resembled a canal, and was almost navigable from side to side. The storm continued upwards of half an hour to rage with this violence. The court of common pleas, Westminster, was thrown into much confusion. The wind drove the rain with so much violence against the skylight, that it broke the glass; and, a torrent of rain descending on the wigs and cravats of the counsel, they instantly forsook their seats in terror and dismay. In vain did lord Alvanley endeavour to rally the flying barristers; all was confusion till the waters subsided and the heavens became clear. A ball of electric fire struck the gable-end of a house in Crab-tree-row, Hoxton, which completely unroofed it, and otherwise did much damage to the dwelling:

ling: but the storm was particularly felt in Great Alie-street, Goodman's-fields. The chimney of Mr. May, No. 7, was blown down; the house, No. 6, was in great danger of taking fire from the lightning, which ran along the bell-wires, which it destroyed: Two ladies, at No. 9, had their clothes scorched on their backs: a young lady had one of her ear-rings forced out of her ear by the lightning, without materially injuring her. The wainscot of the room where they sat was perforated as if it were done with swan-shot: two women in the house were totally deprived of their hearing for upwards of six hours.

JULY.

Admiralty-office, 4. [This Gazette announces the capture of the Spanish lugger privateer Venture, of two 6-pounders, and 27 men, and the Spanish cutter Al Duques, of 8 guns, and 69 men, by the Constance, capt. Z. Mudge.]

Admiralty-office, 11.

Letter from captain Rogers, commander of the Mercury, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated in Trieste Road, May 28.

SIR,

I beg leave to enclose a copy of my letter of the 26th inst. to lord Keith, giving a detail of a very gallant service performed by the boats of his majesty's ship under my command, which reflects great credit on the officers and men engaged in it; and the hard case of lieut. Mather, being obliged to relinquish the prize after three hours' possession, will not, I trust, in the opinion of their lordships, lessen the merit of the enterprise.

T. ROGERS.

Mercury, off Ancona, May 26.

My Lord,

Having received information, by

a small vessel I captured yesterday from Ancona, that his majesty's late sloop Bulldog was lying in the mole of that port ready for sea, with supplies on board for the French army in Egypt, I judged it necessary to make an attempt to take or destroy her, with the boats of the Mercury; and as our success depended upon our surprising the enemy, who was ignorant of our arrival in the Adriatic, the fortifications about the mole being too formidable to justify the attempt in any other way, I therefore made sail directly for Ancona, and came to an anchor soon after it was dark off the mole: the boats were accordingly prepared, and left the ship at half past ten o'clock, under the command of Mr. W. Mather, first lieutenant, from whose good conduct the Bulldog was surprised and carried about midnight, the boats having got alongside without being hailed by the sentinels. The alarm was however immediately given along the mole, to which the ship's stern was secured by the two ends of a bower cable, and three cables out a-head; these were soon cut by the people appointed for that purpose, and the boats began to tow, exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musketry from the mole; but as there was a favourable light breeze, the sails were set, and in less than an hour the ship got without reach of the batteries, and was completely ours; but unfortunately it fell calm; and a current setting her along the coast near the shore, a crowd of boats (some of which were gun-boats), filled with men, came out to attack her. Mr. Mather now found his situation extremely critical, having the hatchways to guard, to prevent the enemy rising from below, the boats' crews fatigued with rowing all night, and the gun-boats approaching fast, and taking the

the ship; he had therefore the mortification of seeing himself obliged to relinquish his prize, after being in possession of her above three hours, and unfortunately failed in several attempts before he retreated to set her on fire. The moment I could discover the Bulldog was out of the mole, I got the Mercury under weigh; but it was almost a calm, and impossible to get near her, as she had drifted with the current to a considerable distance from where the Mercury lay, and we experienced the mortifying disappointment of seeing her towed back to the very spot whence she had been so gallantly taken. It is nevertheless some satisfaction to know that her voyage must be at least delayed for a considerable time, if not quite defeated, her masts and yards being shot through and disabled in many places, and she had received considerable damage in her hull and rigging. The gallant conduct of the officers and men employed upon this little enterprise, will, I trust, meet with your lordship's approbation; and it is from a desire of doing justice to their merits that I have been drawn into this otherwise unnecessarily long detail. I have to regret the loss of two brave fellows killed, and four wounded, upon this occasion. The enemy had above 20 killed, wounded, and drowned.

T. ROGERS.

Names of the men killed and wounded,

John Gray, seaman, Morgan Davis, marine, killed.—Wm. Haynes, Thomas Guillain, William Morris, Henry Mew, wounded.

Downing-street, ●1.

The following dispatches have been received at Lord Hawkesbury's office, from the earl of Elgin and Major Holloway,

Imperial Ottoman camp of the grand vizir, Benalhuifar, May 20.

My Lord,

I had the honour of addressing your lordship on the 2d of May from Salahich, which place his highness the grand vizir left the 7th, and the following day arrived at Belbeis, where the advanced corps of his army had been encamped for some time before. On the 15th inst. his highness received intelligence that the enemy had, early that morning, marched a considerable force from Cairo, on the road towards Belbeis, where his highness was then encamped. In the evening a farther confirmation of this intelligence was brought, when the enemy was in full march. The vizir, after dark, ordered Tahir Pacha, with 3000 cavalry, and three light field-pieces, to advance to meet them, and, if a favourable opportunity offered during the obscurity of the night, to attack; if not, to impede their progress as much as possible. About ten at night they met, three leagues from camp, when each halted, and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight in the morning, at which time Tahir Pacha commenced an attack; he was soon after reinforced by 1500 cavalry. It was now found the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4000 infantry. His highness therefore ordered Mehemmed Pacha to move forward with 5000 men, cavalry, and Albanian infantry, and nine light field-pieces; the enemy had 8-pounders in the field. His highness afterwards advanced himself, and took the command, which was attended with the happiest effect. The enemy moved into a wood of date-trees, where they were attacked by the cavalry and infantry, with great spirit, for three

three hours, when the enemy retired from the wood, taking position on the plain, their left to the wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanian infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this situation galled them considerably; and, upon the Turkish cavalry threatening their right, they changed position, and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of cavalry, who gained the summit. In this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced by his highness on the occasion. At this time the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El Hanka, a distance not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The grand vizir, who had commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue any farther. The loss on either side, for the time they were engaged, was small. The Turks had about 30 killed, and 90 wounded. The French, I think, had about 50 killed, and one made prisoner: the number of their wounded could not be ascertained, as they took them off the field. The Turkish force engaged on this occasion did not at any time exceed 9000. Whilst I was congratulating his highness in the field of battle on the success of the day, we received additional satisfaction by the arrival of the intelligence of the capture of fort Leshie, at Damietta, and two smaller forts depending on it, by a detachment from the vizir's army. I had the honour of acquainting your lordship, in my letter of the 2d of May, that his highness intended sending a force against Damietta. This intention he carried into effect on the 6th, by ordering Ibrahim Pacha, with 2500 men, and five pieces

of artillery, to march immediately for that purpose: and it appears, by Ibrahim Pacha's report to the vizir, that every arrangement had been made for the attack of fort Leshie on the morning of the 14th instant, when it was discovered that the fort was evacuated, and the garrison had retired. I beg leave to inform your lordship, that, during the action of the 16th inst. myself and maj. Hope, of the royal artillery, were in the field with the grand vizir; captain Lacey, of the royal engineers, with Mehemed Pacha; and capt. Leake, of the royal artillery, with Tahir Pacha; to render every assistance in our power. The combined forces under maj.-gen. Hutchinson and the captain pacha are about five hours distance in the Delta, but are expected here in a day or two. I received a letter from the general this morning, who informs me he has taken a convoy of 550 camels, and 600 French prisoners.

C. HOLLOWAY,
Major-commandant, &c.
Constantinople, May 21.

My Lord,

I have the most sincere satisfaction in forwarding to your lordship the enclosed dispatch from lieut.-col. Holloway. The modest and unassuming manner in which this deserving officer has mentioned himself, and the British under his orders, imposes upon me the obligation of stating to your lordship what I had learnt by their private communications to me from Jaffa and Gaza; that, as soon as the determination was formed for the vizir to advance into Egypt, lieutenant-col. Holloway proposed that distribution of the Turkish army, and that order of march, which have effectually ensured this unlooked-for success over the French. The advanced guard was composed of a select body of

(D 4) cavalry,

cavalry, under Tahir Pacha, and of Albanian infantry, under Mehemed Pacha; the first, accompanied by captain Leake; the second, by captain Lacey; each receiving their orders from colonel Holloway, who remained near the person of the vizir. It is by this well-combined disposition, by the endeavours which were strenuously exercised to prevail upon this corps to disembarass themselves of their superfluous attendants, and by giving confidence to the Turks in their own means, that col. Holloway has been enabled to bring these troops to keep in check, during many hours, a French army of superior force—to counteract its plans—to attack it—to seize every advantage of its positions and of ground, and, after manœuvring with science during seven hours, to repulse it with loss, and gain a complete victory. In the account which the vizir has sent of this action to the Porte, his highness speaks in the highest terms of the service done by the artillery, which major Hope is well known to be so very capable of directing.

ELGIN.

Downing-street, 21.

The following dispatch has been this day received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, from lieutenant-gen. the hon. sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B. commanding his majesty's forces in Egypt.

Head-quarters, camp, near Alkham, June 1.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that the French abandoned the position of El Aft on the 7th of May, which we occupied the same evening, and on the 9th we advanced to Rahmanieh, where the French were posted with upwards of 3000 infantry, and 800 cavalry.

We at first imagined that they might have endeavoured to have maintained that position; but our corps on the eastern bank of the Nile, having got into their rear, took the fort of Rahmanieh in reverse; which probably induced the enemy to retire in the night between the 9th and 10th, leaving a garrison in the fort, which surrendered in the morning, amounting to 110 men, commanded by a chef de brigade: we also took, the same day, about 50 cavalry and 3 officers, coming from Alexandria. As the enemy retired towards Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, in order to cover the army of the grand vizir, and to secure a junction with the expected reinforcement from India. Nothing happened of any importance until the 14th, when we fell in with a valuable convoy of germs on the Nile. They had come from Cairo down the canal of Menouff, which joins the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the river. From this circumstance they knew nothing of the retreat of gen. La Grange from Rahmanieh. About 150 prisoners fell into our hands, and several heavy guns, some of them intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy in itself was very valuable, and is a great loss to the enemy. We found on board all kinds of clothing, wine, spirits, &c. and about 5000*l.* in money. On the 17th, when encamped at Alkham, we were informed by the Arabs that a considerable body of French, coming from Alexandria, were advancing towards the Nile, near the spot where the boats of the captain pacha then were. The cavalry were immediately ordered out, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of brigadier-general Doyle, supported by his brigade of infantry. Col. Cavalier, who commanded the French convoy, as soon

as he perceived the boats of the captain pacha, suspected that our army must be near, and therefore retired into the desert, where we followed him. The cavalry came up with him, after a march of about three hours. A flag of truce was sent in to them by major Wilson, of the Hompesch, requiring them to surrender, on condition that their private property should be respected, and that they should be sent to France by the first convenient opportunity: with these terms they complied, and laid down their arms. They amounted, in all, to about 600 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, together with a considerable portion of the dromedary corps, one 4-pounder, and 550 camels. The prisoners taken are all Frenchmen, and of the best troops they had in Egypt. On the 17th of May, the enemy retired from the fort of Lisbêt, on the Damietta branch, and formed a junction with about 200 men which they had at Burlos: this fort they also evacuated, and embarked in five small vessels, four of which have been taken, and carried into Aboukir bay; the fifth endeavoured to escape towards Cyprus, but a Turkish frigate was left in chase of her; so that it is more than probable she has shared the same fate. The garrisons of the two forts consisted of about 700 men; so that we have taken, in all, from the 9th to the 20th, near 1600 men; which makes a considerable diminution of the enemy's force in this country. The French made a most extraordinary rapid march from Rahmanieh to Gizah, where they arrived on the 13th, and immediately crossed the river to Boulac. On the 15th, they marched to attack the grand vizir's army. His highness anticipated their intention, and

made a forward movement, with a considerable body of cavalry, on the night between the 15th and 16th. The armies remained for some hours in presence of each other, when the Ottoman troops attacked at about eight o'clock in the morning, and, after an action of seven hours, the French retired, having lost between 3 and 400 men killed and wounded. They were nearly the same people who had retreated from Rahmanieh, and were about 4,000 or 4,500 men. I congratulate your lordship upon the event of this very important action. I have also much pleasure in informing you, that the Mamelukes, under the orders of Osman bey (successor of Murad bey), have joined us, to the amount of about 1,500 cavalry, inferior, certainly, to none in the world. I am sanguine enough to hope that the most serious good effects will arise from this junction, as they have a most intimate knowledge of the country, and the greatest influence amongst the inhabitants. I enclose you the capitulation of the fort of Rahmanieh, and also a return of the killed and wounded on the 19th of May; which I rejoice has been so very inconsiderable.

I am, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation of the fort of Rahmanieh, May 10th, by which it is agreed, that the garrison shall be sent back to France, and shall not serve against the king of England, nor his allies, until exchanged.]

Total of the killed and wounded.

1 drummer, 4 rank and file, 10 horses, killed; 4 officers, 1 sergeant, 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded.

Names of officers wounded.

26th light dragoons, capt. King;
royal

royal artillery, lieut.-col. Thompson, and captain Adye; 79th foot, captain Macdonall.

(Signed) JN. ABERCROMBY.
Dep. adj.-gen.

P. S. A letter has just reached me from lieut.-col. Murray, dated Cossire, May 14th, informing me of his arrival with the first division of the Bombay detachment of troops; and that he was in daily expectation of gen. Baird with the remainder.

Wednesday, 22. This morning, at an early hour, immense crowds from the metropolis and the adjacent parts made their appearance in Hyde-park, to witness the review of those volunteer and associated corps, in London and its environs, who so patriotically enrolled, equipped, and disciplined themselves, at their own expense, for the defence and safety of their country. The different corps, to the number of 4734, had been drawn up for a considerable time, when, at ten, his royal highness the commander in chief appeared on the ground, accompanied by his brother the duke of Kent, lord Harrington, lord Cathcart, and several other general officers, aids-de-camp, &c. In less than half an hour afterwards, arrived his royal highness the prince of Wales, escorted by the Westminster cavalry. On the approach of his royal highness, a general officer was sent to meet him; and the spectators universally admired the air of dignified courtesy and ease with which the latter was received and saluted by a prince who can so happily combine in his demeanour all the majesty of his rank with the elegant and familiar politeness of a gentleman. The royal highlanders, commanded by captain Ross, were posted in the centre of the line, on ground independent of the other corps, in the angle between

the right and left wing; and, on the fifth signal being given, they commenced the fire by a volley, which was continued by the respective corps from the centre to flanks of the line. The same was repeated at the sixth and seventh signal. The various corps then went through their exercises and evolutions, with a degree of precision which must reflect the highest honour on their attention to military discipline. The volleys were in general very regular; and, from the very excellent appearance of the men, the elegance of the uniforms, the fine order of the arms, and the assemblage of beauty which gave lustre to the spectacle, the *coup d'œil* was, upon the whole, extremely magnificent. The favourable weather, the cause of the assemblage, and curiosity springing from the most praise-worthy motives, attracted nearly all the metropolis to Hyde-park. It was computed, that, independent of the volunteers, upwards of 30,000 spectators attended.

Admiralty-office, 23.

Letter from the hon. William Cornwallis, adm. of the blue, &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated off Ushant, the 23d instant.

SIR,

I enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from captain Brisbane, of his majesty's ship the *Doris*, who commands the frigates employed in watching the enemy's fleet at the entrance of Brest harbour, in which important service he has shown a great deal of zeal and enterprise. This daring exploit appears to me to stand as high in point of credit to his majesty's arms, and glory to those brave officers and men who have so nobly achieved it, as any of the kind ever performed.

W. CORNWALLIS.
Doris,

Doris, off St. Matthew's, July 22.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that a most daring and gallant enterprise was last night undertaken by the boats of his majesty's ships *Doris*, *Beaulieu*, and *Uranie*, entirely manned by volunteers, under the direction of lieutenant Losack, of the *Ville de Paris*, whose gallantry on the occasion is better felt than expressed, who succeeded in boarding and carrying the French national ship *La Chevrette*, mounting 20 guns, manned and completely prepared with 350 men, under the batteries in the bay of Cameret, and in the presence of the combined fleets of France and Spain. Any comments of mine would fall far short of the merit due to those gallant officers, seamen, and marines, employed upon this service; it is but justice to subjoin their names and qualities*, who have so nobly added an additional lustre to his majesty's arms. I have most sincerely to regret the loss of the killed and wounded; but when compared with that of the enemy it is comparatively small. I cannot conclude without returning my warmest thanks to capt. Poyntz and Gage, for their judicious arrangements of their boats. I beg to mention that captain Jervis, of the *Robust*, very handsomely sent his barge and pinnace on this service; likewise lieutenant Spencer, who placed his majesty's hired cutter *Telemachus* in the Goulet, and prevented any assistance, by boats, the enemy might have attempted.

C. BRISBANE.

List of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the boats of his ma-

jesty's ships *Doris*, *Beaulieu*, *Uranie*, and *Robust*.

Doris, lieut. Burke dangerously wounded; Mr. Crofton, midshipman, and 16 seamen, wounded.—*Beaulieu*, lieut. Sinclair, of marines, 6 seamen, and 2 marines, killed. Mr. Philips, master's mate; Mr. Byrne, and Mr. Finoris, midshipmen; with 13 seamen, and 2 marines, wounded.—*Uranie*, one seaman killed. Lieut. Neville and 10 seamen wounded, 2 dangerously (since dead); 7 marines, wounded. 1 missing, supposed to be drowned in the boat that sunk.—*Robust*, Mr. Warren, midshipman, killed; and 3 seamen wounded.—Total, 11 killed, 57 wounded, and 1 missing. List of the killed and wounded on board *La Chevrette*.

First captain, 2 lieutenants, 3 midshipmen, 1 lieutenant of the troops, with 85 seamen and troops, killed; 1 lieutenant, 4 midshipmen, with 57 seamen and troops, wounded.

C. BRISBANE.

AUGUST.

Admiralty-office, 1.

Letter from rear-admiral sir J. Saumarez, to E. Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Cæsar*, at Gibraltar, July 6.

SIR,

I have to request you will be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, conformably to my letter of yesterday's date, I stood through the Streights, with his majesty's squadron under my orders, with the intention of attacking three French line of battle ships and a frigate, that I had re-

* *Ville de Paris*, lieut. Losack.—*Doris*, lieut. Ross, Crosbie, Clarke, and Burke; lieut. Rose, of the marines.—*Beaulieu*, lieut. Maxwell, acting lieut. Pasley; lieut. Sinclair of the marines.—*Uranie*, lieut. Neville, and several midshipmen from the different ships,

ceived information of being at anchor off Algeziras. On opening Cabareta point, I found the ships lay at considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and, having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack. I had previously directed capt. Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron; which he executed with his accustomed gallantry; and, although it was not intended he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the wind's failing (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in this country), and to which circumstance I have to regret the want of success in this well-intended enterprise. Captain Stirling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompée to action in the most spirited and gallant manner; which was also followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron. Capts. Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds, were prevented for a considerable time from coming into action: at length, the Hannibal getting a breeze, capt. Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground; and I am extremely concerned to acquaint their lordships, that, after having made every possible effort, with this ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, I was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables' length from one of the enemy's batteries. My thanks are particularly due to all the captains, officers, and men under my orders; and, although their endeavours have not been crowned with success, I trust the thousands of spectators from his ma-

jesty's garrison, and also the surrounding coast, will do justice to their valour and intrepidity; which was not to be checked by the fire from the numerous batteries, however formidable, that surround Algeziras. I feel it incumbent upon me to state to their lordships the great merits of captain Brenton, of the Cæsar, whose cool judgment and intrepid conduct, I will venture to pronounce, were never surpassed. I also beg leave to recommend to their lordships' notice my flag lieutenant, Mr. Philip Dumaresq, who has served with me from the commencement of this war, and is a most deserving officer. Mr. Lamborne, and the other lieutenants, are also entitled to great praise; as well as captain Maxwell, of the marines, and the officers of his corps serving on board the Cæsar. The enemy's ships consisted of two of 84 guns, and one of 74, with a large frigate: two of the former are aground, and the whole are rendered totally unserviceable. I cannot close this letter without rendering the most ample justice to the great bravery of capt. Ferris: the loss in his ship must have been very considerable both in officers and men; but I have the satisfaction to be informed, that his majesty has not lost so valuable an officer.

I am, &c.

JAMES SAUMAREZ.

The hon. capt. Dundas, of his majesty's polacre the Calpe, made his vessel as useful as possible, and kept up a spirited fire on one of the enemy's batteries. I have also to express my approbation of lieutenant Janvern, commander of the gunboats; who, having joined me with intelligence, served as volunteer on board the Cæsar.

List of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships under the

the command of rear-admiral sir J. Saumarez, bart. in the attack of the French squadron and Spanish batteries in Algeziras bay, July 6th.

Cæsar, Wm. Grave, 6 seamen, 2 marines, killed; George William Forster, boatswain, 17 seamen, 1 boy, 6 marines, wounded; Richard Best, master's mate, 7 seamen, missing. Total, 42.—Pompée, Mr. Roxburgh, master, Mr. Steward, midshipman, 10 seamen, 3 marines, killed; Richard Cheesman, Arthur Stapleton, and Thomas Innes, lieutenants; Mr. Curry, and Mr. Hillier, master's mates; J. Hibberd, midshipman; 53 seamen, 10 marines, wounded. Total 84.—Spencer, R. Spencer, volunteer (first class), 5 seamen, killed; Jos. Chatterton, midshipman, 23 seamen, 3 marines, wounded. Total 33.—Venerable, W. Gibbons, midshipman, 7 seamen, killed; Silvester Austin, Mart. Collins, midshipmen, 20 seamen, 3 marines, wounded. Total 33.—Hannibal, J. D. Williams, first lieutenant of marines; David Lindsey, captain's clerk; 68 seamen, 5 marines, killed; lieut. J. Turner; J. Wood, master; A. Dudgeon, midshipman; George Dunford, lieutenant of marines; 44 seamen, 14 marines, wounded; 6 seamen missing. Total 143.—Audacious, 8 seamen killed; J. W. Day, lieutenant of marines; 25 seamen, 6 marines, wounded. Total 40.

Total, 375 killed, wounded, and missing,

(Signed) J. SAUMAREZ.
Letter from rear-admiral sir J. Saumarez, dated on board his majesty's ship Cæsar, Gibraltar mole, July 10, to E. Nepean, esq.

SIR,

I herewith enclose the copy of a letter from capt. Ferris, of his majesty's late ship Hannibal, which I

request you will please to lay before their lordships; and I have only to express my deep regret that his well-meant endeavours to bring his ship to close action should have occasioned so severe a loss.

J. SAUMAREZ.

SIR,

Algeziras, July 7.

I have little more to tell you of the fate of his majesty's ship Hannibal than yourself must have observed; only that, from the number of batteries and ships, gun-boats, &c. we had to encounter, our guns soon got knocked up; and I found it was impossible to do any thing either for the preservation of the ship or for the good of the service, our boats, sails, rigging, and springs, being all shot away; and, having so many killed and wounded, which will appear by the annexed list, I thought it prudent to strike, and thereby preserve the lives of the brave men that remained. Had I been successful in the view before me, previous to the ship taking the ground, my praises of the conduct of my officers and ship's company could not have exceeded their merits; but I have, notwithstanding, the satisfaction to say, that every order was observed, and carried into execution, with that promptitude and alacrity becoming British officers and seamen.

I am, &c.

S. FERRIS.

Rear-adm. sir J. Saumarez, &c.

Admiralty-office, 1. Copy of an enclosure from rear-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. commander in chief at the Leeward islands, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Martinique, June 6.

His Majesty's ship L'Heureux, Barbadoes, May 31.

SIR,

Cruizing, according to your orders, for the protection of our commerce and the annoyance of the enemy,

my, his majesty's ship under my command captured, on the morning of the 28th instant, 30 leagues to windward of this island, after a chase of 16 hours, and a running fight, which she maintained for three hours in hopes to escape, the French national schooner L'Egypte, of 16 guns and 100 men. She is copper-bottomed, and said to be the fastest sailing vessel out of Guadaloupe, from which island she had sailed 13 days, and had not made a capture. I am, &c.

LOFTUS OTWAY BLAND.
Rear-adm. Duckworth.

Admiralty-office, 3. Lieut. Philip Dumaresq, of his majesty's ship Cæsar, arrived last night with the following dispatches from rear-adm. sir James Saumarez, bart.

Cæsar, off Cape Trafalgar,
SIR, July 13.

It has pleased the Almighty to crown the exertions of this squadron with the most decisive success over the enemies of their country. The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th instant off Algeziras, were on the 8th reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, and a French ship of 74 guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels, and got under sail yesterday morning, together with his majesty's late ship Hannibal, which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal on which she struck. I almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose to such numbers; but, through the great exertions of capt. Brenton, and the officers and men belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the Mole yesterday morning, and got under

weigh immediately after with all the squadron, except the Pompee, which ship had not had time to get in her masts. Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the happiness to serve with, I determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening I observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabareta point, and at eight I bore up with the squadron to stand after them. His majesty's ship Superb being stationed ahead of the Cæsar, I directed captain Keats to make sail, and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At 11 the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships; and on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage a three-decker that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire; and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were soon in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the Superb; but by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, which must ever reflect the highest credit on that ship, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours. The Venerable and Spencer having at this time come up, I bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, standing out for the Streights, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till daylight, and in the morning the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the

the shoals of Conil, besides the Spencer astern coming up. All the ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze; but as we approached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her to action, which captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship, when his main-mast (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away; and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off without any possibility of following her. The highest praise is due to capt. Hood, and the officers and men of the Venerable, for their spirit and gallantry in the action, which entitled them to better success. The French ship was an 84, with additional guns on the gunwale. This action was so near the shore, that the Venerable struck on one of the shoals, but was soon after got off, and taken in tow by the Thames, but with the loss of all her masts. The enemy's ships are now in sight to the westward, standing in for Cadiz. The Superb and Audacious, with the captured ship, are also in sight, with the Carlotta Portuguese frigate, commanded by captain Crawford Duncan, who very handsomely came out with the squadron, and has been of the greatest assistance to captain Keats in staying by the enemy's ship captured by the Superb. I am proceeding with the squadron for Rosier bay, and shall proceed, the moment the ships are refitted, to resume my station. No praises that I can bestow are adequate to the merits of the officers and ships' companies of all the squadron, particularly for their unremitted exertions in refitting the ships at Gibraltar, to which, in a great degree, is to be ascribed the success of the squadron

against the enemy. Although the Spencer and Audacious had not the good fortune to partake of this action, I have no doubt of their exertion, had they come up in time to close with the enemy's ships. My thanks are also due to capt. Holles, of the Thames, and to the hon. capt. Dundas, of the Calpe, whose assistance was particularly useful to captain Keats in securing the enemy's ship, and enabling the Superb to stand after the squadron, in case of having been enabled to renew the action.

I herewith enclose the names of the enemy's ships. J. SAUMAREZ.
Evan Nepean, esq.

List of the Spanish squadron that arrived at Cadiz from Ferrol, on the 25th of April, under the command of Don Joaquin de Moreno, (lieutenant-general), as vice-admiral, and proceeded to Algeziras bay, the 9th of July.

Real Carlos, of 112 guns, capt. Don J. Esquerre. San Hermenegildo, of 112 guns, capt. don J. Empiran. San Fernando, of 94 guns, capt. don J. Malms. Argonaut, of 80 guns, capt. don J. Harrera. San Augustin, of 74 guns, capt. don R. Jopete. San Antonio, of 74 guns, under French colours, taken by the Superb. Wanton, French lugger, of 12 guns. The admiral's ship, the Real Carlos, and the San Hermenegildo, were the two ships that took fire and blew up. J. SAUMAREZ.

Cesar, off Trafalgar, July 14.

SIR,

I herewith enclose, for their lordships' farther information, the statement I have received from captain Keats, to whom the greatest praise is due for his gallant conduct on the service alluded to. Capt. Hood's merits are held in too high estimation

tion to receive additional lustre from any praises I can bestow; but I only do justice to my own feelings when I observe, that in no instance have I known superior bravery to that displayed by him on this occasion.

J. SAUMAREZ.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Superb, off Cape Trafalgar, July 13.

SIR,

Pursuant to your directions to state the particulars of the *Superb's* services last night, I have the honour to inform you, that in consequence of your directions to make sail up and engage the sternmost of the enemy's ships, at half past 11 I found myself abreast of a Spanish three-decked ship (the *Real Carlos*, as appears by report of some survivors), which having brought in one with two other ships nearly line abreast, I opened my fire upon at not more than three cables' length: this evidently produced a good effect, as well in this ship as the others abreast of her, which soon began firing on each other, and at times on the *Superb*. In about a quarter of an hour, I perceived the ship I was engaging, and which had lost her foretop-mast, to be on fire, upon which we instantly ceased to molest her, and I proceeded on to the ship next at hand, which proved to be the *San Antonio*, of 74 guns and 730 men, commanded by the *chef de division* Le Key, under French colours, wearing a broad pendant, and manned nearly equally with French and Spanish seamen, and which, after some action (the *chef* being wounded), struck her colours. I learn from the very few survivors of the ships that caught fire and blew up (which in an open boat reached the *Superb* at the time she was taking possession of the *San Antonio*), that in the confusion of

the action, the *Hermenegildo*, a first-rate also, mistaking the *Real Carlos* for an enemy, ran on board her, and shared her melancholy fate. Services of this nature cannot well be expected to be performed without some loss; but though we have to lament that lieutenant E. Waller and 14 seamen and marines have been wounded, most of them severely, still there is reason to rejoice that it is the extent of our loss. I received able and active assistance from Mr. Samuel Jackson, the first lieutenant; and it is my duty to represent to you, that the officers of all descriptions, seamen and marines, conducted themselves with the greatest steadiness and gallantry.

R. G. KEATS.

Sir James Saumarez, bart, &c.

Admiralty-office, 4. A letter from admiral Cornwallis introduces the following:—

Immortalité, at sea, July 31.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that at one o'clock in the morning of the 27th instant, in lat. 43 deg. 34 min. N. and long. 11 deg. 42 min. W. I had the good fortune to fall in with, and at half past seven to capture, a remarkably fine and singularly constructed French privateer, with four masts, named *L'Invention*, carrying 24 guns on a flush-deck, and 210 men. She is quite new, had only left Bourdeaux nine days before on her first cruize, and had taken nothing. She is a beautiful vessel, on a plan entirely peculiar to herself, designed by her commander, Mr. Thibaut, and of extraordinary dimensions, being 147 feet long and 27 wide; each mast is rigged in the usual manner, and she appears to me to answer perfectly well. During the chase, at daylight, his majesty's ship *Arethusa*

thusa was seen at a distance, who joined in the pursuit, and, from her situation, greatly assisted me in capturing her.

I am, &c. **H. HOTHAM.**
Letter from lord Cochrane to capt. Dixon, of his majesty's ship the *Généreux*.

*Speedy, off Barcelona, May 6,
Castello Ferro, N. four miles.*

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the sloop I have the honour to command, after a mutual chase and warm action, has captured a Spanish xebec frigate, of 32 guns and 22 long 12-pounders, eight nines, and two heavy carronades, named the Gamo, commanded by Don Francisco de Torris, manned by 319 naval officers, seamen, supernumeraries, and marines. The great disparity of force rendering it necessary to adopt some measure that might prove decisive, I resolved to board; and, with lieut. Parker, the hon. Mr. Cochrane, the boatswain, and crew, boarded; when, by the impetuosity of the attack, we forced them instantly to strike their colours. I have to lament, in boarding, the loss of one man only; the severe wounds received by lieut. Parker, both from musketry and the sword; one wound received by the boatswain, and one seaman. I must be permitted to say, there could not be greater regularity nor more cool determined conduct shown by men, than by the crew of the *Speedy*. Lieut. Parker, whom I beg leave to recommend to their lordships' notice, as well as the hon. Mr. Cochrane, deserve all the approbation that can be bestowed. The exertions and good conduct of the boatswain, carpenter, and petty officers, I acknowledge with pleasure, as well as the skill and attention of Mr. Guthrie, the surgeon.

I am, &c. **COCHRANE.**
1801.

List of killed, wounded, &c.

Speedy's force at the commencement of the action, 54 officers, men, and boys; 3 killed, and 8 wounded; 14 four-pounders (guns).—Gamo's force at the commencement of the action, 274 officers, seamen, boys, and supernumeraries; 45 marines. Total 319. Don Francisco de Torris, the boatswain, and 13 men, killed; 41 wounded. 32 guns.

Letter from capt. Thomas Rogers to lord Keith.

*Mercury off the Tremite islands;
in the Adriatic, June 23.*

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your lordship with the capture of a notorious French pirate this afternoon, by the boats of the *Mercury* and *El Corso*. He had taken refuge in the morning, when chased by the *Corso*, among the rocks in the Tremite islands, inhabited by a few renegadoes only; and upon the *Mercury's* appearance landed the greatest part of his crew, who posted themselves with a four-pounder and musketry upon a hill, to defend the vessel, close to which she lay aground with hawsers fast to the shore: notwithstanding this advantageous position, the boats under the command of lieutenant Mather, of the *Mercury*, rowed in with great intrepidity, exposed to a small fire of grape and musketry from the vessel and the hill, while the *Mercury* and *Corso* awed the enemy by firing what guns could be brought to bear upon him; and we had the satisfaction to see our people very gallantly board the vessel, and land at the same time to drive the banditti from the hill, in which they fortunately succeeded, without the loss of a man; and lieut. Wilson, with the party of marines, maintained the position, while the seamen hove the vessel off the rocks, and brought her out, with several

(E) prisoners

prisoners taken upon the hill. She is a tartan, called *Le Tigre*, fitted out at Sinigalia, but last from Ancona, mounts eight six and twelve-pounders, and had a crew of 60 French and Italians. The plunder found on board this vessel is sufficient evidence of her character, consisting of bales of cotton, and other goods taken from vessels of different nations. I am, &c.

T. ROGERS.

[This Gazette also announces the capture of the *Corivesse*, a small vessel, of one brass gun, by the *Corso*, capt. Ricketts.]

Admiralty-office, 8. Letter from viscount Nelson, K. B. &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Medusa*, off Boulogne, Aug. 4.

SIR,

The enemy's vessels, brigs, and flats, (lugger-rigged,) and a schooner, 24 in number, were this morning, at day-light, anchored in a line in front of the town of Boulogne. The wind being favourable for the bombs to act, I made the signal for them to weigh, and to throw shells at the vessels, but as little as possible to annoy the town. The captains placed their ships in the best possible position, and in a few hours three of the flats and a brig were sunk; and in the course of the morning six were on shore evidently much damaged: at six in the evening, being high water, five of the vessels which had been aground hauled with difficulty into the Mole, the others remained under water. I believe the whole of the vessels would have gone inside the pier but for want of water. What damage the enemy has sustained, beyond what we see, is impossible to tell. The whole of this affair is of no further consequence than to show the enemy they cannot, with impunity, come outside their ports. The officers of artillery

threw the shells with great skill; and I am sorry to say that captain Fyers, of the Royal artillery, is slightly wounded in the thigh by the bursting of an enemy's shell, and two seamen are also wounded. A flat gun-vessel is this moment sunk.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

Letter from captain Mudge, commander of his majesty's ship *La Constance*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated at sea, July 21.

SIR,

At ten yesterday morning, Cape Ortegal south four miles, a large brig and lugger hove round the point, tracing the shore within a quarter of a mile, running down before the wind. Relying on the Spanish charts I had in my possession, I ran so close to the Firgn rocks, as to oblige them to run through the inner channel, both receiving the broadside as they passed. The *Stork*, which was beating up, stood into the bay, and by a well-directed fire obliged the brig to run on the rocks, directly under a high cliff, which was defended by the militia of the country, who kept up a constant but ill-directed fire. Lieut. Stupart, of this ship, with the several boats of the *Stork*, &c. gallantly pushed in, and hove her off without loss. She proved to be the *El Cantara* privateer, mounting 18 eighteen-pounders, and 4 sixes, with 110 men; had left Corunna the night before, with the lugger, of 10 guns, which I also captured, and had taken nothing.

ZACHARY MUDGE.

Admiralty-office, 18. Letter from viscount Nelson, K. B. &c. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Medusa*, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

SIR,

Having judged it proper to attempt bringing off the enemy's flotilla moored in the front of Boulogne, I directed

directed the attack to be made by four divisions of boats for boarding, under the command of capts. Somerville, Cotgrave, Jones, and Parker, and a division of howitzer boats under captain Conn. The boats put off from the Medusa at half past eleven o'clock last night in the best possible order, and before one o'clock this morning the firing began, and I had, from the judgment of the officers, and the zeal and gallantry of every man, the most perfect confidence of complete success: but the darkness of the night, with the tide and half-tide, separated the divisions, and from all not arriving at the same happy moment with captain Parker is to be attributed the failure of success: but I beg to be perfectly understood, that not the smallest blame attaches itself to any one person; for, although the divisions did not arrive together, yet each (except the fourth division, which could not be got up before day,) made a successful attack on that part of the enemy they fell in with, and actually took possession of many brigs and flats, and cut their cables: but many of them being aground, and the moment of the battle's ceasing on board them, the vessels were filled with volleys upon volleys of musketry, the enemy being perfectly regardless of their own men, who must have suffered equally with us. It was therefore impossible to remain on board even to burn them; but allow me to say, who have seen much service this war, that more determined, persevering courage I never witnessed, and that nothing but the impossibility of being successful, from the causes I have mentioned, could have prevented me from having to congratulate their lordships: but although in value the loss of such gal-

lant and good men is incalculable, yet in point of numbers it has fallen short of my expectations. I must also beg leave to state, that greater zeal and ardent desire to distinguish themselves by an attack on the enemy was never shown than by all the captains, officers and crews of all the different descriptions of vessels under my command. The commanders of the Hunter and Greyhound revenue cutters went in their boats in the most handsome and gallant manner to the attack. Amongst the many brave men wounded, I have with the deepest regret to place the name of my gallant good friend and able assistant captain T. Parker; also my flag lieutenant Frederick Langford, who has served with me many years; they were both wounded in attempting to board the French commodore. To captain Gore, of the Medusa, I feel the highest obligations; and when their lordships look at the loss of the Medusa on this occasion, they will agree with me, that the honour of my flag, and the cause of their king and country, could never have been placed in more gallant hands. Captain Bedford, of the Leyden, with captain Gore, very handsomely volunteered their services to serve under a master and commander; but I did not think it fair to the latter, and I only mention it to mark the zeal of those officers. From the nature of the attack, only a few prisoners were made; a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers are all they brought off. Herewith I send the reports of the several commanders of divisions, and a return of killed and wounded.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

P. S. Capt. Somerville was the senior master and commander employed.

(E 2)

Eugénie,

Eugénie, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

My Lord,

In obedience to your lordship's direction, to state the proceedings of the first division of boats which you did me the honour to place under my command, for the purpose of attacking the enemy's flotilla in the bay of Boulogne, I beg leave to acquaint you, that after leaving the *Medusa* last night, I found myself, on getting on shore, carried considerably, by the rapidity of the tide, to the eastward of the above-mentioned place; and finding that I was not likely to reach it in the order prescribed, I gave directions for the boats to cast each other off. By so doing, I was enabled to get to the enemy's flotilla a little before the dawn of day, and in the best order possible attacked, close in the pier-head, a brig, which, after a short contest, I carried. Previous to so doing, her cables were cut; but I was prevented from towing her out, by her being secured with a chain, and in consequence of a very heavy fire of musketry and grape-shot that was directed at us from the shore, three luggers, and another brig within half-pistol shot; and not seeing the least prospect of being able to get her off, I was obliged to abandon her, and push out of the bay, as it was then completely daylight. The undaunted and resolute behaviour of the officers, seamen, and marines, was unparalleled; and I have to lament the loss of several of those brave men, a list of whom I enclose you herewith.

P. SOMERVILLE.

Viscount Nelson, K. B. &c.

Medusa, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

My Lord,

After the complete arrangement which was made, the perfect good understanding and regularity with

which the boats you did me the honour to put under my command left the *Medusa*, I have an anxious feeling to explain to your lordship the failing of our enterprise, that, on its outset, promised every success. Agreeably to your lordship's instructions, I proceeded with the second division of the boats under my direction (the half of which were under the direction of lieut. Williams, senior of the *Medusa*) to attack the part of the enemy's flotilla appointed for me, and at half past 12 had the good fortune to find myself close to them; when I ordered lieut. Williams, with his subdivision, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of me, while I, with the others, ran alongside a large brig off the Mole-head, wearing the commodore's pendant. It is at this moment I feel myself at a loss for words to do justice to the officers and crew of the *Medusa* who were in the boat with me, and to lieutenant Langford, the officers and crew of the same ship, who nobly seconded us in the barge, until all her crew were killed or wounded; and to the hon. Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the *Medusa's* cutter, and sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation I was left in obliged me to call him to the assistance of the sufferers in my boat. The boats were no sooner alongside than we attempted to board; but a very strong netting, traced up to her lower yards, baffled all our endeavours; and an instantaneous discharge of her guns, and small arms from about 200 soldiers on her gunwale, knocked myself, Mr. Kirby, the master of the *Medusa*, and Mr. Gore, a midshipman, with two-thirds of the crew, upon our backs in the boats, all either killed or wounded

wounded desperately: the barge and cutter, being on the outside, sheered off with the tide; but the flat boat in which I was hung alongside, and, as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not Mr. Cathcart taken her in tow and carried her off. Mr. Williams led his sub-division up to the enemy with the most intrepid gallantry, took one lugger and attacked a brig, while his crews, I am concerned to say, suffered equally with ourselves: nearly the whole of his boat's crew were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Pelley, who commanded the Medusa's launch, and the hon. Mr. Maitland, midshipman, were severely wounded; and Mr. William Bristow, master's mate, in the Medusa's cutter, under lieut. Stewart, was killed. I now feel it my duty to assure your lordship, that nothing could surpass the zeal, courage, and readiness of every description of officer and man under my command; and I am sorry that my words fall short of their merits, though we could not accomplish the object we were ordered to.

EDWARD T. PARKER.
Lord viscount Nelson, &c.

My Lord, *Gannet, Aug. 16.*

On the night of the 15th instant, the third division of boats which I had the honour to command, assembled on board his majesty's ship York, agreeably to your lordship's directions, and at 11 P. M., by signal from the Medusa, proceeded, without loss of time, to attack the enemy's flotilla off Boulogne, as directed by your lordship; and as I thought it most advisable to endeavour to reduce the largest vessel first, I lost no time in making the attack; but in consequence of my leading the division, and the enemy opening a heavy fire from

several batteries, thought it advisable to give the enemy as little time as possible, cut the tow-rope, and did not wait for the other boats, so that it was some little time before the heavy boats could get up; received so many shots through the boat's bottom, that I soon found her in a sinking state; and, as it was not possible to stop so many shot-holes, was obliged, with the men, to take to another boat; and have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that I received particular support from the boats of his majesty's ship York, which soon came up with the rest of the division I had the honour to command. But finding no prospect of success, and the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire from the shore of grape and small arms, thought it for the good of his majesty's service to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning, as we could not board her, although every effort was made.

I am, &c.

ISAAC COTGRAVE:
Lord viscount Nelson, K. B. &c.

My Lord, *Isis, Aug. 16.*

In consequence of directions received from your lordship, I last night, on the signal being made on board the Medusa, left this ship, with the boats of the fourth division, formed with two close lines, and immediately joined the other divisions under the stern of the Medusa, and from thence proceeded to put your lordship's order into execution, attacking the westernmost part of the enemy's flotilla; but, notwithstanding every exertion made, owing to the rapidity of the tide, we could not, until near daylight, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line; on approaching the eastern part of which,

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in order to assist the first division then engaged, we met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, I judged it prudent to direct the officers commanding the different boats to return to their respective ships. I am, &c.

ROBERT JONES.

P. S. None killed or wounded on board any of the fourth division.

Lord viscount Nelson, K. B. &c.

Discovery, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

My Lord,

I beg leave to make my report to your lordship of the four howitzer boats that I had the honour to command, in the attack of the enemy last night. Having led in to support captain Parker's division, keeping between his lines until the enemy opened their fire on him, we kept on towards the pier until I was aground in the headmost boat; then opened our fire and threw about eight shells into it, but, from the strength of the tide coming out of the harbour, was not able to keep our station off the pier-head, but continued our fire on the camp until the enemy's fire had totally slackened, and captain Parker's division had passed without me. I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that I was ably supported by the other boats. Captain Broome and lieutenant Beam, of the Royal artillery, did every thing in their power to annoy the enemy. The other officers of artillery were detached in the other four howitzer boats.

J. CONN.

Lord viscount Nelson, K. B. &c.

Account of officers, seamen, and marines, killed and wounded in the boats of his majesty's ships and vessels in the attack of the French flotilla, moored before Boulogne, on the night of August 15.

First division.

Leyden, 8 seamen, 3 marines, killed; 5 officers, 20 seamen, 15 marines, wounded. Total 51.—Eugénie, 3 seamen killed; 1 officer, 5 seamen, wounded. Total 9.—Jamaica, 1 officer, 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 4 seamen, 4 marines, wounded. Total 13.

Second division.

Medusa, 2 officers, 14 seamen, 4 marines, killed; 5 officers, 24 seamen, 6 marines, wounded. Total 55.—Queenborough cutter, 1 seaman killed, 6 seamen wounded. Total 7.—Minx, 1 officer wounded.

Third division.

York, 1 officer, 2 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 10 seamen, 5 marines, wounded. Total 19.—Gannet, 1 seaman killed, 2 seamen wounded. Total 3.—Ferriter, 3 seamen wounded.—Providence, 3 seamen wounded.—Express, 4 seamen wounded.—Explosion, 1 seaman killed, 2 seamen wounded. Total 3.—Discovery, 1 seaman wounded.

Fourth division.

None killed or wounded.

Total.—4 officers, 33 seamen, 7 marines, killed; 14 officers, 84 seamen, 30 marines, wounded. Total 172.

Names of officers killed and wounded.

Leyden, lieuts. Thomas Oliver, Francis Dickson, badly; captain Young, of the marines, badly; Mr. Francis Burney, master's mate, Mr. Samuel Spratley, midshipman, wounded.—Eugénie, Mr. William Basset, acting lieutenant, wounded.—Jamaica, Mr. Alexander Rutherford, master's mate, killed; lieut. Jeremiah Skelton wounded.—Medusa, Mr. William Gore, Mr. William Bristow, midshipmen, killed; capt. Edward Thornborough Parker, lord Nelson's aide-du-camp; lieuts. Charles Pelley and Frederick Langford;

Langford; Mr. William Kirby, master; the hon. Anthony Maitland, midshipman, wounded.—York. Mr. Berry, midshipman, killed; Mr. Brown, gunner, wounded.—Mr. Richard Wilkinson, commander of the Greyhound revenue cutter, wounded; and 1 seaman belonging to the Greyhound, likewise wounded.

NELSON AND BRONTE.
Medusa, Aug. 16.

Downing-street, 22. The following dispatches have this day been received at lord Hobart's office, from lieut.-gen. sir John Hely Hutchinson, transmitted in a letter from lord Elgin to lord Hawkesbury.

Earl of Elgin to lord Hawkesbury, dated Constantinople, July 18.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that the inclosed letters to lord Hobart contain the intelligence of the surrender of Grand Cairo to the combined forces under gen. Hutchinson, the vizier, and the capitan pacha.

Head-quarters, camp before Gizeh, June 21.

My Lord,

I have nothing new, or of very essential import, to communicate, but I avail myself of the opportunity of a messenger going to Constantinople, to inform you, that we are encamped near Gizeh, which is on the opposite side of the river to Cairo. We mean to erect batteries in the course of 24 hours: it cannot hold out long, as it is a very weak place; but it covers a bridge of communication which the French have over the Nile, and it is therefore essential to us to have it in our possession. This operation cannot last above four or five days at most; I then mean to cross the river, and join the army of the grand vizier, who is at present encamped very near Cairo: we shall then besiege

the place, which is garrisoned by 4 or 5000 French; but their works are very extended, and would require a much greater number of men to defend them. Great delays have been occasioned in this operation, from the low state of the river, and from the bar of the Nile at Rosetta, which is frequently impassable for ten days together; so that our march has been much retarded. The difficulty of procuring provisions for the army, and the obstacles which we encountered in bringing the heavy artillery up the river (which has not yet been entirely accomplished), have been very great. However, we have now a sufficiency to begin the siege.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

Head-quarters, camp before Gizeh, June 29.

My Lord,

The combined armies advanced on both sides of the river on the 21st inst. The British troops, and those of his highness the capitan pacha, invested Gizeh on the left bank of the Nile; whilst the army of his highness the grand vizier moved forward, and took a position nearly within cannon-shot of Cairo. On the 22d, in the morning, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, and informed me, that they wished to treat for the evacuation of Cairo, and the forts thereunto belonging, upon certain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, which was conducted by brigadier-general Hope with much judgment and ability, they agreed to surrender the town and forts on the conditions which I have the honour to enclose. We took possession of the gate of Gizeh at five o'clock yesterday evening, and also of the fort Sulkoski, on the Cairo side of the river. Hostages have been mutually exchanged, and the final evacuation

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cuation will take place in about ten days. I should suppose that there are near 6000 troops of all kinds in the town; but I speak without a perfect knowledge on the subject, as I have not yet received any returns. This has been a long and arduous service. The troops, from the great heat of the weather, the difficulty of the navigation of the river, and the entire want of roads in the country, have suffered a considerable degree of fatigue; but both men and officers have submitted to it with the greatest patience, and have manifested a zeal for the honour of his majesty's arms that is above all panegyric. The conduct of the soldiers has been orderly and exemplary; and a discipline has been preserved which would have done honour to any troops. I am extremely obliged to lieut.-col. Anstruther, quarter-master-general, for the great zeal and ability which he has shown, under very difficult circumstances, in forwarding the public service. From generals Cradock and Doyle, who were the general officers employed immediately under my orders, I have derived the greatest assistance; and I beg leave to recommend them as highly deserving of his majesty's favour. The exertions of capt. Stevenson, of the navy, have been extremely laborious and constant during this long march; they have done every thing that was possible to forward our supplies; and, indeed, without their powerful aid, it would have been impossible to have proceeded. Your lordship will recollect that the river is extremely low at this season of the year, the mouth of the Nile impassable for days together, and the distance from Rosetta to Cairo between 160 and 170 miles. Capt. Stevenson has been ably supported by capt. Morrison,

Curry, and Hillyar, who were employed under him. The service in which they have been engaged has not been a brilliant one; but I hope it will be recollected that it has been most useful, and has required constant vigilance and attention. It has lasted now for many weeks: the labour has been excessive, and the fatigue greater than I can express. This dispatch will be delivered to you by my aid-de-camp, major Montresor, who has been in the most intimate habits of confidence with me since my arrival in Egypt, and will be able to give your lordship a most perfect account of the situation of affairs in this country. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection as an officer of merit, and highly deserving his majesty's favour.

I am, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation (21 in number). In substance they provide, that the French forces and their allies, under the command of gen. Belliard, should evacuate (not only the city of Cairo, and its dependencies, but) all that part of Egypt which they then occupied; the French and auxiliary troops to retire by land to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, ammunition, effects, &c. and be thence embarked, with the same, to the French ports in the Mediterranean, at the expence of the allied powers. All the administrations, the members of the commission of arts and sciences, in short, every person attached to the French army, to enjoy the same advantages; together with all inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation, who might wish to follow the French troops.]

Admiralty-office, 29.

Copy of a letter from the hon. William Cornwallis, admiral of the blue,

blue, &c. to Evan Nepean, esq.
dated off Ushant, the 20th inst.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from capt. Wemyss, of his majesty's ship the Unicorn, inclosing one from capt. Griffiths, of the Atalante sloop, both stationed in watching the coast of Quiberon.

I am, &c. W. CORNWALLIS.

His majesty's ship Unicorn,

SIR, *Quiberon-bay, Aug. 14.*

By his majesty's sloop Atalante (which I have sent to you, being short of provisions), I inclose a journal of my proceedings and statement of the ship, by which you will see we have barely a month's provisions. Hitherto, notwithstanding all my exertions in sending the boats away armed on different occasions, and moving with the ship, I have only been able to capture one chasse-maree, of 40 tons, laden with lime, not worth sending in (in which business we had the misfortune to have one seaman killed, and one slightly wounded), and to destroy one, same burthen, laden with corn. Several convoys are lying at different places, ready to slip out; the largest of which, (in the Morbihan,) by anchoring near that place, and commanding the passages to the westward, have prevented moving. His majesty's sloop Atalante has been rather more fortunate, having captured three small light boats, and L'Eveille armed lugger. The gallantry of this affair, to which I was an eye-witness, is fully mentioned in capt. Griffiths' letter, a copy of which I inclose, and beg leave to say he speaks my sentiments on that subject. I hope this account of my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I am, &c. C. WEMYSS.
Hon. admiral Cornwallis, &c.

Atalante, Quiberon-bay, Aug. 11.

SIR,

I have to acquaint you, for the information of the commander in chief, that yesterday the six-oared cutter of his majesty's sloop under my command, manned with eight men, captured the French armed lugger L'Eveille, in the service of the republic, of 58 tons, mounting two 4-pounders and four large swivels carrying a pound-and-half ball. The cool intrepidity with which they rowed up in face of a brisk discharge of cannister and grape from the lugger, and the cross fire of two small batteries, could not fail to excite my admiration; they boarded and took her a musket-shot from the shore (the crew deserted her at the moment), and, I am happy to add, brought her off without any body hurt on our part. The steady determination and good conduct of Mr. Fran. Smith (who commanded) claim my fullest approbation; and I trust I may be permitted strongly to recommend him to notice, as well as to express my thanks to the boat's crew who so ably seconded him.

I am, &c. A. J. GRIFFITHS.
Captain Wemyss, his majesty's ship Unicorn.

SEPTEMBER.

Admiralty-office, 5.

Letter from hon. Wm. Cornwallis, admiral of the blue, &c. to Evan Nepean, esq. dated off Ushant, August 31.

SIR,

I have the pleasure of transmitting to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter from capt. Martin, of his majesty's ship Fisgard; by which it appears, the boats of that ship, the Diamond, and the Boadicea, have cut out of Corunna a ship of

of 20 guns, and other vessels. Lieutenant Pipon, who commanded the boats, seems to have conducted the enterprise with much gallantry and judgment; for, although exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries, yet the success was accomplished without any loss; and the conduct of the officers and men who were with him merits my warmest approbation.

W. CORNWALLIS.

Fisgard, off Ferrol, August 21.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that last night the boats of his majesty's ships *Fisgard*, *Diamond*, and *Boadicea*, attacked the vessels of the enemy lying in the harbour of Corunna, and succeeded in bringing out *El Neptuna*, a new ship, pierced for 20 guns, belonging to his catholic majesty; a gun-boat mounting a long 32-pounder, and a merchant-ship; who were moored within the strong batteries that protect the port; and so near them, that the sentinels on the ramparts challenged our people, and immediately commenced a heavy fire: but the prizes were towed out with a degree of coolness and perseverance that does infinite credit to the officers and men, and can only be equalled by their conduct throughout the affair. I should be very glad, if it were in my power, to do justice to the merits of lieut. Pipon, who directed this enterprise with the most becoming spirit and address; but his success will, I trust, sufficiently recommend him to your lordship's approbation, and the notice of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am, &c. T. B. MARTIN.

Admiralty-office, 8.

Letter from Mr. Pettigrew, commander of the ship *Intrepid* letter of marque, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Barbadoes, July 9.

SIR,

On the 22d of June, in N. lat,

18 deg. 25 min. W. long. per ac-compts, 40 deg. 10 min. on board the ship *Intrepid*, of Liverpool, bearing letters of marque, under my command, having in company the ships *Dominica* packet and *Alfred*, I had the good fortune to capture, after a running engagement of nearly two hours, the Spanish frigate-built ship *La Galga*, commanded by Francisco de Pascadello, and mounting 24 heavy sixes, and 78 men, bound to Cadiz, or any port in Spain, loaded with hides, cocoa, indigo, and copper in bars; the quantity not yet known. I am happy to say, we sustained no other loss than that of one of my brave men, and our sails and rigging a good deal cut; the other ships have not sustained any damage, except the prize, which has suffered considerably in both hull and masts, and rigging. I arrived here July 4, with the prize and above-mentioned ships.

I am, &c. JN. PETTIGREW.

P. S. The *Galga* has been at different ports, but was last from Rio de Plata.

Admiralty-office, 12.

Letter from capt. Hood to rear-admiral Saumarez.

SIR, *Venerable, at sea, July 13.*

You must have observed my giving chase to an enemy's line of battle ship at day-break this morning. At seven she hoisted French colours; and I could perceive her to be an eighty-gun ship; at half past, being within point-blank shot, the enemy commenced firing his stern chase-guns, which I did not return, for fear of retarding our progress, until the light and baffling airs threw the two ships broadside-to, within musket-shot, when a steady and warm conflict was kept up for an hour and a half, and we had closed within pistol-shot. The enemy principally directed his fire to our masts and rigging. I had at this time the misfortune

fortune to perceive the main-mast to fall overboard, the fore and mizen-mast nearly in the same state, and since gone: the ship being near the shore close to the castle of Sancti Petri, the enemy escaped. It was with much difficulty I was enabled to get the Venerable off, her cables and anchors all disabled; and it was only by the great exertion of the Thames, with the boats you sent me, she was saved, after being on shore for some time. I shall have no occasion to comment on the bravery of the officers and ship's company in this action, who had, with much patience and perseverance, suffered great fatigue by their exertions to get the ship to sea, and not 500 men able to go to quarters; but I beg leave to add, I have been most ably supported by lieut. Lillicrap, second of the Venerable (first absent), and all the other officers and men, who have my warmest recommendation; and have to lament the loss of Mr. Williams, master, an excellent officer, with many other valuable people killed and wounded, a list of whom I have the honour to enclose.

I am, &c. S. HOOD.

List of killed and wounded in action with a French ship of 80 guns, on July 13th.

Mr. John Williams, master, 15 seamen, 2 marines, killed.—Mr. Thomas Church, lieutenant; Mr. John Snell, boatswain; Mr. George Melley, and Mr. Charles Pardoe, midshipmen: 73 seamen, 10 marines, wounded.

S. HOOD.
Enclosures in a letter from sir J. Saumarez to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Rosia Bay, Aug. 2d.

Sir, *Pasley, Gibraltar, July 9.*

I beg leave to inform you, that on the 29th ult. off Cape St. Vincent, I captured the Spanish felucca privateer *El Golondrina*, of two guns, with small arms, and a com-

plement of 33 men, nine of which had previously been sent in a small Guernsey lugger and a Portuguese schooner, which she had captured during her cruize.

I am, &c. W. WOOLDRIDGE.

Sir, *Pasley, July 30.*

On my return from Minorca, in execution of your orders, on Tuesday the 21st inst. the island of Carbera N. E. six or seven leagues, I fell in with a Spanish man of war xebec, of 22 guns, which at seven A. M. after being hailed by her with orders to send my boat on board, I brought to action within pistol-shot, and continued it until a quarter past eight, when she was perfectly silenced; but took advantage of her sweeps, it being nearly calm; and though every exertion was used with the *Pasley's* sweeps, I had the mortification of seeing her get close in with *Ivica* before night. I am much obliged to Mr. Lyons, the master, for his cool and steady conduct during the action, and Mr. Douglas, midshipman of the *Cæsar*, a passenger, who assisted at the guns. The remaining officers and ship's company behaved with credit to themselves and my satisfaction; but I am sorry to add, one of them was killed, and two others wounded. And on the 29th following, off Cape Tresforcas, I captured the Spanish privateer schooner *El Atamaria*, pierced for 14 guns, but only seven on board, long twelves and sixes, and 55 men, belonging to Malaga, out ten days, and had captured a schooner, from Oran, laden with cattle for Gibraltar.

I am, &c. W. WOOLDRIDGE.

Downing-street, 15.

The following dispatch has been received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, from colonel Fraser, commanding his majesty's troops at Goree, on the coast of Africa.

Goree,

Goree, Africa, June 16.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that, having received intelligence that there was a large ship, under Spanish colours, lying off Senegal, which had been brought there by part of the crew, who, assisted by a number of slaves, had murdered the officers, and seized the vessel on the southern coast of Africa; understanding likewise that it had been proposed by citizen Renaud, as soon as the cargo was landed, to refit this ship, attack with her the British vessels trading for gum in the open roads of Port Andique; then, renewing the depredations that had been formerly committed at Sierra Leone and other settlements, to run with the plunder for Cayenne; I resolved, if possible, to frustrate these intentions, by taking or destroying the Spanish ship while the cargo was landing, and it was probable the enemy would be little prepared for making defence. Having requested the assistance of Mr. Olderman, commander of the merchant-ship Lucy, of Liverpool (the only armed vessel on this part of the coast), he complied most readily. A few seamen were procured from the other traders to reinforce the little Government schooner, chiefly navigated by blacks; and a detachment from this garrison, consisting of ensigns M'Dermot and Kingsley, assistant-surgeon Ryan, and 40 men, embarked and sailed on the 8th inst. under the command of capt. Lloyd. On the 15th capt. Lloyd returned; and by his report, which I have the honour to enclose, your lordship will see that the enemy was taken by surprise, and a new ship, capable of mounting 30 guns on her main deck, has been destroyed, without the loss of one man. All persons employed on this service were volunteers;

and the alacrity with which they engaged in it merits the highest praise.

JOHN FRASER, Commandant.

SIR, *Goree, June 15.*

In consequence of your orders, I proceeded to the bar of Senegal with the detachment under my command; and on the morning of the 12th inst. discovered a large ship at anchor about two miles off the bar. On our approach the crew betook themselves to their boats. On boarding, she was found to be a new Spanish ship, pierced for 30 guns, and about 900 tons burthen; that she had been unloaded, stripped of her sails, rigging, &c. Finding it impracticable, from the state of the vessel, and the wind blowing strong on shore, to bring her off, I gave directions to Mr. Crady, master of the Government schooner, to set her on fire; which he executed very much to my satisfaction, and without any accident. In justice to the officers and men under my command, I beg leave to mention that they displayed the greatest readiness in executing any orders I had to give; and, had there been any occasion, would, I am convinced, have conducted themselves in such a manner as to merit approbation.

RICHARD LLOYD,
Capt. African corps.

OCTOBER.

Downing-street, 2.

The following dispatches have been received from his excellency the earl of Elgin, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Porte, by the right hon. ld. Hawkesbury. Extract of a dispatch from lord Elgin to lord Hawkesbury, dated Constantinople, Sept. 6th, midnight.

I congratulate your lordship most sincerely, on the intelligence which I have this moment received by the annexed letter from sir John Hely Hutchinson.

Extract

Extract of a letter from sir Jn. Hely Hutchinson, K. B. to the earl of Elgin, dated Head-quarters, camp before Alexandria, Aug. 27.

I just seize the opportunity of a messenger going to Constantinople (dispatched by the capitan pacha), to inform your excellency, that gen. Menou offered last night to capitulate for the town and forts of Alexandria, and demanded an armistice of three days, for the purpose of arranging the terms of the capitulation. This I have granted accordingly.

Admiralty-office, 2.

Letter from capt. Keats, of the *Superb*, to E. Nepean, esq. dated off Lisbon, Sept. 19.

SIR,

The *Superb*, *Defence*, and *Peterell* sloop, left vice-adm. Pole on the 6th inst. No event of greater importance than the capture of a privateer by the *Defence*, related in the enclosed copy of a letter to vice-admiral Pole, has occurred since they left him.

R. G. KEATS.

Letter from capt. Keats, of his majesty's ship *Superb*, at sea, to vice-adm. Pole, dated Sept. 18th.

SIR,

The *Defence*, whose signal was made to chase this morning, has returned with a French lugger privateer, of 14 guns and 60 men, named *L'Enfant du Carnival*.

I am, &c.

R. G. KEATS.

Downing-street, 2. Preliminaries of peace between his majesty and the French republic were signed last night at lord Hawkesbury's office, in *Downing-street*, by the right hon. lord Hawkesbury, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, on the part of his majesty, and by M. Otto, on the part of the French government.

Downing-street, 10. The ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace between his majesty and the

French republic, signed on the 1st instant, were this day exchanged by the right hon. lord Hawkesbury, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and by M. Otto.

October 19. This Gazette contains the following proclamation and order:

BY THE KING. A PROCLAMATION, Declaring the cessation of arms, as well by sea as land, agreed upon between his majesty and the French republic, and enjoining the observance thereof.

GEORGE R.

Whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between us and the French republic were signed at London on the 1st day of this instant October, by the plenipotentiary of us, and by the plenipotentiary of the French republic: And whereas for the putting an end to the calamities of war, as soon and as far as may be possible, it hath been agreed between us and the French republic as follows: that is to say, that as soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, friendship should be established between us and the French republic, by sea and land, in all parts of the world, and that all hostilities should cease immediately. And, in order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which might arise on account of prizes which might be made at sea, after the signature of the preliminary articles, it has been also reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which might be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of 12 days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, should be restored on each side; that the term should be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean;

Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands, as far as the Equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place. And whereas the ratifications of the said preliminary articles between us and the French republic were exchanged by the respective plenipotentiaries of us and of the French republic on the 10th day of this instant October, from which day the several terms above mentioned of 12 days, of one month, of two months, and five months, are to be computed. And whereas it is our royal will and pleasure, that the cessation of hostilities between us and the French republic should be agreeable to the several epochs fixed between us and the French republic; we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to notify the same to all our loving subjects; and we do declare, that our royal will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers, both by sea and land, and all other our subjects whatsoever, to forbear all acts of hostility, either by sea or land, against the French republic and their allies, their vassals or subjects, from and after the respective times above mentioned, and under the penalty of incurring our highest displeasure.

Given at our court at Windsor, the 12th day of this instant October, in the 41st year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord 1801.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

At the court at Windsor, the 12th of October, 1801, present, the king's most excellent majesty in council,

His majesty in council was this day pleased to declare and order, that, for the convenience and secu-

rity of the commerce of his loving subjects, during the cessation of arms notified by his royal proclamation of this day's date, passes will be delivered, as soon as they can be interchanged, to such of his subjects as shall desire the same, for their ships, goods, and merchandizes, and effects, they duly observing the several acts of parliament which are or may be in force.

W. FAWKENER.

[This Gazette also contains his majesty's order in council for discontinuing the bounty to seamen; and also for discontinuing the reward for the discovery of seamen, &c.]

Admiralty-office, 17. Letter from adm. lord Keith, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to E. Nepean, esq. dated Foudroyant, bay of Aboukir, July 10.

SIR,

The enclosed letter from capt. Pulling, of his majesty's sloop the Kangaroo, conveys to you, for the information of their lordships, his detail of a spirited and successful attack made by that sloop and the Speedy on a Spanish convoy anchored on the coast, and protected by a battery of 12 guns, and a considerable force of armed vessels, which appears to have been executed with much resolution and courage. I trust that their lordships will honour with their approbation the spirit of enterprise which the officers and men engaged in this service have evinced; and while I have the power of expressing to their lordships my satisfaction with the zealous and active exertions of capt. Pulling, so soon after his arrival on this station, I have most sincere pleasure in transmitting to them his testimony to the continued meritorious conduct, of which captain lord Cochrane, and the officers and crew of the Speedy, have

have lately furnished so exemplary
a proof.

KITH.

*Kangaroo, one cable's length from
the shore, and two from the town
of Oropeso, June 10, three in the
morning.*

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that cruizing off Barcelona on the 1st instant, pursuant to orders from captain Dixon, of his majesty's ship *Généreux*, and falling in with his majesty's ship *Speedy*, right hon. lord Cochrane commander, we spoke a Minorquin privateer, who gave information that a Spanish convoy, consisting of twelve sail, and five armed vessels, had passed to the windward three days before. Lord Cochrane agreeing with me as to the practicability of overtaking them, we went in pursuit, and yesterday morning got sight of them at anchor under the battery of Oropeso; when, having so able and gallant an officer as his lordship to lead into the bay, I hesitated not a moment to make the attack. We approached within half-gun shot of the enemy by noon with both brigs, and came to an anchor, though opposed by the battery, which is a large square tower, and appears to have 12 guns, a xebec of 20 guns, and three gun-boats, all of which kept up a brisk fire until two o'clock, when it considerably decreased, but again recommenced, encouraged by a felucca of 12 guns, and two gun-boats that came to their assistance: by half past three the xebec and one of the gun-boats sunk, and shortly after another gun-boat shared the same fate. The tower, with the remaining gun-boats, assisted by the three in the offing, continued to annoy us on both sides till about half past six, when the fire of the whole slackened; and on the *Kangaroo* cutting

her cables and running nearer to the tower, the gun-boats in the offing fled, and by seven the tower was silenced. We were annoyed by a heavy fire of musquetry in different directions till midnight, during which time the boats of both brigs were employed in cutting out the vessels that were found afloat, under the direction of Mr. Thomas Foulerton, first lieutenant of the *Kangaroo*, assisted by lieutenant Warburton, of the *Speedy*, the hon. M. A. Cochrane, and Messrs. Dorn and Taylor, midshipmen: they succeeded in bringing out three brigs laden with wine, rice, and bread; when lord Cochrane, with his usual zeal, took the same officers under his command, and went in shore again in the hope of bringing away more; but the remainder were either sunk or driven on shore. I have here to lament the loss of Mr. Thomas Taylor, midshipman, a valuable young man, who was killed by a musket ball while on this service. I cannot express myself sufficiently grateful to lord Cochrane for his assistance during this long contest, as well as on the day before, when we found it necessary, for the honour of his Britannic majesty's arms, to blow up the tower of Almanara, mounting two brass four-pounders which would not surrender, though repeatedly summoned. I must also acknowledge the services of lieutenant Foulerton, and beg leave to recommend him strongly to your lordship's notice: he, with the other lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Brown Thompson, whom I also feel indebted to, has been slightly wounded; Mr. Thomas Tongeau, acting master, Mr. John Richards, purser, who volunteered his services on deck on this occasion, as well as the officers and seamen of both brigs, behaved as British officers and seamen are accustomed.

tomed to do: the assistance of capt. Edward Drummond, of the 60th regiment, who was a passenger on board, I also acknowledge with pleasure. Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the Kangaroo. Lord Cochrane was a little singed, and received a bruise at the demolition of the tower of Almanara, as did two of his men, but I am rejoiced to add, neither of them was materially hurt; and with the utmost surprise I have the pleasure to find, that the Speedy had not a man killed or wounded in the destruction of this convoy, though, from situation and distance, equally exposed to the enemy's fire. We are now getting under weigh for Minorca, with the prizes; the sloops are not much damaged, and, fortunately for the enemy, the ammunition of both is expended; otherwise, I am confident that in a short time the tower would have been razed to its foundation.

G. C. PULLING.

Killed. Mr. Thomas Taylor, midshipman.

Wounded. W. Beaty, seaman, severely; James Nightingale, seaman, severely; James Reynolds, seaman, severely; Thomas Thompson, seaman, severely; John Barrey, seaman, severely; lieut. Foulerton, slightly; lieut. Thompson, slightly; William Williams, seaman, slightly; Thomas Fitz-Gibbon, seaman, slightly; Thomas Baldwin, marine, slightly.

Downing-street, 21. The following dispatch was this day received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart:

Head quarters, camp before Alexandria, Sept. 5.

My Lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that the forts and town of Alexandria have surrendered to his majesty's troops,

who on the 2d instant took possession of the entrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's pillar, the redoubt de Bain, and the fort Triangular. By the capitulation, the garrison are to be embarked for France in the course of 10 days, provided the shipping is in a state of preparation to receive them. The operations against the enemy's works commenced on the 17th of August. Major-general Coote embarked with a strong corps on the inundation in the night between the 16th and 17th of August. He effected his landing to the westward of Alexandria with little or no opposition, and immediately invested the strong castle of Marabout, situated at the entrance of the western harbour of Alexandria. On the east side of the town two attacks were made to get possession of some heights in front of the entrenched position of the enemy. I entrusted the conduct of the attack against their right to major-general Cradock, and that against the left to major-gen. Moore. These two officers perfectly executed my intentions, and performed the service committed to their care with much precision and ability. The action was neither obstinate nor severe, and our loss is but small; but it afforded one more opportunity to display the promptness of British officers, and the heroism of British soldiers. A part of general Doyle's brigade, the 30th regiment, (but under the immediate command of col. Spencer,) had taken possession of a hill in front of the enemy's right. Gen. Menou, who was in person in that part of the French entrenched camp, directly opposite to our post, ordered about 600 men to make a sortie, to drive us from our position. The enemy advanced in columns with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot, till they got very

very close to the 30th regiment, to whom colonel Spencer gave an immediate order to charge, though they did not consist of more than 200 men; he was obeyed with a spirit and a determination worthy of the highest panegyric. The enemy were driven back to their entrenchments in the greatest confusion; they had many killed and wounded, and several taken prisoners. On the night between the 18th and 19th, major-general Coote opened batteries against the castle of Marabout; an attack was also made from the sea by several Turkish corvettes, and the launches and boats of the fleet, under the guidance of the hon. captain Cochrane: great perseverance and exertions were required to get up heavy guns through a difficult and almost impracticable country; but the troops executed this painful and arduous service with such zeal and continued firmness, that the fort capitulated in the night of the 21st: the garrison consisted of about 180 men, and were commanded by a chef de brigade. On the morning of the 22d major-general Coote marched from Marabout to attack a strong corps posted in its front, in order to cover the approach to Alexandria: the managements of that excellent officer appear to have been able and judicious, and were attended with the most complete success; he drove the enemy every where, though strongly posted, and in a country which opposed uncommon obstacles to the progress of troops. The French suffered extremely in the action, and retreated in much confusion, leaving their wounded and seven pieces of cannon behind them. On the 24th, batteries were opened against the redoubt de Bain; and on the 25th, at night, major-general Coote surprised the enemy's ad-

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vanced posts, when 7 officers and 50 men were taken prisoners: this service was gallantly performed by lieut. col. Smith, with the first battalion of the 20th regiment, and a small detachment of dragoons under the orders of lieutenant Kelly, of the 26th. The enemy endeavoured to get possession of the ground from which they had been driven, but were repulsed with loss. On the morning of the 26th, we opened four batteries on each side of the town against the entrenched camp of the French, which soon silenced their fire, and induced them to withdraw many of their guns. On the 27th, in the evening, gen. Menou sent an aid-de-camp, to request an armistice for three days, in order to give time to prepare a capitulation, which, after some difficulties and delays, was signed on the 2d of September. I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the capitulation, and also a list of the number of persons for whom the enemy have required shipping; by this it appears that the total of the garrison of Alexandria consisted of upwards of 8000 soldiers, and 1300 sailors.—This arduous and important service has at length been brought to a conclusion. The exertions of individuals have been splendid and meritorious. I regret that the bounds of a dispatch will not allow me to specify the whole, or to mention the name of every person who has distinguished himself in the public service. I have received the greatest support and assistance from the general officers of the army. The conduct of the troops, of every description, has been exemplary in the highest degree: there has been much to applaud and nothing to reprehend; their order and regularity in the camp have been as conspicuous as

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their

their courage in the field. To the quarter-master-gen. lieut.-col. Anstruther I owe much for his unwearied industry and zeal in the public service, and for the aid, advice, and co-operation which he has at all times afforded me. Brigadier-gen. Lawson, who commanded the artillery, and capt. Bryce, the chief engineer, have both great merit in their different departments. The local situation of Egypt presents obstacles of the most serious kind to military operations on an extended scale. The skill and perseverance of those two officers have overcome difficulties which at first appeared almost insurmountable. Lieutenant-col. Lindenthal, who has always acted with the Turks, deserves my utmost acknowledgements: his activity and diligence have been unremitted, and he has introduced amongst them an order and regularity which does him the highest honour. During the course of the long service on which we have been engaged, lord Keith has, at all times, given me the most able assistance and counsel. The labour and fatigue of the navy have been continued and excessive: it has not been of one day or of one week, but for months together. In the bay of Aboukir, on the new inundation, and on the Nile, for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them, and advantageous to the public service. Sir Sidney Smith had originally the command of the seamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on shore till the capture of Rosetta, and returned on board the Tigre a short time before the appearance of admiral Gantchaume's squadron on the coast. He was present in the three actions of the

8th, 13th, and 21st of March, when he displayed that ardour of mind for the service of his country, and that noble intrepidity for which he has been ever so conspicuous. Captain Stevenson, of the Europa, succeeded him, and I have every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gun-boats displayed great gallantry, under his guidance, in the new inundation; and much approbation is also due to the naval officers who acted under his orders. Captain Pressland, of the Regulus, has had the direction, for many months past, of all Greek ships in our employment, and of those belonging to the commissariat. He has been active, zealous, and indefatigable, and merits my warmest approbation; I must therefore beg leave particularly to recommend this old and meritorious officer to your lordships' protection. Allow me to express an humble hope, that the army in Egypt have gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country. To them every thing is due, and to me nothing. It was my fate to succeed a man who created such a spirit, and established such a discipline amongst them, that little has been left for me to perform, except to follow his maxims, and to endeavour to imitate his conduct. This dispatch will be delivered to your lordships by col. Abercromby, an officer of considerable ability, and worthy of the great name which he bears. He will one day, I trust, emulate the virtue and talents of his never-sufficiently-to-be-lamented father.

I am, &c.

J. HELY HUTCHINSON,
Lieutenant-general.

[Then follow the articles of capitulation, which are 22 in number. In substance, they provide, that the French forces, the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals attached

to the army, shall be embarked as soon as vessels can be prepared, and conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean.—All vessels shall be delivered up as they are.—The members of the institute of Egypt may carry with them all the instruments of arts and science which they have brought from France; but the Arabian MSS., the statues, and other collections which have been made for the French republic, shall be considered as public property, and subject to the disposal of the generals of the combined army: general Hope having declared, in consequence of some observations of the commander in chief of the French army, that he could make no alteration in this article, it has been agreed that a reference thereupon should be made to the commander in chief.]

Admiralty-office, 24.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral Rainier, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, to E. Nepean, esq. dated in Bombay harbour, May 15.

SIR,

Be pleased to inform their lordships, that captain W. Walker, in his majesty's ship Albatross, on the 12th November last, in lat. 18 deg. N. and long. 91 deg. E. captured L'Adel, mounting 12 guns, with 60 men; and on the 23d March following, in lat. 15 deg. 17 min. N. long. 87 deg. E. he captured La Gloire, mounting 10 guns and 11 men, both French privateers, from the Mauritius.

A letter from rear-admiral Duckworth, commander in chief at the Leeward Islands, to E. Nepean, esq. introduces the following:

L'Heureux, off Martinique,

SIR, *Aug. 17.*

Having left Case Navirre yes-

terday afternoon to follow the orders received from you, the next morning, at day-light, between Martinique and St. Lucia, we saw his majesty's brig Guachapin commencing an action with a Spanish ship of war; to the unequal contest we made all haste; but before we could get up to give a broadside, the Spanish letter of marque La Teresa, commanded by an officer belonging to the Spanish navy, mounting 18 brass guns of 32 and 12-pounders, and 120 men, struck to her gallant opponent. I am sorry to add, the Guachapin had three men killed and three wounded: the ship nearly the same. Captain Butcher mentions the able assistance he received from his lieutenant, Mr. Marshall, in the strongest terms.

LOFTUS OTWAY BLAND.

NOVEMBER.

Admiralty-office, 10.

Copies of enclosures from sir Charles Morice Pole, bart. &c. to E. Nepean, esq.

His Majesty's schooner Mil-

SIR, brook, off Cadiz, Sept. 21.

On the 15th instant, being off Cape Montego, in his majesty's schooner Milbrook, under my command, to put myself under your orders, I perceived a small Spanish privateer, which, after a long chase, I succeeded in securing. Her name is the Baptista, mounting eight guns, and was laden with a valuable cargo of English prize butter, with which she was on her passage from Vigo to Seville.

NEWTON STARCK:

Thames, Sept. 21, Cape St.

Mary N. W. by N.

4 leagues.

SIR,

I have to inform you, that this morning at day-light, his majesty's ship Thames being between the Sand-hills of San Lucar and Condan

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Point,

Point, discovered an enemy's lugger in the N. W. which, after a chase of 12 hours (it then becoming calm when about three miles from the ship), was boarded in a very spirited manner by the boats of the Thames, under the command of lieutenants Hawker, Stewart, and Lucas. She is called the Sparrow, a Spanish privateer, mounting two four-pounders, two brass swivels, and small arms, and 31 men, out 54 days: had taken a Gibraltar privateer, and was on her return. A. R. HOLLIS.

Downing-street, 14.

The following dispatches have been received at the office of the right hon. lord Hobart, brought by col. Abercromby, from lieutenant-gen. the hon. sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B.

Head quarters, Camp before Alexandria,

My Lord, *Aug. 19th.*

The last division of the French troops who surrendered at Cairo sailed from the bay of Aboukir a few days ago. There have been embarked in all near thirteen thousand five hundred persons. The garrison of Cairo consisted of about eight thousand troops of all descriptions, fit for duty, not including one thousand sick, and a considerable number of invalids. The total amounts to near ten thousand soldiers; amongst whom there was a very small proportion of Greeks and Copts, not more than four or five hundred men: the remainder were all French. The other persons embarked were followers of the army, and attached to it in various civil capacities. Major-gen. Cradock having been confined at Cairo by illness, I entrusted the command of the troops to major-gen. Moore; who, during a long march of a very novel and critical nature, displayed much judgment, and conducted himself in the most able and

judicious manner. Notwithstanding the mixture of Turks, British, and French, the utmost regularity was preserved, and no one disagreeable circumstance ever took place. My presence at Cairo was rendered indispensably necessary, by some arrangements which I was obliged to make with his highness the grand vizier. Major-general Baird, after having struggled through many difficulties in passing the Desert, and from want of boats to descend the Nile, has at length arrived at Cairo with the greatest part of the troops under his command, and I imagine he will reach Rosetta in the course of a few days: he has been directed to detach a certain number of troops to Damietta, and to leave a garrison at Giza. We two days ago commenced our operations against Alexandria: as yet no event of any consequence has taken place; we have lost a few men, and taken a few prisoners. Major-gen. Coote has been detached with a considerable corps to the westward, in order to invest the town completely on that side, and to cut off the communication of the enemy with the Arabs, who have been in the habit of supplying them with small quantities of cattle and other kinds of fresh provisions. Gen. Coote's first operation will be directed against Marabout, a castle on an island at the entrance of the old harbour of Alexandria. I cannot conclude this letter without stating to your lordship the many obligations I have to lord Keith and the navy, for the great exertions they have used in forwarding to us the necessary supplies, and from the fatigue they have undergone in the late embarkation of a considerable number of troops and stores, who were embarked on the new lake, and proceeded to the westward under the orders of major-general

general Coote. The utmost dispatch has also been used in sending the French troops, lately captured, to France; which, in our present position, was a service of the most essential consequence. I am, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON, lieut.-gen.
Extract of a letter from lieut.-gen. the hon. sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B. to the right hon. lord Hobart, dated Head-quarters, camp before Alexandria, Aug. 19.

I was honoured with your lordship's dispatches of May 19, at Cairo, where I remained to settle some essential business with his highness the grand vizier, on the subject of the Mamalukes: I have put their affairs in a train of negotiation, and hope to bring them to a fortunate issue. The siege of Alexandria will probably be attended with many difficulties; the works towards the east side, where we are encamped, are prodigiously strong, and can hardly be approached on account of the narrowness of the space between the lake and the sea, and the nature of the ground: towards the west, the works are not so strong; but however the difficulties in approaching them are also numerous: the corps there is completely in the Desert, the communication with us (by whom they must be supplied with every thing) is tedious, and the boats employed have a most severe duty to perform: general Coote has, however, been so fortunate as to find water: on the whole, I cannot flatter myself that Alexandria will be in our possession in a short time, unless some event takes place of which we are not at present aware. The reinforcements from England, Minorca, and Malta, are all arrived, except the 48th regiment from the latter place; they are very fine

troops, and in a perfect state of health, order, and discipline.

Admiralty-office, 14.

Letter from the right hon. lord Keith, &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated Foudroyant, bay of Aboukir, Sept. 2.

SIR,

I have the honour and satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the important object of this expedition is fully accomplished. A capitulation (of which a copy is inclosed) has been this day signed, providing for the delivery to the allies, tomorrow, of the enemy's entrenched camp on the eastern side of Alexandria, and the fort Triangulaire, and other important posts on the western side; and for that of the town itself, the public effects, and the shipping in the harbour, at the expiration of ten days, or sooner if the enemy's troops can be sooner embarked: as soon as I can obtain returns of the ships and effects, they shall be transmitted to you. The merchant vessels are very numerous, and one old Venetian ship of the line, with the French frigates *Egyptienne*, *Justice*, and *Regenerée*, and some corvettes, are known to be in the port. Their lordships will not fail to have observed, from my former details, the meritorious conduct of the officers and men who have been from time to time employed on the various duties which the debarkation of the army, and a co-operation with them, has required. Though opportunities for brilliant exertion have been few since the 8th of March, the desire for participating in it has been unremitted. But the nature of this expedition has demanded from most of the officers

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and

and seamen of the fleet, and particularly from those of the troop ships, bomb-vessels, and transports, the endurance of labour, fatigue, and privation, far beyond what I have witnessed before, and which I verily believe to have exceeded all former example; and it has been encountered and surmounted with a degree of resolution and perseverance which merits my highest praise, and gives both officers and men a just claim to the protection of their lordships, and the approbation of their country. The number of officers to whom I owe this tribute of approbation does not admit of my mentioning them by name; but most of the captains of the troop ships have been employed in the superintendence of these duties, and I have had repeated and urgent offers of voluntary assistance from all. The agents for transports have conducted themselves with laudable diligence and activity in the service of the several departments to which they are attached, and displayed the greatest exertion and ability in overcoming the numerous difficulties with which they had to contend. The captains and commanders of the ships appointed for guarding the port, have executed that tedious and anxious duty with diligence and success; during my absence from the squadron, the blockade has been conducted much to my satisfaction by rear-admiral sir R. Bickerton; and justice requires me to mention, that when I was with the squadron, captain Wilson of the *Trusty* was unwearied in his attention to the direction of all the duties in this bay. The captain pacha has uniformly manifested the most anxious desire of contributing, by every means in his power, to the promo-

tion of the service. Having been generally on shore with his troops, the ships have been submitted, by his orders, to my direction; and the officers have paid the most respectful attention to the instructions they have received from me. Captain sir Sidney Smith, who has served with such distinguished reputation in this country, having applied to be the bearer of the dispatches announcing the expulsion of the enemy, I have complied with his request; and I beg to refer their lordships to that active and intelligent officer for any particular information relative to this or other parts of the country, on which he has had opportunities of making remarks.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

[Lord Keith, in another letter, dated Bay of Aboukir, Sept. 10, states, that the captain pacha and his lordship have agreed to receive the enemy's ships as under, viz. captain pacha: Cause, 64; Justice, 46; No. 1. Venetian, 26.— Lord Keith: L'Egyptienne, 50; Regenerée, 32; No. 2. Venetian, 26. The Turkish corvettes to be given to the captain pacha; but to be previously valued.]

A third letter, dated Foudroyant, at sea, September 19, enclosed a letter from sir J. B. Warren, forwarding the following letter from captain Halsted, and recommending to the consideration of the commander in chief, lieut. Lloyd, of the *Pomone*.

Phœnix, off Elba, Aug. 3.

Sir, I beg leave to inform you, that at half-past two P. M. a frigate and several small vessels were seen to the southward of the Piombino passage, steering for port Longone. The squadron under my command

command went in chase of them immediately, and I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that at ten minutes past eight, after several shot being fired from bow and stern chasers, captain Gower, of the *Pomone*, in a very gallant and officer-like manner, ran alongside the frigate, and after ten minutes resistance she surrendered. She is *La Carrere* French frigate from Port Hercule, with ammunition for Longone, mounting 20 18-pounders, with two spare ports on her main-deck, and 12 brass eights, with two brass 36-pound carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and 356 men. She is a very fine frigate, six years old, and just completely fitted at Toulon. The small vessels with her had ordnance stores, &c. &c. for the same place, and I am fearful two or three have got in. Captain Gower speaks in great praise of Mr. Lloyd, the first lieutenant of the *Pomone*, and also of all the rest of his officers and ship's company. The *Phoenix*, not being able to get nearer than random shot, did not fire; captain Ballard, in the *Pearl*, when it was doubtful at which point the wind would fix, very judiciously kept between the enemy and Port Longone, should he have attempted to enter it. I am sorry to add a list of two killed and four wounded on board the *Pomone*; one of the former Mr. Thomas Cook, boatswain; and one of the latter lieut. C. Douglas, of the marines, who has lost a leg. I have not yet received the correct account of the loss of the enemy.

I am &c.

L. W. HALSTED.

P. S. Since writing the above, I am sorry to add that lieut. Douglas has died of his wounds.

List of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship *La Po-*

mone, in action with the French frigate *La Carrere*, off Elba, August 3.

Killed. Thos. Cook, boatswain; Samuel Herring, quarter-master. Wounded. Charles Douglas, lieut. of marines, since dead; John Cox, able seaman, since dead; John Brown, able seaman; John Boyd, able seaman.

Lord Keith, in a short letter dated Valet (Malta), October 8; and sir J. B. Warren, in another, dated at sea, September 8, refer to the following from captain Halsted, each of the admirals mentioning with commendation the zeal and good conduct of captains Halsted, Cockburn, and Gower, and their officers and crews.

Phoenix, off Vada, near Leghorn,
September 2.

Sir, I beg leave to acquaint you, that while at anchor off Piombino for the purpose of preventing supplies being sent by the enemy from that place to port Longone, at half past six A. M. his majesty's ship *Minerve*, which had joined and parted from me the day before, was seen in the N. W. standing towards the *Phoenix*, firing guns, and with the signal flying for an enemy. I immediately made the *Pomone* signal to chase that way, she having joined me two days before, and got the *Phoenix* under sail; upon which the *Minerve* bore up, and made all sail to the northward, the *Pomone* and *Phoenix* following. About nine o'clock we saw two frigates to the northward, steering towards Leghorn, apparently French; and between ten and eleven we observed that the nearest to us had run aground on the shoal off Vada, and upon the approach of the squadron, and a shot being fired towards her from the *Minerve* in passing, she struck her colours without firing a

(F 4)

gun.

gun, and was taken possession of by the Pomone. It was additional pleasure when I found her to be his majesty's late ship Success, commanded by M. Britel. The Minerve being the headmost ship went on in pursuit of the other, which was endeavouring to get to Leghorn; but fortunately the wind shifting to the northward enabled the Minerve to get well up with the enemy before he could accomplish his views; and after missing stays, and attempting to wear, got on shore under the Lantignano battery to the southward of Leghorn, where her masts soon went by the board, and the ship totally lost, having struck her colours without making any resistance. She proves to have been La Bravoure French frigate of 46 guns, commanded by M. Dordelin, carrying 28 12-pounders on her main-deck, with 283 men; the captain and several of his officers being made prisoners by the Minerve's boats. Captain Cockburn informs me, that in consequence of the surf running high, night coming on, and the enemy on shore firing upon the ship and boats, he was prevented making a greater number of the crew prisoners; and would have burnt her, had it not been a certainty that many of the enemy must have perished in the flames. Captain Cockburn speaks in the handsomest manner of Mr. Kelly, his first lieutenant, as well as of the rest of his officers and ship's company on this occasion. I feel much indebted to captains Cockburn and Gower, for their zeal and activity, as the taking and destroying these two ships completes the demolition of the squadron of French frigates (in less than a month,) which had been employed in the blockade of Porto Ferrajo. I beg also to mention, that by the exertions of lieu-

tenant Thompson, of the Phoenix, and the men employed under him belonging to the different ships, the Success has been got off without receiving any material injury. The anxiety shown by all ranks on board the Phoenix to get up with the enemy, can be better imagined than I can describe. The above frigates left Leghorn Mole in the evening of the 31st ult. with orders from general Watrain to attack the Phoenix, intelligence of which I had received about a week before.

L. W. HALSTED.

Another letter from lord Keith, dated Valette, October 8, incloses the following:

Mercury, Gulf of Tarento, Sept. 17.

My lord, having received information, that his majesty's late sloop the Bull Dog had sailed from Ancona, on the 25th of August, with several trabacolos for Egypt, or Tarento, laden with cannon, powder, shot, &c. I went immediately in pursuit of them with the Mercury and Champion; and on the morning of the 15th, just entering the gulf of Tarento, we had the satisfaction to discover the St. Dorothea in chace of the above-mentioned vessels, but at a very great distance to windward, and it was impossible to get near enough to keep sight of them after dark: however, we continued beating to windward all night, and at day-light the Champion made the signal for seeing them to leeward close in with Gallipoli; but she was unable to prevent their anchoring under the guns of the garrison: this was, however, no check to the gallantry of lord William Stuart, who persevered in a very distinguished manner, notwithstanding the fire from the batteries and the Bull Dog, until he got close under her stern, and then gave her so warm a return, that

that in a few minutes she hauled down her colours, and; the cable being cut, was soon without reach of the batteries. There were four trabacolos and a tartan with the Bull Dog, all of which had warped close to the walls of the garrison, except one trabacolo, which was also well in and defended by the batteries; but the Mercury was enabled to get so near as to drop a boat and bring her off without mischief; she is laden with brass mortars, field-pieces, &c. and was destined for Tarento. Lord W. Stuart reports one man killed on board the Champion, and several shot in the masts and hull, chiefly from the batteries.

THOMAS ROGERS.

Downing-street, 14. A letter from general the hon. H. E. Fox, commanding his majesty's troops in the Mediterranean, dated Malta, October 7, introduces the following from lieutenant-colonel Airey, commanding the troops in British pay in the island of Elba:

Porto Ferrajo, September 16.

Sir, since my last dispatch, we could observe the enemy busily employed in strengthening their works and batteries round this place, and especially towards the church of the Annunciata, and English Fort, where we found they had thrown up some additional works, and masked all the embrasures by filling them with fascines. Sir J. Warren arrived here on the 12th inst. and from all the intelligence I had received, I thought, with the assistance of the marines of the fleet, and a party of seamen, an attack from the garrison might be attended with good effects; that we might at least destroy the batteries that shut up the port, and, by bringing their force into the field, be

able to ascertain how far the accounts we had received of their numbers were to be depended on. The admiral acceded to my representation, and on the morning of the 14th inst. with the concurrence of the governor, a little before daylight, a landing was made by two separate divisions, amounting in the whole to about 1,000 men, including Tuscans, peasants, pioneers, &c. at the same time that a reserve was left in the garrison under the command of lieutenant-colonel de Bersy, to make a sortie from the gate, if found practicable, and to co-operate with the main body in seizing the works in front of the Falcone. The landings were made with success, and the batteries round the bay were destroyed; but finding our force not sufficient to complete the whole business, we re-embarked our troops with comparatively little loss, having destroyed the batteries of Punta Pina, the Grottoes, and Giovanni, with a great quantity of powder and made-up ammunition, and bringing off into the garrison 150 barrels of gunpowder; we also brought off with us 53 prisoners, including three captains and two subalterns. I feel myself much indebted to the corps of marines and seamen for their support and assistance, and was much pleased to see the steadiness of the Swiss troops under captain de Winter: captain Knobler of that corps, who had the command of the division sent against Punta Pina, speaks very handsomely of the detachment of De Bersy's corps, who acted with him on this occasion. I beg leave further to express my gratitude to captain White, of his majesty's ship *Renown*, for his great attention in the arrangement for the landing, and

and his activity in re-embarking the troops, when a good deal pressed by the enemy.

GEORGE AIREY, lieut.-colonel. Killed, wounded, and missing, in the attack of the enemy's batteries on the island of Elba, on the 14th inst.

De Bersy's corps, 3 missing.—Swiss corps, 5 killed, 14 wounded, 11 missing.—Tuscan corps, 12 killed, 9 wounded, 14 missing.—Total, 17 killed, 23 wounded, 28 missing.

I have not yet got the return of the seamen and marines. Captain Long, of the *Vincego* brig, was unfortunately mortally wounded, and died the next day; lieut. Clarke, of the marines, wounded and taken prisoner. (Signed)

G. AIREY, lieut. colonel.

Admiralty-office, 17. Letter from right hon. lord Keith, K. B. &c. to E. Nepean, esq. dated Foudroyant, off Alexandria, August 27.

SIR,

My letter of the 5th inst. acquainted you for the information of their lordships, that the embarkation of general Belliard's corps was carrying into execution with all possible dispatch; but, on account of the difficulty of getting forward the immense quantity of baggage that they brought with them from Cairo, the operation was protracted till the 8th. The ships of war, as well as the transports, however, were directed to proceed by divisions. The *Braakel*, with the first division, sailed on the 4th; the *Inflexible*, *Dolphin*, and *Ulysses*, with the second, on the 6th; and the *Experiment* and *Pallas*, with the last, on the 10th; carrying with them between 13 and 14,000 individuals of all descriptions. The army from Cairo moved on forth-

with to the camp before Alexandria; and the general, who did me the honour of spending some days with me while the embarkation of the French was going on, resolved on transporting by the *Marcotis*, to the westward of Alexandria, a corps of about 5000 men, under the orders of major general Coope, to divide the enemy's force and attention, to invest the town closely on that side, and cut off all farther hope of reinforcement or supplies by land. On the 12th, I proceeded with lieut.-colonel Anstruther, the quarter-master-general, to examine the enemy's position on the side of the lake, and the strength of the flotilla that they had assembled there; and, having ascertained that their armed force could be easily subdued, and that a debarkation could be effected with little or no difficulty, the general determined to carry the measure into immediate effect. To secure the landing from interruption, captain Stevenson, of the *Europa*, who is continued in the command of the flotilla, was forthwith directed to take a station in front of the gun-boats and armed boats which the enemy had assembled on the lake, and drawn up in a line under the protection of batteries thrown up for their defence, to keep them in check till they could be seized or destroyed. On the evening of the 16th, all the boats of the ships of war and transports in this bay were assembled in the *Marcotis*, with as many groms as could be collected from the Nile, for the purpose of receiving the troops, who were embarked in the night, and landed without opposition the next morning, under the superintendence of captain Elphinstone, considerably further to the westward than was intended, the
wind

wind not admitting of the boats reaching the shore nearer to the town: the enemy seeing no prospect left of saving their armed boats, set fire to them, and blew them all up in the course of this and the following day, except two or three which have fallen into our hands. Whilst the landing was carrying into effect, capt. sir W. Sidney Smith, of the Tigre, was directed with some sloops of war and armed boats to make a demonstration of attack upon the town. On the night of the 17th, major-general Coote was enabled to establish batteries against Marabout, a small fortified island that protects the entrance into the great harbour of Alexandria, on the western side, and distant from the town about seven or eight miles, which, for many reasons, it was important to possess: rear admiral sir Richard Bickerton, having the command of the squadron blockading the port, directed armed launches from the ships to co-operate with the troops; and the garrison, consisting of near 200 men, unequal to farther resistance, surrendered as prisoners of war on the evening of the 21st. Mr. Hall, midshipman, and one seaman, of the Ajax, were killed on this service; and two seamen of the Northumberland wounded. On the afternoon of the same day the rear admiral ordered the Cynthia, Port Mahon, Victorieuse, and Bon Citoyen, with three Turkish corvettes, to proceed into the harbour under the direction of the hon. captain Cochrane of the Ajax (a channel having been previously surveyed with great industry and precision by lieut. Withers of the Kent); and on the morning of the 22d, major-general Coote's detachment moved forward four or five

miles on the narrow isthmus leading to the town, formed by the Mareotis or inundation on the south side, and the harbour on the north; captain Stevenson with the gun-vessels on the lake covering the right flank, and captain Cochrane with the sloops of war and armed boats protecting their left. The position which the major-general took up, and that occupied by our little squadron, which has been since reinforced by the Diane, completed the blockade of the town. The rear admiral gives great commendation to the hon. captain Cochrane, for the zealous and judicious manner in which he executed the service entrusted to him. Soon after our ships entered the harbour, the enemy sunk several vessels between our advanced ships and their vessels in the port, to obstruct our further progress to the eastward, and moved their frigates and corvettes from Fig-tree Point close to the tower. General Menou finding himself closely pressed on the eastward of the town by the commander in chief, who had carried some of the enemy's important redoubts, and established strong batteries against their entrenched lines; and on the western side by major-general Coote, who had, during the preceding night, driven in several of their out-posts, and advanced close up to an important position which the enemy seemed conscious of being unable to defend; sent out, on the evening of the 26th, proposals for an armistice of three days, to arrange terms of capitulation, which I have no doubt will soon terminate in the surrender of the town. KEITH.

[This Gazette also contains a letter from vice-admiral Rainier, commander in chief of his majesty's ships,

ships, &c. in the East Indies, giving an account of the capture of 57 Dutch vessels, of different descriptions.]

Admiralty-office, 21. This Gazette contains a letter from lord Keith, continuing a report of vessels captured, re-captured, or destroyed, by his majesty's ships under his command, since Feb. 17, including such as were captured before that period, but not reported to his lordship when the last return was made; amounting to 125.

DECEMBER.

Admiralty-office, 5. Letter from rear-admiral sir J. B. Warren, bart. K. B. to E. Nepean, esq. dated at Port Mahon, October 24.

SIR,

I have enclosed to you the copy of a letter relative to the transactions that have taken place at Porto Ferrajo, which I request you will be pleased to lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I am, &c. J. B. WARREN.

Porto Ferrajo, Oct. 11.

SIR,

In my letter of yesterday I had the honour to report to you, that the enemy had shown lately some disposition to advance and take ground nearer our works; and this morning I found they had thrown up an intrenchment of earth and gabions upon a peninsula or tongue of land within 200 yards of our works. I immediately determined to destroy the work, and dislodge them before they could have time to strengthen or bring any guns upon it; I appointed De Bersy's corps for this service, with a party of peasants to destroy the work, and the Maltese corps, under major Wen, to support and cover them: about

11 o'clock they crossed the ditch, drove the enemy from the ground, and destroyed the work. The enemy made two or three attempts to advance in force, but were completely kept in check by our grape-shot from the batteries, which were admirably well served: their batteries kept up a very heavy fire of round and grape-shot, which did us very little harm. The business being completed, the troops returned into the works, having suffered inconsiderably in numbers; though we have to lament one officer killed and three wounded. I was a good deal inclined to have kept possession of the ground; but, upon consideration of the weakness of our force, I thought it scarcely tenable so close to the enemy's works, more especially as we were advised this morning of their having got a reinforcement of 200 men from Piombino two or three nights ago. I flatter myself, however, they are equally convinced of their inability to keep a post so near us. The enemy admit between 60 and 70 killed and wounded, and three officers; and, from what we could see ourselves, I am persuaded they are within the mark in this calculation.

GEO. AIREY.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, at Porto Ferrajo, October 11.

Maltese, 1 officer killed; 7 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded.—De Bersy's corps, 1 officer, 3 non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; 2 officers, 5 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded; 1 non-commissioned officer, or private, missing.—Artillery and marines, 1 killed; three wounded.—Peasants, 1 killed.—Total, 6 killed; 18 wounded; 1 missing.

Names

Names of officers killed and wounded.

Maltese corps, ensign Bartoli wounded.—De Bersy's corps, ensign de-Lannois killed; and captains Marson and Barbican wounded. (Signed) GEO. AIREY.

Admiralty-office, 16. Letter from lieutenant Wooldridge to lord Keith.

Armed brig Pasley, Gibraltar.
My Lord,

I have the honour of informing you, that, in execution of your orders, on Wednesday the 28th inst. Cape de Gat bearing W.N.W. 20 leagues, I fell-in with a polacca ship, who immediately gave chase; and, from her being to windward, we very soon neared each other and commenced the action, which continued for an hour, when, finding her guns much too heavy, and the gaffs, most of the stays and main rigging shot away, the only alternative was to lie her on board, which was done by running across her hawse, and lashing her bowsprit to the capstern: the contest now became severe; but, from the intrepidity of the Pasley's ship's company, notwithstanding the very great superiority of numbers on board the enemy, she was carried in about a quarter of an hour, and proved the Spanish ship privateer El Virgine del Rosario, pierced for 20 guns, but only 10 mounted, viz. two long 24-pounders, and eight long twelves, with a complement of 94 men, belonging to Malaga, on a cruize, out 20 days, but had taken nothing.

W. WOOLDRIDGE.
Officer and seamen killed on board the Pasley.

Mr. James Pooke, gunner; 2 seamen.

Officers and men wounded.
Lieutenant William Wooldridge,

commander, shot through the left shoulder; Mr. Ambrose Lions, master, wounded dangerously in the head; Mr. George Davie, first mate, shot through the thigh; 5 seamen.

Officers and seamen killed and wounded on board the enemy.

First and second captain, second lieutenant, 2 prize-masters, the gunner, and 17 seamen, killed; 18 officers and seamen wounded.

Admiralty-office, 22. Letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. to E. Nepean, esq. dated at sea, September 14.

SIR,

It is with great concern that I acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, of the capture of his majesty's ship the Swiftsure, by Gantheaume's squadron, on his return to France, after his unsuccessful attempt to debark troops on the coast of Egypt: I enclose a copy of captain Hallowell's communication of that unfortunate event.

KEITH.

On board l'Indivisible, in Toulon Roads, July 24.

My Lord,

It is with infinite concern I have to inform your lordship of the capture of his majesty's late ship Swiftsure, by a squadron of French ships under the command of rear-admiral Gantheaume. Having separated from my convoy, consisting of cartels and light transports, on the 22d ult., I was making the best of my way to Malta, when on the morning of the 24th, at half-past three, the wind at N. W. Cape Dearne bearing S.W. distant about seven leagues, we discovered five sail to leeward of us nearly hull-down. As lieutenant Sheppard of the Pigmy cutter had informed me on the 19th that an enemy's squadron had quitted Durazzo on the 7th, where they had attempted

attempted to land their troops; I concluded the ships in sight were those of which he had given me intelligence, and made all the sail possible to get from them. At sunrise my suspicions were realized; we clearly distinguished four of them to be of the line, the other a large frigate, and their signal flags soon pointed them out to be enemies. At half-past five, two of the line of battle ships tacked by signal, and stood on till they fetched into our wake, while the other two and the frigate stood upon the same tack with us. At eight o'clock the two ships and frigate having fore-reached considerably on us, tacked and stood towards us until they got on our lee quarter, when they tacked again. From their great superiority of sailing, they closed with us so fast as to be nearly within gun-shot by two P. M.; and as the ships astern were coming up very fast, I determined on bearing down and engaging the two ships and frigate to leeward, hoping to disable one of them before the whole squadron could be brought into action, and thereby effect our escape by getting to leeward of them: at three o'clock I bore up, and steered to pass astern of the sternmost ship, all our steering-sails set on the starboard side, when the enemy tacked and stood toward us: at half-past three, the Indivisible, of eighty guns, bearing rear-admiral Gantheaume's flag, and the Dix Aout, of seventy-four guns, being in close order, and within half gun-shot of us, opened their fire, which was instantly answered, and a warm action ensued. Their great superiority in point of sailing gave them every advantage of position, and baffled all our attempt to get to leeward of them. At thirty-seven minutes past four, the Jean Bart and

Constitution, of seventy-four guns, being within gun-shot, and closing upon our starboard-quarter very fast, the Indivisible almost on board of us on our larboard-bow, and the Dix Aout on our larboard-quarter, our fore-yard and fore-topsail-yard shot away, all our running and part of our standing rigging cut to pieces, the fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-yard badly wounded, our deck lumbered with the wreck and sails, all hopes of making our escape, or falling in with any succour, cut off, and only one of the enemy's ships apparently much damaged, I thought farther resistance in our crippled state would be exposing the lives of valuable men without any advantage to their country resulting from it; with pain, therefore, I ordered his majesty's colours to be struck, after an action of one hour and seven minutes. Most sincerely, my lord, do I lament our having been opposed to so very superior a force, as, from the steady and gallant conduct of the officers and men I had the honour to command on this occasion, and with whom I had been acting nearly four years on various services, I have not a doubt of what would have been the issue of a contest on more equal terms. Our loss has been principally in masts, yards, sails, and rigging, having only two men killed, lieutenant Davis, and seven men wounded (two of whom are since dead of their wounds), the enemy's intention being to disable us in our rigging, in which they succeeded too well: at the commencement of this unequal contest, we were eighty-six men short of complement, and had fifty-nine sick, those who returned from the army before Alexandria having introduced a bad fever into the ship. Four hundred men were put on board

board the *Swiftsure* on the evening of her capture, many of the prisoners removed, and the ship in so crippled a state as to render it necessary to take her in tow; the next day carpenters and seamen from all the ships were sent on board to repair her damages, and soldiers to complete her number to seven hundred; and with all their exertions, and the advantage of smooth water, it was six days before they were able to make sail. On the 4th of July, between *Lampidosa* and *Pantalasia*, they fell in with and captured the *Mohawk*, letter of marque, from Bristol to Malta, laden with various articles of merchandize; on the 22d they anchored in this road, in general very sickly, without having landed

any part of their troops on the coast of Egypt or Barbary, although they attempted a debarkation at Derne, on the 23d ult.: but from the hostile appearance and reception of the natives they did not persevere, and returned to their ships without landing a single person.

I feel it a duty I owe to admiral Ganteaume to mention to your lordship the handsome manner in which we have all been treated by the officers of his squadron, and by him in particular: the strictest orders have been issued to preserve the property of every individual; and he has done every thing in his power to render the situation of the officers and men as comfortable as possible. BEN. HALLOWELL.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS, from December 9, 1800, to December 15, 1801.

Christened { Males 9400 } 17184. Buried { Males 9661 } 19,374. Decreaf. in Burials
Females 8414 } this Year 3694. Females 9713 }

Died under 2 Years 5395	20 and 30 - 1481	60 and 70 - 1482	100 - 1	107 - 0
Between 2 and 5 2063	30 and 40 - 1924	70 and 80 - 1047	101 - 5	118 - 0
5 and 10 843	40 and 50 - 2128	80 and 90 - 484	102 - 1	120 - 0
10 and 20 639	50 and 60 - 1817	90 and 100 - 64		

BIRTHS in the Year 1801.

Jan. 11. The hon. Mrs. Cornwall, a daughter.

15. Lady Mary Anne Sturt, a daughter.

— Countess of Stahremberg, a son.

24. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a son.

25. Countess of Westmoreland, a daughter.

27. Hon. Mrs. George Villiers, a son.

29. Lady Anne Hope, a son.

Feb. 3. Lady of sir William Langham, a daughter.

Feb. 9. Lady of the hon. George Gunning, M. P. a son.

12. Hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a son.

21. Countess of Errol, a son.

23. Lady viscountess St. Asaph, a son.

24. Lady Louisa Brome, a daughter.

— Lady of sir George Armytage, bart. a daughter.

March 2. Countess of Guildford, a son and heir.

23. Countess of Derby, a daughter.

— Lady Wm. Beauclerk, a son.

25. Marchioness of Bath, a daughter.

March 25. Lady Bruce, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Hector Mackenzie, bart. a daughter.

— Countess of Harborough, a daughter.

— Lady of sir Charles Watson, bart. a daughter.

April 6. Lady of William Baker, esq. M. P. a daughter.

— Lady of G. H. Rose, esq. M. P. a son.

— Empress of Germany, a princess.

20. Lady Caroline Stewart Wortley, a son.

24. Lady of lord viscount Belgrave, a son.

25. Lady of the right hon. George Canning, a son.

— Lady of the hon. William Maule, a son and heir.

— Lady Elizabeth Palk, a son.

— Viscountess Charleville, a son.

— Lady le Despenser, a son.

— Lady Anne Astley, a son.

— Hon. Mrs. Locke, a daughter.

— Lady of John Dennison, esq. M. P. a son.

May 5. Lady of sir Home Popham, a son.

6. Lady of sir John Orde, a daughter.

11. Hon. lady Dallas, a daughter.

17. Countess of Talbot, a daughter.

21. Lady of H. Thornton, esq. M. P. a daughter.

— Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a son and daughter.

— Lady of sir J. Lawson, bart. a daughter.

— Lady of B. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. a daughter.

— Lady of sir Charles Oakley, bart. a son.

— Lady of sir G. Temple, a son.

May 21. Queen of Sweden, a princess.

26. Lady of lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, a son.

27. Hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.

— Countess of Belmore, a still-born child.

30. Hon. Mrs. Ryder, a daughter.

June 2. Countess of Lucan, a son.

— Lady of sir Brooke Bridges, bart. a son and heir.

3. Marchioness of Winchester, a son.

6. Marchioness of Bute, a daughter.

14. Marchioness of Donegall, a still-born son.

17. Countess of Sutherland, a son.

19. Lady Templetown, a daughter.

24. Lady of E. Wigley, esq. M. P. a daughter.

25. Lady of sir John Fagg, bart. a son.

29. Queen of Prussia, a prince.

30. Hon. Mrs. Grensell, a daughter.

— Lady of the hon. col. Creighton, a daughter.

— Countess of Granard, a son.

— Lady Charlotte Baillie, a daughter.

— Lady Burnett of Leys, a son.

— Lady Mary Murray, a son.

— Lady Helen Hall, a son.

— Lady of sir William Clayton, bart. a son.

July 3. Lady Folkstone, a daughter.

9. Lady Amherst, a daughter.

10. Lady Leslie, a daughter.

— Lady of R. S. Milner, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

13. Duchess of Leeds, a daughter.

19. Lady Elizabeth Halliday, a daughter.

26. Lady of John Agnes, esq. M. P. a daughter.

July

July 26. Lady Augusta Leith, a son.

— Lady of sir William Ramsay, bart. a son.

— Lady Stanley, a daughter.

— Lady of sir James Nasmyth, bart. a son.

August 2. Lady Charlotte Strutt, a son.

— Lady of sir William Beechy, R. A. twins.

9. Lady of prince Augustus Frederick, a daughter.

— Lady Catharine Forester, a son.

14. Countess of Glasgow, a daughter.

16. Lady Harriet Gill, a son.

18. Lady Amelia Kaye, a son.

— Lady of sir Duke Giffard, bart. a son.

— Hon. Mrs. Charteris, a daughter.

— Countess of Caithness, a son.

— Lady Charlotte Campbell, a son.

29. Hon. Mrs. R. Stopford, a son.

September 4. Lady of sir H. Harpur, bart. a son.

8. Lady Hervey, a daughter.

9. Hon. Mrs. Dorrien Mogens, a daughter.

13. Lady Catharine Graham, a son.

15. Lady of John Dent, esq. M. P. a daughter.

21. Viscountess Dungannon, a son.

24. Lady of Charles Morgan, esq. M. P. a daughter.

— Lady Elgin, a daughter.

— Hon. Mrs. Henniker, a daughter.

— Lady Limerick, a daughter.

— Lady Harriet French St. George, a daughter.

— Lady Lawrence Dundas, a daughter.

— Lady of Charles Smith, esq. M. P. a daughter.

1801.

September 24. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. a son.

— Hon. Mrs. Ramsay, a daughter.

October 1. Hon. Mrs. Smith, a son.

3. Lady of sir H. Martin, bart. a son.

4. Countess of Berkeley, a daughter.

— Hon. Mrs. Spiers, a daughter.

10. Lady of the hon. and rev. Dr. Marsham, a son.

15. Lady Charles Somerset, a still-born son.

19. Lady Louisa Harley, a son.

22. Viscountess Southwell, a son and heir.

— Lady of lord Dunboyne, a son and heir.

— Lady of the right hon. W. Forward, a son.

— Lady of sir Charles Cotton, bart. a son.

25. Lady Charlotte Greville, a son.

27. Lady of Wilbraham Bootle, esq. M. P. a son.

28. Lady George Cavendish, a son.

November 8. Lady of sir Hugh Dalrymple Hamilton, a daughter.

10. Lady of sir John Payne, bart. a daughter.

13. Hon. Mrs. captain Hunter, a son.

20. Lady of sir C. M^r Pole, bart. a still-born child.

— Lady of col. Butler, M. P. a daughter.

— Lady Anne Maxwell, a daughter.

— Viscountess Bantry, a son.

29. Viscountess Deerhurst, a daughter.

December 1. Countess of Albe-
marle, a son.

12. Countess of Oxford, a daughter.

(G)

December

December 21. Hon. Mrs. Gunning, a son.

— Viscountess Corry, a son and heir.

27. Countess Powlett, a daughter.

— Lady Mulgrave, a son.

28. Hon. Mrs. Rollo, a son.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1801.

Jan. 1. Colonel Cotton, to lady Anne Maria Pelham Clinton.

8. Lord Downe, to miss Margaret Jean Ainslie.

22. Arthur French St. George, esq. to the hon. Henrietta St. Lawrence.

Feb. 4. Hon. Charles Wyndham, to lady Anne Lambton.

16. Sir John Coxe Hippisley, bart. to Mrs. Hippisley Coxe.

March 13. John Joseph Henry, esq. to lady Emily Fitzgerald.

21. Lord Morpeth, to lady Georgina Cavendish.

April 6. Hon. and rev. Pearce Meade, to miss Elizabeth Percy.

7. Right hon. lord Whitworth, to the duchess of Dorset.

13. Sir Edward Knatchbull, bart. to miss Hawkins.

— Sir John Arundel, to miss Sarah Anne Sharpe.

May 11. Colonel Orde, to lady Louisa Jocelyn.

20. Hon. colonel W. Fitzroy, to miss Clarke.

28. Captain Adam Drummond, to lady Charlotte Menzies.

June 3. Hon. Francis Nathaniel Burton, to the hon. Valentina Lawless.

13. Mr. sergeant Onslow, to lady Drake.

17. Lord John Thynne, to miss Mary Anne Master.

20. Joshua Edward Cooper, esq. M. P. to miss Elizabeth Lindsay.

22. Lord Louvaine, to miss Louisa Wortley.

July 11. Lord Ongley, to miss Burgoyne.

16. Lord Pelham, to lady Mary Osborne.

28. Lord Aylmer, to miss Louisa Call.

Aug. 1. Sir Edmund Carrington, to miss Paulina Belli.

September 1. William Hervey, esq. to lady Dorothea Arabella Primrose.

3. Lord Tara, to miss Powys.

12. Hon. sir Edward Crofton, to lady Charlotte Stewart.

October 8. Rev. sir John Head, bart. to miss Walker.

13. Thomas Wynn, esq. to lady Charlotte Bellasyse.

— Sir John Riggs Miller, bart. to miss Beauchamp.

14. Lieutenaut-col. Cockburn, to the hon. Marianna Devereux.

17. Sir John Murray, bart. to miss Callender.

20. Hon. Montgomery Stewart, to miss Catharine Honeyman.

24. Hon. George Irby, to miss Rachel Ives Drake.

— Henry Parnell, esq. to the hon. miss Dawson.

— Hon. J. Cavendish, to lady A. Gore.

— J. Hubert Moore, esq. to lady Dunboyne.

— Sir Marcus Somerville, bart. to miss Marianne Meredith.

November 5. Right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, to miss Latouche.

10. George Ellis, esq. M. P. to miss Parker.

27. Lord Francis Spencer, to lady Frances Fitzroy.

December 14. Major Macleod, to lady Arabella Annesley.

22. Lieutenant-col. Wood, to lady Caroline Stewart.

— Earl of Meath, to lady Melisina Adelaide Meade.

December

December 22. Sir Charles Burrell Blount, to miss Elvira Blount.

—. Henry William Espinasse, esq. to the hon. Mrs. G. Petre.

—. Sir Thomas Champneys, to miss Minchin.

DEATHS in the Year 1801.

January 3. Earl of Aldborough.

—. Lavater, the celebrated physiognomist.

4. Lieutenant-gen. Goldsworthy, M. P.

16. George, earl of Powis.

21. Rev. sir Martin Stapylton, bart.

—.. His excellency Ralph Heathcote, esq.

—. Sir Gillies Payne, bart.

February 9. Right hon. lady Charlotte Holwell Carr.

15. Right hon. lady Elizabeth Douglas.

18. Lady sir Charles Hardy.

—. Her royal highness the duchess dowager of Brunswick.

—. Lady Archer.

March 4. Lady Newhaven.

6. Lady Harriet Bennet.

7. Sir John Call, bart.

10. Hon. Robert Arbutnot.

16. Hon. John Bulkeley Coventry Bulkeley.

19. Lady of sir Richard Cope, bart. D.D.

—. Hon. John David Colyear.

23. Hon. John Joseph Yorke.

25. Lieutenant-gen. sir Charles Stuart, K. B.

—. Paul I. emperor of Russia.

28. Sir Ralph Abercromby, bart.

31. Lady Duntze.

—. Lady Paul.

April 9. Sir Howe Hicks, bart.

28. Hon. Frederick Vane.

May 3. General Cyrus Trapaud.

9. Sir Lambert Blackwell, bart.

17. William Heberden, M. D. F.R.S. & S.A.

June 7. Sir Francis Ford, bart.

26. Hon. miss Anne Ryder.

—. Elizabeth countess dowager of Glencairn.

July 2. Lord Petre.

10. Sir Griffith Boynton, bart.

12. The lady of sir William Young, bart.

—. William lord visc. Barrington.

—. Lady Horatia, wife of lord Hugh Seymour.

13. Lady Winifred Maxwell Constable.

14. Hon. Frances Levison Gower.

20. Sir George William Prescott, bart.

25. Earl of Dartmouth.

30. Sir Grey Cooper, bart.

August 6. Lord Rossmore.

13. Earl of Aberdeen.

20. Sir William Plomer, knt. and ald.

21. Hon. William Bishop.

30. Lady Mary Churchill.

—. Sir George Warren, K. B.

September 3. Hon. John Yorke, brother to the earl of Hardwicke.

7. Lady Louisa Isabella Bridgeman.

—. Marquis of Downshire.

18. Sir Christopher Sykes, bart.

—. Lady Elizabeth Kemp.

20. Sir John Gresham, bart.

21. Earl of Howth.

22. Sir Vere Hunt, bart.

26. Lord Augustus Fitzroy.

October 7. Sir William Hay, bart.

10. His grace Dr. Fowler, archbishop of Dublin.

11. Lady John Russell.

13. The countess of Holderness.

21. Hon. John Cochrane.

22. Hon. Evelyn Pierrepont.

28. Stephen Thurston Adey, esq. M. P.

—. Lady Hannah Stratford.

November 1. Alexander Allardyce, esq. M. P.

November 3. Hon. captain Hamilton Lindsay.

14. Hon. Louisa Townshend.

19. Lady Viscountess Galway.

20. Lady Juliana Penn.

27. Lady Elizabeth Noel.

— Earl of Miltown.

December 4. Right hon. sir John Parnell, bart.

7. Marchioness of Antrim.

13. Lord Kensington.

23. Lady Elibank Mackenzie.

— Sir Duke Giffard, bart.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1801.

January 1. Richard Braithwaite, esq. Philip Crosby, esq. Samuel Cornish, esq. John Brisbane, esq. Charles Wolseley, esq. Samuel Cranston Goodall, esq. his royal highness William-Henry duke of Clarence, admirals of the blue—to be admirals of the white.

— Robert Linzee, esq. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Pasley, bart. sir Thomas Rich, bart. James Cumming, esq. sir John Colpoys, K. B. Skeffington Lutwidge, esq. Archibald Dickson, esq. George Montagu, esq. Thomas Dumaresq, esq. right hon. George lord Keith, K. B. vice admirals of the red—to be admirals of the blue.

— Thomas Mackenzie, esq. Thomas Pringle, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart. sir Henry Harvey, K. B. Robert Man, esq. sir William Parker, bart. Charles Holmes Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. vice-admirals of the white—to be vice-admirals of the red.

— Robert Biggs, esq. Francis Parry, esq. Isaac Prescott, esq. John Bazeley, esq. Christopher Mason, esq. Thomas Spry, esq. sir John Orde, bart. William Young,

esq. James Gambier, esq. sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. vice-admirals of the blue—to be vice-admirals of the white.

January 1. Christopher Parker, esq. Philip Patton, esq. Charles Morice Pole, esq. John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swinney, esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio lord Nelson, K. B. rear admirals of the red—to be vice-admirals of the blue.

— James Brine, esq. John Pakenham, esq. sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, esq. John Blanket, esq. George Wilson, esq. sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, esq. Cuthbert Collingwood, esq. James Hawkins Whitshed, esq. Arthur Kempe, esq. Smith Child, esq. right hon. lord Charles Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, esq. John Thomas Duckworth, esq. rear-admirals of the white—to be rear-admirals of the red.

— John Knowles, esq. John Willett Payne, esq. sir Robert Calder, bart. James Richard Dacres, esq. hon. George Berkeley, Thomas West, esq. James Douglas, esq. Peter Aplin, esq. Henry Savage, esq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, esq. sir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, esq. Robert Montague, esq. John Fergusson, esq. Edward Edwards, esq. sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. rear-admirals of the blue—to be rear-admirals of the white.

— The under-mentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz.

— Edward Tyrrel Smith, esq. Thomas Graves (1st), esq. Thomas Macnamara Ruffel, esq. Sylvester Moriarty, esq. sir Henry Trollope, knt.—to be rear-admirals of the white.

January

January 1. Henry Edwin Stanhope, esq. Robert M'Douall, esq. Billy Douglas, esq. John Wickey, esq. John Inglis, esq. John Fish, esq. Jahleel Breton (1st), esq. John Knight, esq. Edward Thornborough, esq. James Kempthorne, esq. Samson Edwards, esq. George Campbell, esq. Thomas Hicks, esq. Henry Cromwell, esq. Arthur Philip, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knt. Thomas Totty, esq. sir James Saumarez, knt.—to be rear-admirals of the blue.

— Sir Edward Pellew, bart. William Domett, esq. and sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces, in the room of Edward Thornborough, esq. sir William-George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, knt. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

— Lieutenant-generals Benjamin Gordon, George Ainslie, James Adeane, Edward Smith, Thomas Bland, Felix Buckley, Henry Watson Powell, Thomas Stirling, George Garth, and Richard Grenville, to be generals in the army.

— Major-generals: Horatio Spry, W. Souter Johnstone, Harry Innes, Robert Donkin, James Balfour, James Francis Perkins, Norman M'Leod, Alexander Campbell, Francis D'Oyly, sir James Duffe, knt. Henry lord Mulgrave, Grice Blakeney, Paulus Æmilius Irving, George Harris, Richard Vyse, William lord Cathcart, Banastre Tarleton, sir Hugh Dalrymple, knt. Gordon Forbes, Andrew Gordon, John Floyd, Oliver Delancey, John Graves Simcoe, and sir James Henry Craig, K. B. to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

— Colonels: John Stuart, of the royal artillery; hon. Robert Taylor, of the 5th dragoon-guards; Gerrit Fisher, of the 9th foot; George Milner, of the 3d foot-

guards; John Henry Fraser, of the 11th foot; W. D. M'Lean Clephane, of the 3d foot-guards; Charles Barnet, of ditto; George marquis of Huntley, of the 92d foot; George Benson; hon. Edward Finch, of the Coldstream guards; Isaac Gascoyne, of the 34th foot; George Frederick lord Southampton, of ditto; and Stephen Poyntz, of the 1st regiment of life-guards; to be major-generals in the army.

January 1. Lieutenant-colonels: James O'Moore, of the late Irish brigade; Thomas M'Dermott, of ditto; Eugene M'Carthy, of ditto; Edward Stack, of ditto; Hugh Lyle Carmichael, of the 2d West-India regiment; hon. John Broderick; Henry Warde, of the 1st foot-guards; James Durham, of the Fife shire fencible infantry; hon. David Leslie, of the Tay ditto; James Leith, of the princess of Wales's ditto; John Manners Kerr, of the 62d foot; Thomas Scott, of the Scotch brigade; Quin John Freeman, of the 16th foot; William Robertson, of the late Perth fencibles; Arthur Wolfe, of the 70th foot; Matthew Baillie, of the late 134th foot; Tomkins Hilgrove Turner, of the 3d foot-guards; John Randall M'Kenzie, of the 78th foot; Christopher Tilson, of the 44th ditto; William Simson, of the North Lowland fencibles; hon. W. Mordaunt Maitland, of the Devon and Cornwall fencibles; William Munro, of the Caithness legion; James Campbell, of the Cheshire fencibles; Thomas Picton, of the 56th foot; John Gordon Cumming, of the Loyal Inverness fencibles; John Crew, of the Lochaber fencibles; hon. George Lowrey Cole, of Villette's regiment; Marcus Beresford, of the late 135th foot; Gunville Bromhead, of the late

late 126th foot; Charles M'Donel, on half-pay of a late regiment of foot; George earl of Granard, of the late 108th foot; Mungo Noble, of the 67th foot; Stafford Lightburne, of the 53d ditto; John-Henry Loft, on half-pay of the independents; sir William Erskine, bart. of the late 133d foot; Nathanael W. Massey, of the 27th foot; Francis Moore, of the late 128th ditto; hon. Robert King, of the late 127th ditto; William-Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot-guards; George Dalrymple, of the 19th foot; and John Taubman, of the late 110th foot; to be colonels in the army.

January 1. Majors: Peter Beaver, of the 27th foot; William Savary, of the 14th light-dragoons; Hampson P. Thomas, of the 64th foot; Thomas M'Mahon, of the 27th ditto; John Picton, of the 12th ditto; hon. Edward Wingfield, of the 40th foot; John Ford, of the 80th ditto; Archibald Bothwell, of the 2d dragoons; Arthur Annesly, of the late 31st light-dragoons; hon. Lord Hely Hutchinson, of the late 112th foot; Benjamin Rowe, of the 50th foot; Kenneth M'Rae, of the 76th ditto; Edward Boland, of the 40th ditto; Henry Hawley, of the 45th ditto; Edward Scott, of the 13th ditto; James Logan, of the 51st ditto; William M Caskill, of the late 92d ditto; Donald Robertson, of the 21st ditto; Thomas Probyn, of the 18th ditto; John Gordon, of the 38th ditto; George Wilson, of the 39th ditto; George Maddison, of the 65th ditto; John Crowgey, of the 58th ditto; John Wauchope, of the 19th ditto; Frederick-William Buller, of the 88th ditto; Humphrey Davie, of the 5th ditto; John-R. Broadhead, of the late 121st ditto; Thomas Bradford, of the Nottingham females; Thomas-G. Elrington, of the late 115th

foot; George-H. Mason, of the late 102d ditto; John-Granby Clay, of the 54th ditto; Alexander Colston, of the late 102d ditto; John Grey, of the 41st ditto; William Lockhart, of the 30th ditto; Archibald Butter, of the 18th light-dragoons; hon. John Creighton, of the late 124th foot; Dunbar-J. Hunter, of the 19th foot; John Campbell, of the late 2d battalion of the late 82d foot; Sydney Scroggs, of the 4th foot; Alexander-Cosby Jackson, of the 40th ditto; Gage John Hall, of the 9th ditto; Robert Ross, of the 20th ditto; and George Wynyard, of the 27th light-dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

January 1. Geo. Buchan Hepburn, esq. judge-admiral of Scotland, to be one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland, vice Gordon, deceased.

[*Dublin, January 3.* Richard earl of Shannon, K. P. right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of his majesty's exchequer of this kingdom for the time being, right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, or, in the absence of the said chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being to the lord lieutenant, or, in the absence of the said chief secretary, the under secretary for the time being for the civil department of the said chief secretary's office; the right hon. Lodge lord Frankfort, the right hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called lord viscount Loftus, and the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.]

6. Invalids. Brevet lieut.-colonel James Fahy, to be commandant of the independent companies of invalids at Alderney, vice Gordon. — Brevet. Col. James Erskine, of the 15th light-dragoons, to be aide-du-camp

camp to the king, vice Manningham, appointed to the command of the rifle corps.

January 7. Sir Thomas Troubridge, bart. capt. in the royal navy, and colonel of his majesty's marine forces; capt. Alexander-John Ball, of the royal navy; capt. Samuel Hood, of the royal navy; and capt. Benjamin Hallowell, of the royal navy; permitted to accept the rank of commanders of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, which it is the intention of Ferdinand IV. king of the Two Sicilies, to confer upon them, and to bear the insignia of commanders of the said order.

10. Major-general T. Garth, from the 22d light-dragoons, to be colonel of the 1st regiment of dragoons, vice Goldsworthy, deceased.

13. The dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland to the most hon. Charles marquis of Drogheda, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P. and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of baron Moore, of Moore-place, county of Kent; to the most hon. Charles marquis of Ely, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P. by the name, &c. of baron Loftus, of Long Loftus, in the county of York; to the right hon. Walter earl of Ormond and Upper Ossory, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P. by the name, &c. of baron Butler, of Lanthony, in the county of Monmouth; and to the right hon. John-Joshua earl of Carysfort, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. P. by the name, &c. of baron Carysfort, of the hundred of Norman-cross, in the county of Huntingdon.

— Barracks. John Wilson, late barrack-master of the temporary cavalry barracks at Canterbury, to be barrack-master of the permanent cavalry barracks at Canterbury. James-Am. Chaundy, to be barrack-

master of the temporary cavalry barracks at Canterbury, vice Wilson.

January 20. Invalids. Capt. Wm. Archer, from the invalids at Sheerness, to be captain of an independent company of invalids at Chatham, vice Wadman, dec.; col. W. Swinburne, from the invalids at Fort George, to be captain of an independent company of invalids at Sheerness, vice Archer; and capt. Benjamin Rogers, from the 53d foot, to be captain of an independent company of invalids at Fort George, vice Swinburne.—Brevet. Major Boyle Travers, of the late 114th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

27. Brevet. To be brigadier-generals in the West Indies only: col. David Cunynghame, of the 60th foot; col. Patrick Wauchope, of the 50th foot; col. Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot; and col. Martin Hunter, of the 48th foot. Col. Thomas Peter, inspecting field-officer. To be colonel in the army, lieut.-col. Rob. Barnard Sparrow, of the Loyal Essex fencible infantry.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon John Buffa, from the Royal Irish fuzileers, to be physician to the forces. Surgeon Wm. Henderson, from the 74th foot, to be surgeon to the forces, vice Alex. Grant, deceased.

31. Right hon. William archbishop of Armagh, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

February 3. Brevet. Lieut.-col. count Bartholomew O'Mahony, of the late 6th regiment of the Irish brigade, to be colonel in the army.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon W. Wood, from the 64th foot, to be apothecary to the forces. Hospital-mate Geo. Toosey, to be apothecary to the forces, vice Travers, superseded.

10. Brevet. Col. Manners Kerr, of the 62d foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the West-

Indies only, vice Cunynghame, whose appointment has not taken place.

February 14. Henry Vavasour, of Spaldington and Melbourne, in the county of York, esq. and Robert Shore Milnes, esq. lieutenant-governor of the province of Lower Canada, in America, created baronets of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

— Brook Taylor, esq. to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of the elector of Cologne, vice Heathcote, deceased.

17. Hospital-staff. Surgeon Richard Woodthorp, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals in the island of Jersey.

March 17. Brevet. Col. Arthur Whetham, of the 1st foot-guards, and col. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, of the second West-India regiment, to be brigadier-generals in the Leeward Islands only. Brevet-major R. Uniacke, on the half-pay of the late 104th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Lieut.-col. John Barnes, of the royal artillery, to be deputy-barrack-master-general to the British forces serving in both the Canadas.

18. Lieut. general his royal highness Ernest duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be colonel of the 15th light dragoons, vice gen. lord Dorchester, appointed to command the 27th light dragoons.

19. Codrington Edmund Carrington, of the Middle Temple, esq. barrister at law, to be chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in the island of Ceylon; and Edmund-Henry Lushington, of the Inner Temple, esq. barrister at law, to be the puisne justice of the said court.

— Charles baron Arden, of that part of his majesty's kingdom called Ireland, to be master and worker of his majesty's mint.

April 4. Staff-corps. Major John Rutherford, to be lieutenant-colonel-commandant.—Staff. Stephen Cullen, paymaster to the invalids stationed in the island of Guernsey; John Hayman, paymaster of a recruiting-district, vice Lukin; and Gerard Gosselin, ditto, vice Arden, resigned.—Brevet. Colonels John Bellasis, Richard Jones, and William Neville Cameron, officers of the East India company's forces, to take rank as major-generals in his majesty's army in the East-Indies only.

14. His majesty in council was this day pleased to deliver the great seal to the right hon. John lord Eldon; whereupon the oath of lord high chancellor of Great-Britain was, by his majesty's command, administered to his lordship, and his lordship took his place at the board accordingly.

18. Right hon. Alexander lord Loughborough, created an earl of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of earl of Rosslyn, in the county of Mid-Lothian, with remainder to the heirs-male, lawfully begotten, of the body of lady Janet Erskine, deceased, sister to the said Alexander lord Loughborough, and widow of sir Henry Erskine, of Alva, bart.

— Mary-Henrietta Erskine, daughter of lady Janet Erskine deceased, to have and enjoy the same place, pre-eminence and precedence, in all assemblies or meetings whatsoever, as the daughter of an earl of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

21. Right hon. John earl of St. Vincent, K. B. and admiral of the white, created a viscount of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of viscount St. Vincent, of Meaford, in the county of Stafford, with

with remainders severally and successively to William-Henry Ricketts, esq. captain in the royal navy, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten; to Edward-Jervis Ricketts, esq., barrister at law, brother of the said William-Henry Ricketts, and sons of Mary Ricketts, by William-Henry Ricketts, esq. late of the island of Jamaica, deceased, and sister to the said John earl of St. Vincent, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten; and the dignity of viscountess St. Vincent, of Meaford, in the said county of Stafford, granted to the right hon. Mary countess of Northesk, daughter of the said Mary Ricketts, and widow of William-Henry Ricketts aforesaid, and the dignity of viscount St. Vincent to the heirs-male of her body lawfully begotten.

April 21. Brevet. Col. George-Henry Vansittart, of the 68th foot, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward Islands only. Col. the hon. John Broderick, to be brigadier-general in the Mediterranean only. Brevet-major Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the dominions of the grand seignior only, and major, with permanent rank, in the army. Lieut.-col. Edward Stephens, of the royal artillery, and lieut.-col. the hon. Wm. Stewart, to be colonels in the army.—Staff. Col. Mungo Noble, of the 17th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the island of Jamaica, vice Grant, deceased. Lieut.-col. George Airey, of the 8th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the troops serving in the island of Minorca. Lieut. col. John Barnes, of the royal artillery, to be deputy-barrack-master-general of Nova-Scotia, in New-Brunswick, and their respective dependencies, vice

Putnam, retired. Lieut.-col. John Vesey, of the 52d foot, to be deputy-barrack-master-general to the forces serving in both the Canadas, vice Barnes.—Garrison. Capt. T. Bligh St. George, of the 90th foot, to be fort-major of Fort St. George, in the island of Minorca, vice Snell, resigned.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon ——— Green, to be inspector of field-hospitals. Surgeon Robert Grieves, from the 58th foot, to be surgeon to the forces, vice Green. Assistant-surgeon J. Price, from the 30th foot, to be deputy-purveyor to the forces. C. T. Aveling, ditto, vice Smith.—To be barrack-masters in Great-Britain, sir James Cockburn and sir John Forbes, barts, George Torriano, esq. vice Mackenzie, resigned.

April 25. Viscount Lewisham, the duke of Portland, lords Hawkesbury and Hobart, Mr. Addington, the duke of Montrose, earl Bathurst, lord Glenbervie, Wm. Dundas, and Thomas Wallace, esqrs. lord Arden, Thomas Pelham, and Edward Golding, esqrs, to be commissioners for the management of the affairs of India.

May 2. To be barrack-masters in Great-Britain; John Kinsey, esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 10th light-dragoons; James Amyatt Chaundy, esq. captain on half-pay of Waller's late corps, from the temporary barracks at Canterbury.

5. Hospital-staff. Surgeon F. M. Bolton, from the 40th foot, to be apothecary to the forces.

12. Robert Dundas, esq. appointed chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer in Scotland, vice Montgomery, resigned.—Charles Hope, esq. appointed his majesty's advocate in Scotland, vice Dundas.

16. The earl of Leven and Melvill, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly

bly of the church of Scotland.—George Prevost, esq. brigadier-general of his majesty's forces, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of St. Lucia, in America.—George Nugent, esq. major-general of his majesty's forces, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, in America, vice earl of Balcarras.—Mr. Archibald Burns, to be commissary of the commissariat of Hamilton and Campsey, vice Frame, deceased.

May 19. Right hon. Horatio baron Nelson, K. B. and vice-admiral of the blue, created a viscount of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of viscount Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, county of Norfolk.—Thomas Graves, esq. rear-admiral of the white, to be one of the knights-companions of the most hon. order of the bath.

21. Right hon. sir Edward Grant, knt. right hon. Charles Abbott, and right hon. Thomas Wallace, sworn of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

22. Right hon. sir Richard Pepper Arden, knt. created baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, in the county of Chester.—Mary-Annelady Abercromby, widow of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. created baroness Abercromby of Aboukir, and of Tullihody in the county of Clackmannan; and the dignity of a baron of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland granted to the heirs-male of her body, lawfully begotten by the said lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, deceased.

26. Arthur Whetham, esq. appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Curaçoa, in America.—Thomas Picton, esq. to be governor and commander in

chief of the island of Trinidad, in America.

May 26. Brevet. Major-gen. the hon. John Hely Hutchinson, to be lieutenant-general in the army serving in the Mediterranean, and in the dominions of the grand seignior. Lieutenant-colonel sir Richard Bassett, knt. of the 5th West-India regiment, to be colonel in the army while serving with the troops stationed at Honduras only. Major Thomas Browne, of the 59th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Captain Terence Mac Mahon, of the 53d foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Colonel the hon. Alexander Hope, of the 14th foot, to be adjutant-general to the forces in Ireland, vice major-general Nugent, resigned. Lieutenant-colonel David Robertson, of colonel Champagné's regiment, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the island of Ceylon. Mat. Byles, esq. to be an assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces in the West Indies. William Raymond, esq. captain on half pay of the late 99th foot, to be pay-master of detachments at Hulsea barracks, vice Mansfield, appointed captain of an invalid company.

30. Right hon. sir Richard Pepper Arden, knt. (baron Alvanley), made a serjeant at law, and appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas, vice lord Eldon resigned.—Right hon. sir William Grant, knt. appointed master or keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery, vice lord Alvanley.—Major-general the hon. John Hely Hutchinson to be one of the knights-companions of the most honourable order of the bath.

June 2. Right hon. Henry Bayley, earl of Uxbridge, appointed lord.

lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford, vice earl Gower.

June 3. John duke of Roxburgh, groom of the stole, to be a knight-companion of the most hon. order of the garter.

[*Dublin-Castle, June 3.* Staff. Captain Henry Rochfort, of the Devon and Cornwall fencibles, to be fort-major at New Geneva, in the county of Waterford.]

6. Sir James Saumarez, of the island of Guernsey, knt. rear-admiral of the blue; Henry Strachey, of Sutton court, in the county of Somerset, and of Rooksnest, in the county of Surry, esq. master of his majesty's household; William Weller Pepys, of Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square, one of the masters of the high court of chancery; Alexander-John Ball, esq. captain in the royal navy, a commander of the Sicilian order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit. William Bensley, of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, esq.; Hugh Inglis, of Milton-Bryant, in the county of Bedford, esq.; William earl Welby, of Denton-house, in the county of Lincoln, esq.; Christopher Banes, of Harefield-place, in the county of Middlesex, esq.; and Thomas Barrett Lennard, of Belhouse, in the county of Essex, esq.; created baronets of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.—Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and John-Thomas Duckworth, esq. rear-admiral of the red, to be knight-companions of the most hon. order of the bath.—Dr. Andrew Brown, to be regius professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university of Edinburgh, vice Dr. Hugh Blair, deceased.

9. Hon. Arthur Paget, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna; William

Drummond, esq. envoy-extraordinary at the court of his Sicilian majesty; Alexander Stratan, esq. secretary of embassy at the Ottoman Porte; and Charles Stuart, esq. secretary of legation at the court of Vienna.

June 9. Field-marshal his royal highness Frederick duke of York, appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's land forces in the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.—Charles Edward Beresford, esq. to be secretary to the commissioners for managing the stamp-duties, vice Brettell, deceased.

—Staff. General sir William Medows, K. B. to be commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland.—Hospital staff. J. Patterson, to be deputy-purveyor to the forces.

13. Right hon. Alleyne lord St. Helen's, appointed ambassador-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of St. Petersburg; and Benjamin Garlike, esq. to be secretary to the embassy.—Charles Oakley, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of the elector of Bavaria.—Right hon. general sir Charles Grey, K. B. created baron Grey, of Howick, in the county of Northumberland.

15. Right hon. William lord Craven, to be viscount Uffington, in the county of Berks, and earl of Craven, in the county of York.—Right hon. George lord Onslow, to be viscount Cranley, of Cranley, in the county of Surrey, and earl of Onslow, of Onslow in the county of Salop.—Right hon. Charles lord Romney, to be viscount Marsham, of the Mote, in the county of Kent, and earl of Romney.—Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, to be earl of Chichester.—Right hon. Thomas lord Grey de Wilton, to be viscount

count Grey de Wilton, and earl of Wilton, of Wilton Castle in the county of Hereford, with remainders to Thomas Grosvenor, esq. second son, Robert Grosvenor, esq. third son, of viscount Belgrave, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of the said Thomas lord Grey de Wilton, and the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and every other son and sons of the said Eleanor, by her present or any future husband, and the respective heirs-male of their bodies, lawfully begotten.

June 16. Right hon. George Legge, commonly called viscount Lewisham, to be baron of Dartmouth, Devon.

— Robert Barlow, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

23. Staff. General the hon. William Harcourt, to be governor of the royal military college.—Garrisons. Lieut.-general John earl of Clanricarde, to be governor of Hull, vice Harcourt; lieut.-col. Francis Cuninghame, of the Coldstream foot guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Hull, vice major-general Jones, deceased. Lieut.-general Henry Johnston, to be governor of Ross castle, in Ireland, vice lieut.-general Eustace, deceased.

24. Codrington Edmund Carrington, esq. chief justice of the supreme court of judicature in the island of Ceylon, knighted.

[*Dublin-Castle, June 25.* Sir Mich. Smith, bart. appointed master of the rolls in Ireland; right hon. St. George Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, vice Smith; Robert Johnson, esq. one of the puisne judges of the court of common pleas in Ireland, vice right hon. Thomas Kelly, resigned.]

27. Right hon. John earl of Chatham, K. G. to be master-general of his majesty's ordnance of the united

kingdom, vice marquis Cornwallis, resigned.

June 29. Right hon. Thomas Pelham, to be baron Pelham, of Stanmer, in the county of Sussex.

30. James Montgomery, of Stanhope, esq. late lord chief baron of the court of exchequer in Scotland, and William Douglas, of Castle Douglas, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and of Newton Douglas, in the shire of Wigton, esq. created baronets.—John Royds, esq. one of the judges of the supreme court at Bengal; Henry Gwillim and Benjamin Sullivan, esqrs. judges of the supreme court at Madras, knighted.

— Staff-corps. Capt. William Nicholay, from the royal engineers, to be major, vice Rutherford, promoted.—To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Thomas Edgar, esq. major, on half-pay of the 89th foot, vice Lord, deceased; Joseph Otway, esq. late captain in the 48th foot, vice Finlay, superseded, being absent without leave; William Williams, late lieutenant in the 15th foot, vice Loving, deceased; Daniel Page, esq. deputy barrack-master at Winchester, to be barrack-master there, vice Lewis, deceased.

[*Dublin, July 4.* Edmund Stanley, esq. to be his majesty's prime serjeant at law in Ireland, vice St. George Daly.

7. John Dillon, of Lismullen, in the county of Meath, esq. a baron of the holy Roman empire; John Keane, of Belmont and Cappoquin, in the county of Waterford, esq.; James Chatterton, of Castle Mahon, in the county and city of Cork, esq. his majesty's second serjeant at law in Ireland; Richard Hardinge, of the county of Fermanagh, esq. with remainder to the heirs-male of the body of his father, Nicholas Hardinge, late of Canbury,

bury, in the county of Surrey, esq. deceased; Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, of Lesheen, in the county of Tipperary, esq.; sir Richard Kellett, of Lota, in the county and city of Cork, knt. with remainder to the heirs-male of the body of his father Richard Kellett, esq. of the city of Cork; sir William Jackson Homan, of Dunlum, in the county of Westmeath, knt.; Francis Gould, of Oldcourt, in the county of Cork, esq.; with remainder to the heirs-male of the body of his father, George Gould, late of Oldcourt, in the said county of Cork, esq. deceased; Morgan Crofton, of Mohill, in the county of Leitrim, esq.; James Michael de Batha, of Knightstown, Cashell, and Ladyrath, in the county of Meath, esq.; Robert Synge, of Kiltrough, in the county of Meath, esq.; and Andrew Ferguson, of the city of Londonderry, esq.; created baronets.]

July 11. Brevet. Major-general Francis Dundas, to be lieutenant-general at the Cape of Good Hope.

15. Right hon. Alleyne, baron St. Helen's of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron St. Helen's, of St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, in the county of Southampton.

25. Lieut.-col. Jn. Gaspard Le Marchant, of the 2d dragoon guards, to be lieutenant-governor and superintendant-general of the royal military college; Cha. Greenwood, esq. treasurer, and lieut.-col. Fred. Mackenzie, secretary thereof.

18. Hospital-staff. Garrison-surgeon Alex. Thompson, to be assistant-inspector to the forces in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee islands. Apothecary George Roberton Baillie, to be garrison-surgeon to the islands of St. Croix and

St. Thomas. Surgeon — M'Laren from the 1st battalion royals, to be garrison-surgeon to the islands of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew. Surgeon John Lindsay, from the 60th foot, to be apothecary to the forces, vice Baillie, promoted. Surgeon Robert Constable, from the 87th foot, to be apothecary to the forces, vice Zignemeyer, resigned.

25. Brevet. Col. the hon. Arthur Wellesley, of the 33d foot, to be brigadier-general in the army serving in Egypt. Capt. Morris Robinson, from the half-pay of the queen's American rangers, to be assistant barrack-master-general, with the rank of major in the army so long as he shall serve in the barrack department, vice Lewis, deceased. Major Cha. Wade Thornton, of the invalid artillery, to be assistant barrack-master-general for the inspection of barracks, vice Hill, deceased.

July 28. Staff. Lieut.-gen. the hon. Edward Fox, to be commander of the forces serving in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar excepted, with the local rank of general.

30. His grace William Henry Cavendish, duke of Portland, to be lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council, vice the earl of Chatham, resigned. — Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, vice the duke of Portland.

Aug. 1. William A'Court, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of his Sicilian majesty.

4. Sir Christopher Pegge, knt. M. D. appointed professor of physic in the university of Oxford, vice Vivian, deceased.

—, Right hon. Horatio viscount Nelson, K. B. vice-admiral of the blue, duke of Bronte, in Sicily, knight of the grand cross of the order of St. Ferdinand

Ferdinand and of Merit, and of the imperial order of the Crescent, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Hilborough, in the county of Norfolk, with remainder to the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten; and, in default of such issue, to Edmund Nelson, clerk, rector of Burnham Thorpe, in the said county of Norfolk, father of the said Horatio viscount Nelson, and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten; and to the heirs-male, lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, severally and successively, of Susannah the wife of Thomas Bolton, esq. and sister of the said Horatio viscount Nelson; and, in default of such issue, to the heirs-male of Catherine the wife of George Matcham, esq. another sister of the said viscount Nelson.

Aug. 8. Brevet. Colonel George Vaughan Hart, of the 75th foot, to be brigadier-general in Ireland. Capt. James Wheeler Unwin, of the 60th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Barrack-master Andrew Rainsford, to be assistant deputy-barrack-master-general to the forces in New Brunswick.—Hospital staff. G. F. Lockley, to be surgeon to the forces, vice Atcheson, deceased.

18. Charles Morrice Pole, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

21. His royal highness Edward duke of Kent, K. G. to be colonel of the 1st (or Royal) regiment of foot, vice general lord Adam Gordon, deceased.

22. Brevet. Capt. Charles Auriol, of the 14th light dragoons, to be major in the army.—Garrison. Lieut.-gen. William Gardiner, to be governor of Kinsale, vice gen. lord Rossmore, deceased. Lieut.-

col. the hon. John Creighton, to be governor of Hurst Castle, vice Gardiner.—Staff. To be deputy commissaries-general of stores, provision, and forage, acting deputy-commissary John Longdon; acting deputy-commissary John Freeman; and assistant-commissaries William Tudor, George Spiller, and Roger Metcalfe.

Aug. 25. Garrison. Lieut.-gen. sir Robert Abercromby, K. B. to be governor of Edinburgh Castle, vice lord Adam Gordon, deceased.—Hospital-staff. Robert Jackson, M. D. physician to the forces, and head of the hospital at Chatham, to be physician to the forces and head of the hospital at the Isle of Wight. James Borland, M. D. to be assistant inspector of hospitals to the forces.

25. Sir Michael Smith, bart. master of the rolls in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council of Ireland.

Sept. 5. Sir James Saumarez, bart. rear-admiral of the blue, to be a knight of the bath.

— Bartholomew Frere, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation at the court of Lisbon.

— Brevet. Col. W. Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot guards, to be brigadier-general in the island of Madeira. The under-mentioned officers, late of the Irish brigade, now of the regiment of Dillon, to take rank as follows: Col. Edward Dillon, to be colonel in the army; lieut.-col. Francis Dillon, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army; major William Doran, to be captain in the army. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: George Johnston, esq. late lieut.-colonel in the 28th foot, vice Mawbey, deceased; and William Suckling, esq. late lieut.-colonel in the 3d dragoon guards, vice Jones, deceased.

8. Brevet. Captain William O. Hamilton,

Hamilton, of the 62d foot, to be major in the army.

Sept. 12. Lord viscount Nelson permitted (by his majesty's warrant, dated Jan. 7, 1801) to adopt, for himself and heirs, the title of duke of Bronte, with the fief of the duchy annexed thereto; and also to receive the great cross of the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit; all conferred on him by Ferdinand IV. king of the Two Sicilies.

— Gen. — Jarry, to be commandant of the senior department of the royal military college.— Staff. Assistant-commissary Charles Dalrymple, to be deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces serving in the island of Madeira. Daniel Roberts, and — Orde, to be assistant-commissaries of stores, provisions, and forage.

15. Right hon. Murrough marquis of Thomond, K. P. created baron Thomond, of Taplow-court, in the county of Buckingham.

22. His grace William Frederick duke of Leeds, appointed governor of the islands of Scilly, alias Sully, alias Sorlingues, vice his father, deceased.

26. Brevet. Major Thomas Gage Montresor, of the 89th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.— Staff. Lieut.-col. Robert Craufurd, of the 60th foot, deputy quarter-master-general in Ireland, to be adjutant-general to his majesty's troops stationed in the East Indies, vice lieut.-colonel Cliffe, who resigns.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon-major Hudson Lowe, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals at Gibraltar. Extr.-surgeon William Pym, to be surgeon-major to the garrison of Gibraltar, vice Lowe. Garrison-surgeon Gabriel Rice Redmond, of the island of Minorca, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals to the

forces serving in the Mediterranean.

—Invalids. Capt. William Nairn, from the invalids in North Britain, to be captain of an independent company of invalids in the Tower of London, vice West, who exchanges. Brevet-major William West, from the invalids in the Tower of London, to be captain of an independent company of invalids in North Britain, vice Nairn, who exchanges.

Oct. 3. Brevet. Capt. William Mudge, of the royal artillery, to be major in the army.

6. Garrison. Lieut.-col. Robert Mathews, to be major of Chelsea hospital, vice Bulkeley, deceased.

— Lord Eldon, appointed (by the duke of Portland) high steward of the university of Oxford, vice earl of Dartmouth, deceased.

10. George W. Erving, esq. to be consul from the United States of America at the port of London.

13. Brevet. Capt. Joseph Lambecht, of the marines, to be major in the army.—Staff. Lieut.-colonel Tho. Brownrigg, of the 3d foot (acting deputy quarter-master-general), to be deputy quarter-master-general in Ireland, vice Craufurd, appointed adjutant-general to the king's troops in India.

27. Brevet. Col. Thomas Picton, of the 56th foot, to be brigadier-general in the island of Trinidad only.—Staff. Capt. Charles Irvine, of the 62d foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces stationed in the island of Jamaica, with the rank of major in the army, vice Noble, deceased. William Potts, esq. late major of the 8th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting district, vice Mathews, appointed major of Chelsea hospital.

29. Marquis Cornwallis, appointed his majesty's plenipotentiary at the congress at Amiens; and Anthony

thony Merry, esq. to execute the office of his majesty's secretary at the said congress.

Nov. 14. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel John Hamilton, of the 81st foot, to be deputy quarter-master general to the forces serving at the Cape of Good Hope, vice major-general Fraser, placed on the staff in India.

18. Charles Bragge, esq. treasurer of his majesty's navy, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Sylvester lord Glenbervie, to be president of the committee appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations, in the absence of the earl of Liverpool.

21. Brevet. Colonel John Blake, of the 24th foot, to be brigadier-general in Egypt only.

23. Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, bart. Henry Duncan, esq. sir John Henslow and sir William Rule, knights, William Palmer, esq. sir William Bellingham, bart. Harry Harmood, Samuel Gambier, Francis John Hartwell, Benjamin Tucker, Charles Hope, Isaac Coffin, and Robert Fanshaw, esqrs. sir Charles Saxton, bart. Nicholson Inglefield, esq. and sir Alexander John Ball, appointed principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy.

24. Prince Augustus Frederick, created baron of Arklow, earl of Inverness, and duke of Sussex. Prince Adolphus Frederick, baron of Culloden, earl of Tipperary, and duke of Cambridge.

— Staff. English Sandiford, gent. to be assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage, to the forces serving in the West Indies.—To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Lewis Tobias Jones, esq. late captain in the 14th foot, vice Gibbons, dec. Charles Cornet Bacon, gent. from half-pay as captain

of the 92d foot, vice Alger, resigned.—To be barack-master of the Bahamas: Robert B. Carre, esq. barrack-master and commissary on the late expedition at Helvoetsluys.

Dec. 5. George Keith (baron Keith of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland), K. B. and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the title of baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, county of Kincardine.—Lieutenant general sir John Hely Hutchinson, K. B. to be lord Hutchinson, baron of Alexandria, and of Knocklofty, county of Tipperary.—John Halkett, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama islands.

7. William D'Arley, esq. captain in his majesty's marine forces, permitted to accept the rank of knight of the royal and military order of Constantine, conferred on him by Ferdinand IV. king of the Two Sicilies; and to bear, in his own country, the ensigns of the said order.

16. Richard Ford, esq. chief magistrate of the police, knighted.

17. Sir Francis Milnan, bart. physician extraordinary to the king, appointed (by the queen) one of her majesty's physicians in ordinary.

29. Staff. Major James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot-guards, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Mediterranean, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Brigade-major Wm. Hely, to be fort-major in the garrison of St. John's, in the island of Newfoundland.—Hospital-staff. Francis Knight, esq. surgeon to the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, to be inspector-general of army-hospitals, vice Rush, deceased.

SHERIFFS.

SHERIFFS appointed by His Majesty in Council for the Year 1801.

Bedfordshire, Stephen Raymond, of Potton, esq.

Berks, Onesiphorus Elliot Elliot, of Binfield, esq.

Bucks, Edward Bury, of Iver, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Richard Eaton, of Stretchworth, esq.

Cheshire, William Rigby, of Oldfield, esq.

Cumberland, postponed.

Derbyshire, Richard Arkwright, of Cromford, esq.

Devonshire, Peter Bluet, of Halcombe Rogus, esq.

Dorsetshire, Thomas Rose Drewe, of Wootton Fitzpaine, esq.

Essex, J. Archer Houblon, of Hallingford place, esq.

Gloucestershire, John Browne, of Salperton, esq.

Herefordshire, John Skip, of Ledbury, esq.

Hertfordshire, Thomas Fitzherbert, of Shenley, esq.

Kent, Edward Austen, of Godmersham, esq.

Leicestershire, Thomas March Philips, of Garendon, esq.

Lincolnshire, Charles Mainwaring, of Goltho, esq.

Monmouthshire, Thomas Williams, of Chepstow, esq.

Norfolk, Robert Marsham, of Stratton Strawless, esq.

Northamptonshire, Joseph Sibley, of Northampton, esq.

Northumberland, sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck, of Belsay castle, bart.

Nottinghamshire, William Elliott Elliott, of Nottingham, esq.

Oxfordshire, George Clarke, of Chesterton, esq.

Rutlandshire, William Kemp, of Belton, esq.

Shropshire, Thomas Clark, of Peplow, esq.

1801.

Somersetshire, John Band, of Wookey, esq.

Staffordshire, Thomas Bainbridge, of Woodseat, esq.

Southampton, William Garrett, of Leigh-house, esq. Havant.

Suffolk, Charles Stræynsham Collinson, of Sproughton, esq.

Surrey, Bryan Barrett, of Stockwell, esq.

Sussex, William Borrer, of Hurst-Perpoint, esq.

Warwickshire, John Stanton, of Kenelworth, esq.

Wilts, Thomas Bush, of Bradford, esq.

Worcestershire, Thomas Philips, of Broadway, esq.

Yorkshire, Richard Thompson, of Wetherly Grange, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Matthew Gwyn, of Abercrave, esq.

Caermarthen, sir John Stepney, of Llanelly, bart.

Cardigan, Robert Lloyd, of Abermaide, esq.

Glamorgan, Llewellyn Traherne, of St. Hilary's, esq.

Pembroke, Morgan Jones, of Kilwendog, esq.

Kadnor, Thomas Hodges Fowler, of Abbey Camhire, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea, John Price, of Wern, esq.

Caernarvon, William Harvey, of Bodvel, esq.

Denbigh, Edward Lloyd Lloyd, of Penylan, esq.

Flint, David Pennant, of Down-
ing, esq.

Merioneth, Jonathan Passingham, of Hendwr, esq.

Montgomery, Jos. Lyon, of Vay-
or Park, esq.

County of Cornwall, Edward
Clins, of Truthan, esq.

(H)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,
*Declaring His Majesty's Pleasure
 for holding the first Parliament of
 the United Kingdom of Great Bri-
 tain and Ireland, and appointing
 the Time and Place of Meeting
 thereof.*

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, in pursuance of the fourth article of the articles of union between Great Britain and Ireland, as the same have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the parliament of Ireland, and both intituled, "An act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland," We have thought fit to declare, by our royal proclamation issued under our great seal of Great Britain, on the fifth day of November last, that it was expedient that the lords and commons of the then parliament of Great Britain should be members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the part of Great Britain: and We did, by the same proclamation, notify our intention to appoint Thursday the twenty-second day of January instant for the assembling of such first parliament of the said united kingdom, by proclamation under the great seal of our said united

kingdom: and whereas, by force and in pursuance of an act passed in the parliament of Ireland, and recited in and made part of the said two acts for the union of Great Britain and Ireland, and intituled, "An act to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament;" and in consequence of our having, by our said proclamation, under our great seal of Great Britain, of the fifth day of November last, declared that it was expedient that the lords and commons of the then parliament of Great Britain should be the members of the respective houses of the first parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, four lords spiritual, and twenty-eight lords temporal, and one hundred commoners, have been appointed, chosen, and declared (according to the circumstances of the several cases) to be the members of the respective houses of the said first parliament of the said united kingdom on the part of Ireland: We do by this our royal proclamation, under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the advice of our privy council, declare and publish our will and pleasure to be, and do hereby appoint, that our first parliament

liament of the said united kingdom shall meet and be holden at our city of Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one; whereof the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs of our said first parliament of the said united kingdom, and all others whom it may concern, are hereby to take notice. And We do hereby direct and command, in pursuance of the said fourth article of the said articles of union, that the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, who are to serve in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, be returned in such manner as by the said act passed in the parliament of Ireland to regulate the mode by which the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, to serve in the parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament—such lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, are directed to be returned according to the circumstances of each particular case of the several lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, so appointed, chosen, and declared to be the members of the respective houses of the said united kingdom on the part of Ireland. And We do hereby further (with the advice aforesaid) declare our royal will and pleasure, that our said parliament of our said united kingdom shall, on the said twenty-second day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, be holden and sit for the dispatch of divers weighty and important affairs; and the said lords spiritual and temporal, and the said knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the said commissioners for shires and burghs, are hereby required and commanded

to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of January instant.

Given at our court at Saint James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

At the Court at St. James's, the first Day of Jan. 1801, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas by the act of uniformity which established the Liturgy, and enacts, That no form or order of common prayer be openly used, other than what is prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said book; it is, notwithstanding, provided, that in all those prayers, litanies, and collects, which do anywise relate to the king, queen, or royal progeny, the names be altered and changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion, according to the direction of lawful authority: it is thereupon, this day, ordered by his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, that the following alterations be made, viz.

In the book of Common Prayer, title-page—instead of “the church of England,” put “of the united church of England and Ireland.”

Prayer for the high court of parliament, instead of “our sovereign and his kingdom,” read “and his dominions.”

The first prayer to be used at sea, instead of “his kingdoms,” read “his dominions.”

In the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, instead of the order “of the church

of England," read "of the united church of England and Ireland."

In the preface of the said form, in two places, instead of "church of England," read "in the united church of England and Ireland."

In the first question in the ordination of priests, instead of "church of England," read "of this united church of England and Ireland."

In the occasional offices, 25th October, the king's accession, instead of "these realms," read "this realm."

In the collect, before the epistle, instead of "these kingdoms," read "this united kingdom."

For the preachers, instead of "king of Great Britain, France and Ireland," say "king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

And it is further ordered, That no edition of the book of Common Prayer be from henceforth printed but with the aforesaid amendments; and that in the mean time, until copies of such edition may be had, all parsons, vicars, and curates, do (for the preventing of mistakes), with the pen, correct and amend all such prayers in their church books, according to the foregoing directions; and, for the better notice hereof, that this order be forthwith printed and published, and sent to the several parishes; and that the right reverend the bishops take care that obedience be paid to the same accordingly, within their respective dioceses.

STEPH. COTTRELL.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,
Declaring His Majesty's Pleasure concerning the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Ireland, and its Dependencies, and also the Ensigns Armorial, Flags, and Banners thereof.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by the first article of the articles of union of Great Britain and Ireland, ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one passed in the parliament of Great Britain, and the other in the parliament of Ireland, and respectively intituled, "An act for the union of Great Britain and Ireland," it was declared, That the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should upon this day, being the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1801, for ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of "The united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners thereof, should be such as We, by our royal proclamation, under the great seal of the said united kingdom, should appoint: We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to appoint and declare that our royal style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken, and used, as the same are set forth in manner and form following; that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words:—
"GEORGIUS TERTIUS, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor:" and in the English tongue by these words:—"GEORGE the THIRD, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith." And that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom shall be quarterly,
 first

first and fourth, England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland: and it is our will and pleasure, that there shall be borne therewith, on an escocheon of pretence, the arms of our dominions in Germany ensigned with the electoral bonnet. And it is our will and pleasure that the standard of the said united kingdom shall be the same quartering as are herein before declared to be the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom, with the escocheon of pretence thereon, herein before described: and that the union flag shall be azure, the crosses-saltires of St. Andrew and St. Patrick quarterly per saltire counter changed argent and gules; the latter fimbriated of the second; surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third, fimbriated as the saltire. And our will and pleasure further is, that the stile and titles aforesaid, and also the arms or ensigns armorial aforesaid, shall be used henceforth, as far as conveniently may be, on all occasions wherein our royal style and titles and arms or ensigns armorial ought to be used. But, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and lawful monies of Great Britain, and all such gold, silver, and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the said united kingdom in Great Britain; and that all such gold, silver, and copper monies as, on the day before this first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, were current and

lawful monies of Ireland, and all such gold, and silver, and copper monies as shall, on or after this day, be coined by our authority with the like impressions, until our will and pleasure shall be otherwise declared, shall be deemed and taken to be current and lawful monies of the said united kingdom in Ireland; and all such monies as shall have been coined for and issued in any of the dominions of the said united kingdom, and declared by our proclamation to be current and lawful money of such dominions respectively, bearing our style, or titles; or arms, or ensigns armorial, or any part or parts thereof, and all monies which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such proclamations, shall continue to be lawful and current money of such dominions respectively, notwithstanding such change in our style, titles, and arms, or armorial bearings respectively as aforesaid, until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon. And all and every such monies as aforesaid shall be received and taken in payment in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, and in the dominions thereunto belonging, after the date of this our proclamation, in such manner, and as of the like value and denomination as the same were received and taken before the date hereof. And it is also our will and pleasure, that the several dies and marks, which have been used to denote the stamp-duties, and all other stamps and marks and instruments, which, before the issuing of this our proclamation, shall have been in actual use for any public purpose, and in which our royal style and titles, or our arms or ensigns armorial, or any parts or part thereof respectively, may be expressed, shall not, by reason of this our proclamation, or any thing therein

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therein contained, be changed or altered, until the same may be conveniently so changed or altered, or until our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon: but that all such dies, stamps, marks, and instruments respectively, bearing our royal style and titles, or arms or ensigns armorial, used before this first day of January one thousand eight hundred and one, or any parts or part of such style, titles, or of such arms or ensigns armorial, shall have the like force and effect as the same had before the said first day of January instant.

Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

G O D S A V E T H E K I N G .

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,

Declaring what Ensign or Colours shall be borne at Sea in Merchant Ships or Vessels, belonging to any of His Majesty's Subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

GEORGE R.

Whereas, by the first article of the articles of union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same have been ratified and confirmed by two acts of parliament, the one made in our parliament of Great Britain, and the other in our parliament of Ireland, it was provided, that the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland should be such as We should appoint by our royal proclamation, under the great seal of our said united kingdom: and whereas We have, by our royal proclamation,

dated this day, appointed and declared that the arms or ensigns armorial of the said united kingdom should be as therein expressed: and whereas, according to antient usage, the ensigns, flags, jacks, and pendants, worn by our ships, and appointed as a distinction for the same, ought not to be worn on board any ship or vessel belonging to any of our subjects, so that our ships and those of our subjects may be easily distinguished and known: We have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order and appoint the ensign, described on the side or margin hereof, to be worn on board all ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects whatsoever; and to issue this our royal proclamation to notify the same to all our loving subjects, hereby strictly charging and commanding the masters of all merchant ships and vessels belonging to any of our subjects, whether employed in our service or otherwise, and all other persons whom it may concern, to wear the said ensign on board their ships or vessels: and to the end that none of our subjects may presume, on board their ships, to wear our flags, jacks, and pendants, which, according to antient usage, have been appointed as a distinction to our ships; or any flags, jacks, or pendants, in shape and mixture of colours so far resembling ours as not to be easily distinguished therefrom: We do, with the advice of our privy council, hereby strictly charge and command all our subjects whatsoever, that they do not presume to wear, in any of their ships or vessels, our jack, commonly called the union jack, nor any pendants, nor any such colours as are usually borne by our ships, without particular warrant for their so doing from Us, or our

our high admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of high admiral for the time being: and We do hereby also further command all our loving subjects, that, without such warrant as aforesaid, they presume not to wear on board their ships or vessels any flags, jacks, pendants, or colours, made in imitation of or resembling ours, or any kind of pendant whatsoever, or any other ensign than the ensign described on the side or margin hereof, which shall be worn instead of the ensign before this time usually worn in merchant ships; saving, that for the better distinction of such ships as shall have commissions of letters of mart or reprisals against the enemy, and any other ships or vessels which may be employed by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners of our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those offices, our royal will and pleasure is, that all such ships as have commissions of letters of mart or reprisals shall, besides the colours or ensign hereby appointed to be worn by merchant ships, wear a red jack with a union jack, described in a canton at the upper corner thereof next the staff; and that such ships and vessels as shall be employed for our service by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy, the principal officers of our ordnance, the commissioners for victualling our navy, the commissioners for our customs and excise, and the commissioners for transportation for our service, relating particularly to those offices, shall wear a red jack with a union

corner thereof, next the staff as aforesaid, and in the other part of the said jack shall be described the seal used in such of the respective offices aforesaid, by which the said ships and vessels shall be employed. And We do strictly charge and command, that none of our loving subjects do presume to wear any of the said distinction jacks, unless they shall have commissions of letters of mart or reprisals, or be employed in our service by any of the before-mentioned offices. And We hereby require our high admiral, and commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, the governors of our forts and castles, the officers of our customs, and the commanders or officers of any of our ships for the time being, upon their meeting with, or otherwise observing, any ships or vessels belonging to any of our subjects, neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed to be borne as aforesaid, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary hereunto, whether at sea or in port, not only to seize, or cause to be forthwith seized, such flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, worn contrary to our royal will and pleasure herein expressed, but also to return the names of such ships and vessels neglecting to wear the ensign hereby appointed, or wearing any flag, pendant, jack, or ensign, contrary hereunto, together with the names of their respective masters or commanders, unto our high admiral, or commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, or the judge of our high court of admiralty for the time being, to the end that all persons offending may be duly punished for the same. And We do hereby command and enjoin the judge and judges of our high court of admiralty for the time being, that they make strict inquiry

concerning all such offenders, and cause them to be duly punished: and all vice-admirals and judges of the vice-admiralties are hereby also required to proceed in the like manner, within the several ports and places belonging to their respective precincts. And our further pleasure is, that this proclamation shall take place according to the times hereafter mentioned; *videlicet*, for all ships in the Channel or British Seas, and in the North Seas, after twelve days from the date of these presents; and from the mouth of the Channel unto Cape Saint Vincent, after six weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Cape, and on this side the Equinoctial Line, as well in the Ocean and Mediterranean as elsewhere, after ten weeks from the date of these presents; and beyond the Line, after the space of eight months from the date of these presents.

Given at our court at St. James's, the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and one, in the forty-first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

His Majesty's Speech on the Meeting of Parliament, Monday, Feb. 2.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

At a crisis so important to the interests of my people, I derive great satisfaction from being enabled, for the first time, to avail myself of the advice and assistance of the parliament of my united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

This memorable era, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire, and to cement more

closely the interests and affections of my subjects, will, I trust, be equally marked by that vigour, energy, and firmness, which the circumstances of our present situation peculiarly require.

The unfortunate course of events on the continent, and the consequences which must be expected to result from it, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe.

Your astonishment as well as your regret must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention, at such a period, appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger.

The representations which I directed to be made to the court of Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons, of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which I complained have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence.

Under these circumstances a convention has been concluded by that court with those of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing by force a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests, of this country.

In this situation, I could not hesitate as to the conduct which it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions

aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, and which are grounded on the system of public law so long established and recognised in Europe.

I have, at the same time, given such assurances as manifest my disposition to renew my antient relations with those powers, whenever it can be done consistently with the honour of my crown, and with a just regard to the safety of my subjects. You will, I am persuaded, omit nothing on your part, that can afford me the most vigorous and effectual support in my firm determination to maintain to the utmost, against every attack, the naval rights and the interests of my empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the estimates for the several branches of the public service to be laid before you: deeply as I lament the continued necessity of adding to the burdens of my people, I am persuaded you will feel with me the importance of providing effectual means for those exertions which are indispensably requisite for the honour and security of the country.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I am confident that your deliberations will be uniformly directed to the great object of improving the benefits of that happy union, which, by the blessing of providence, has now been effected; and of promoting, to the utmost, the prosperity of every part of my dominions.

You will, I doubt not, resume the inquiries which were so diligently prosecuted in the last session of parliament, as to the best means of relieving my subjects from the pressure of the present high price of

provisions; and of preventing, as far as it can be done by human foresight, the recurrence of similar difficulties. In these endeavours, and in every measure that can contribute to the happiness of my people, the great end of all my wishes, you may be assured of my cordial concurrence.

You may rely on my availing myself of the earliest opportunity which shall afford a prospect of terminating the present contest, on grounds consistent with our security and honour, and with the maintenance of those essential rights on which our naval strength must always principally depend.

It will afford me the truest and most heartfelt satisfaction whenever the disposition of our enemies shall enable me thus to restore to the subjects of my united kingdom the blessings of peace, and thereby confirm and augment those advantages which result from our internal situation, and which, even under all the difficulties of war, have carried to so great an extent the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the country.

His Majesty's Speech on proroguing the Parliament, as delivered by Commission, Thursday, July 2.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

We have it in command from his majesty to acquaint you, that, on account of the advanced period of the season, and the state of public business, he is induced to relieve you from a longer attendance in parliament.

His majesty highly commends the wisdom, temper, and diligence, which have marked all your proceedings; and particularly acknowledges the assiduity and zeal with which you have pursued the investigation

tigation of the important subjects brought under your consideration, in consequence of the severe pressure occasioned by the high price of corn. The beneficial effects of the measures you have suggested for the alleviation of this calamity, have afforded his majesty great consolation; and he has the utmost satisfaction in indulging the hope that, under the favour of providence, the blessings of plenty will be restored by the produce of the ensuing harvest.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His majesty has directed us to return you his particular thanks for the liberal provision which you have made for the various branches of the public service. While he regrets the necessity of supplies so large, it is a relief to his majesty to observe, that the resources and continued prosperity of the country have enabled you to distribute the public burthens in such a manner, as to press with as little severity as possible on his faithful subjects.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The brilliant and repeated successes of his majesty's arms, by sea and land, important as they are in their immediate consequences, are not less satisfactory to his majesty's mind, as affording fresh and decisive proofs of that vigorous exertion, undaunted valour, and steady perseverance, which distinguish the national character, and on which the chief reliance must be placed for respect abroad, and for confidence and security at home. Events so honourable to the British name derive, at the present moment, peculiar value in his majesty's estimation, from their tendency to facilitate the attainment of the great object of his unceasing solicitude, the restoration of peace on fair and

adequate terms. They furnish, at the same time, an additional pledge, that if the sentiments of moderation and justice, which will ever govern his majesty's conduct, should be rendered unavailing, in this instance, by unreasonable pretensions on the part of his enemies, the spirit and firmness of his people will continue to be manifested by such efforts and sacrifices as may be necessary for asserting the honour of his majesty's crown, and for maintaining the permanent interests of the empire.

Then a commission for proroguing the parliament was read. After which the lord chancellor said,

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

By virtue of his majesty's commission under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, We do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Thursday the 6th day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 6th day of August next.

His Majesty's Speech on the Meeting of Parliament, Thursday, Oct. 29.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that the important negotiations in which I was engaged at the close of the last session of parliament are brought to a favourable conclusion. The differences with the northern powers have been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and Sweden have expressed their readiness to accede. The essential rights for which we contended are thereby secured, and provision is made, that the exercise

of them shall be attended with as little molestation as possible to the subjects of the contracting parties.

Preliminaries of peace have also been ratified between me and the French republic; and I trust that this important arrangement, whilst it manifests the justice and moderation of my views, will also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character.

Copies of these papers shall forthwith be laid before you, and I earnestly hope that the transactions to which they refer, will meet with the approbation of my parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed such estimates to be prepared for the various demands of the public service, as appear to me to be best adapted to the situation in which we are now placed. It is painful to me to reflect, that provision cannot be made for defraying the expences which must unavoidably be continued for a time in different parts of the world, and for maintaining an adequate peace establishment, without large additional supplies. You may, however, be assured, that all possible attention shall be paid to such economical arrangements as may not be inconsistent with the great object of effectually providing for the security of all my dominions.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I cannot sufficiently describe the gratification and comfort I derive from the relief which the bounty of divine providence has afforded to my people, by the abundant produce of the late harvest. In contemplating the situation of the country at this important conjuncture, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the deep sense I entertain of the temper and fortitude

which have been manifested by all descriptions of my faithful subjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend. The distinguished valour and eminent services of my forces by sea and land, which at no period have been surpassed; the unprecedented exertions of the militia and fencibles, and the zeal and perseverance of the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry, are entitled to my warmest acknowledgments; and I am persuaded that you will join with me, in reflecting with peculiar satisfaction on the naval and military operations of the last campaign, and on the successful and glorious issue of the expedition to Egypt, which has been marked throughout by achievements tending in their consequences, and by their example, to produce lasting advantage and honour to this country. It is my first wish, and most fervent prayer, that my people may experience the reward they have so well merited, in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, in a progressive increase of the national commerce, credit, and resources, and, above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, laws, and liberties, under the safeguard and protection of that constitution which it has been the great object of all our efforts to preserve, and which it is our most sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to our descendants.

STATE PAPERS.

Note transmitted by Mr. Drummond to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated 27th Dec. 1800.

The court of London, informed that Denmark is carrying on with activity negotiations very hostile to the

the interests of the British empire, thinks that it cannot better fulfil the duties which such a circumstance prescribes, than by addressing itself directly to the minister of his Danish majesty, to demand from him a frank and satisfactory explanation.

In all the courts of Europe they speak openly of a confederacy between Denmark and some other powers, to oppose by force the exercise of those principles of maritime law on which the naval power of the British empire in a great measure rests, and which in all wars have been followed by the maritime states, and acknowledged by their tribunals.

His Britannic majesty, relying with confidence upon the loyalty of his Danish majesty, and upon the faith of the engagements recently contracted between the two courts, has not demanded from him any explanation on this head. It was his wish to wait for the moment when the court of Denmark should think it its duty to contradict those reports, so injurious to its good faith, and so little compatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which had been re-established between the two countries.

At present the conduct and the public declaration of one of the powers, which it is pretended have entered into this confederacy, do not permit his majesty to preserve any longer towards the rest the same silence which he has hitherto observed.

The undersigned therefore finds himself bound to demand from his excellency count de Bernstorff, a plain, open, and satisfactory answer on the nature, object, and extent of the obligations which his Danish majesty may have contracted, or the negotiations which

he is carrying on with respect to a matter which so nearly concerns the dignity of his Britannic majesty, and the interests of his people.

His Britannic majesty, always ready to return all the marks of friendship which he may receive on the part of his Danish majesty, hopes to find, in the answer of the court of Copenhagen to this request, only a new occasion of manifesting these dispositions.

In transmitting this note, to M. the secretary of state, the undersigned avails himself, with pleasure, of this opportunity, to assure him of the high consideration with which he has the honour to be

His very humble and
very obedient servant,

W. DRUMMOND,

To his excellency the count
de Bernstorff, secretary of
state of his Danish ma-
jesty, &c. &c.

Note in Answer.

The undersigned secretary of state for foreign affairs, having given an account to the king his master of the contents of the note which Mr. Drummond has done him the honour to transmit to him on the 27th instant, is authorised to return the answer which follows:

The court of London must have received very incorrect information, to have been able for a moment to presume that Denmark had conceived projects hostile against it, or incompatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which subsists between the two crowns; and the king is very much obliged to his Britannic majesty for having furnished him with the opportunity of contradicting, in the most positive manner, reports as ill founded, as contrary to his most decided sentiments.

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The negotiation which is carrying on at St. Petersburg between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, has no other object than the renewal of the engagements which in the years 1780 and 1781 were contracted by the same powers for the safety of their navigation, and of which a communication was at that time made to all the courts of Europe.

His majesty the emperor of Russia having proposed to the powers of the North to re-establish these engagements in their original form, Denmark has so much the less hesitated to consent to it, as, far from having ever abandoned the principles professed in 1780, she has thought it her duty to maintain them, and claim them upon all occasions, and not allow herself to admit in respect of them any other modifications than those which result from her treaties with the belligerent powers.

Very far from wishing to interrupt those powers in the exercise of rights which the war gives them, Denmark introduces into the negotiation with her allies none but views absolutely defensive, pacific, and incapable of giving offence or provocation to any one. The engagements she will make will be founded upon the strictest fulfilment of the duties of neutrality, and of the obligations which her treaties impose upon her; and if she wishes to shelter her innocent navigation from the manifest abuses and violence which the maritime war produces but too easily, she thinks she pays respect to the belligerent powers by supposing, that, far from wishing to authorise or tolerate those abuses, they would, on their side, adopt measures best calculated to prevent or repress them.

Denmark has not made a mye-

tery to any one of the object of her negotiation, upon the nature of which some suspicion has been infused into the court of London; but she has not thought that she departed from the usual forms, in wishing to wait the definitive result of it, in order to communicate an official account of it to the powers at war.

The undersigned, not knowing that any of the powers engaged in this negotiation has made a declaration, or adopted measures relative to its object, at which Great Britain might take offence or umbrage, cannot without ulterior explanation reply to this point of Mr. Drummond's note.

Much less does he conceive in what respect the engagement taken by the previous convention of the 29th of August last can be considered as contrary to those which Denmark is about to enter into with the neutral and united powers of the North; and in all cases in which he shall find himself called upon to combat or remove the doubts that shall have been conceived with respect to the good faith of the king, he shall consider his task to be very easy, as long as this good faith shall be introduced into the reproaches or the suspicions advanced against his majesty. He flatters himself that the English government, after having received the required explanations, will have the frankness to allow that the provisional and momentary abandonment, not of a principle the question with respect to which remained undecided, but of a measure whose right has never been nor ever can be contested, cannot be found at all in opposition to the general and permanent principles, relative to which the powers of the North are upon the point of establishing a co-operation,

operation, which, so far from being calculated to compromise their neutrality, is destined only to strengthen it.

The undersigned would fain believe that these explanations will appear satisfactory to the court of London; and that the latter will do justice to the intentions and sentiments of the king, and particularly to his majesty's invariable desire to maintain and cement, by all the means in his power, the friendship and good understanding which subsist between Denmark and Great Britain.

He has the honour to offer to Mr. Drummond the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) BERNSTORFF.
Copenhagen, Dec. 31, 1800.

CONVENTION OF THE NORTHERN POWERS.

Convention for the Re-establishment of an Armed Neutrality between His Majesty the King of Sweden, of the one Part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, of the other Part, concluded and signed at St. Petersburg, the 4th (16th) of December, 1800, accepted and ratified by His Swedish Majesty on the 20th December, and by His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias on the 8th (20th) December, in the same Year.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.

In order that the freedom of the navigation and the security of the merchandise of the neutral powers may be established, and the principles of the laws of nations be fully ascertained, during the continuance of the present maritime war, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, actuated by their

love of justice, and by a reciprocal desire to promote whatever may be for the public advantage of their respective states, have to that effect determined to give a new sanction to those principles of their neutrality, which are in their nature indissoluble, and to require that they may be respected by all powers interested in their preservation. With this view their majesties have, by their declaration of the 15th August to the northern courts, who are equally concerned in the maintenance of those general regulations anciently recognised, given them to understand how sincerely it is the object of their hearts to restore, in its full independence, the general right of all nations to convey their ships and merchandise freely, and without being subject to the control of the powers at war. His Swedish majesty imparted his wishes and his sentiments to his great allies, and an happy conformity of their mutual interests has induced them to adopt the resolution of re-establishing that system of an armed neutrality which was attended with such advantages during the American war, and to renew its beneficial principles in a convention adapted to the present circumstances. To this end his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, have nominated as their plenipotentiaries, namely, his Swedish majesty, baron Curt von Stedingk, ambassador extraordinary to his imperial majesty of all the Russias, lieutenant-general, chamberlain of the queen dowager, colonel of a regiment of infantry, knight, and commander of the order of the sword, and knight of the French order *pour les mérites militaires*; and his imperial majesty of all the Russias,

Russias, baron count Theodore von Kostopsin, his right trusty privy counsellor, member of the council principale, minister of the college of foreign affairs, director-general of the posts of the empire, grand chancellor and grand cross of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem, knight of the first class of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, and St. Anne, knight of the order of St. Lazarus, *de l'Annonciade*, of St. Morrice and St. Lazarus, of St. Ferdinand and St. Hubert; who, after exchanging their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. His majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declare that they will strictly prohibit the exportation of contraband merchandise on the part of their subjects with every power whatever, whether at present engaged in war, or which may hereafter be engaged in war.

II. In order to prevent all doubts and misunderstandings as to what shall be considered contraband, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, declare, that they will acknowledge the following articles as contraband, namely, cannons, mortars, fire-arms, balls, flints, flint-stones, matches, gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, swords, hangers, cartridge-boxes, saddles and bridles, with the exception of such a quantity of the above articles as may be necessary for the defence of the ships and their crew: all other articles not herein enumerated shall not be considered as war or naval stores, they shall not be subject to confiscation, but shall pass free and without restraint. It is also hereby

agreed, that the present article shall be without prejudice to the particular stipulations of former treaties with the powers at war, by virtue of which, the things above mentioned are allowed or prohibited.

III. And whereas it is resolved, That whatever, by virtue of the foregoing article, can be deemed contraband, shall be excluded from the commerce of neutral nations; in like manner his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, will and determine that all other merchandise shall be and remain free; and in order that the general principles of the laws of nature, of which the freedom of trade and navigation, as well as the rights of neutral nations, are the immediate consequence, may be placed under a competent and sure safeguard, they have resolved no longer to delay that voluntary explanation from which they have hitherto been restrained by motives of their separate and temporary interests. With this view they have hereby determined,

1. That every ship may freely navigate from one harbour to another, and on the coasts of the belligerent nations.

2. That the effects which belong to the subjects of the belligerent powers in neutral ships, with the exception of contraband goods, shall be free.

3. That in order to determine what shall be considered as a blockaded harbour, such denomination shall be admitted to apply only where the disposition and number of the ships of the power by which it is invested, shall be such as to render it apparently hazardous to enter, and that every ship which shall go into a blockaded harbour,

harbour, that is evidently so blockaded, violates the present convention, as much as if the commander of the blockade had previously advised it of the state of the harbour, and it had nevertheless endeavoured by force or artifice to obtain admission.

4. That with regard to neutral ships, except those which, for just reasons, and upon evident grounds, shall be detained, sentence shall be pronounced without delay; the proceedings against them shall be uniform, prompt, and lawful. Over and above the indemnity to which they shall be intitled for the damage they shall have sustained, complete satisfaction shall be given for the insult committed against the flag of their majesties.

5. That the declaration of the officers who shall command the ship of war, or ships of war, of the king or emperor, which shall be convoying one or more merchant ships, that the convoy has no contraband goods on board, shall be sufficient; and that no search of his ship, or the other ships of the convoy, shall be permitted. And the better to ensure respect to those principles, and the stipulations founded upon them, which their disinterested wishes to preserve the imprescriptible rights of neutral nations have suggested, the high contracting parties, to prove their sincerity and justice, will give the strictest orders to their captains, as well of their ships of war as of their merchant ships, to load no part of their ships with, or secretly to have on board, any articles which, by virtue of this present convention, may be considered as contraband: and for the more completely carrying into execution this command, they will respectively take care to give directions to their courts of

admiralty to publish it whenever they shall think it necessary; and to this end the regulation which shall contain this prohibition, under the several penalties, shall be printed at the end of the present act, that no one may plead ignorance.

Art. IV. In order to place the commerce of their subjects upon the most legal and permanent basis, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have deemed it expedient to equip a number of ships of war and frigates, which shall be charged to see that object obtained; and the squadrons of each power shall take those stations, and protect those convoys, which their commerce and their navigation may require, and which shall be conformable to the course of trade of each nation.

V. To provide against all inconveniences which may proceed from any nation abusing the privilege of their flag, it is established as a regulation not to be departed from, that every transport, be it whose it may, belonging to the country whose flag it bears, shall have on board a captain and the half of the crew composed of the subjects of that country, and the passport shall be drawn up in due and regular form. Every transport which shall not observe these regulations, or shall violate the command printed at the end of this present convention, shall forfeit all right to the protection of the contracting parties, and the government to which it may belong shall alone be responsible for all the loss, damage, or inconvenience it may sustain.

VI. Should it nevertheless happen that the merchant ship of one of the powers should find itself in a situation

situation where the ships of war of that nation are not stationed, and where they cannot have the protection of their own convoys, in such case the commandant of the ship of war of the other power, if it shall be required, shall duly and faithfully afford such assistance as may be necessary. The ships of war and frigates of other nations shall afford protection and assistance to the merchant vessels of the other, provided, in the mean time, that the vessel requiring such assistance shall not have violated the principles of the neutrality, by having carried on any illicit commerce.

VII. This convention shall have no retrospective operation, and consequently it shall have no reference to any differences that existed previous to its conclusion. Its application shall only be to future acts of violence and aggression, and it shall form the basis of a system for the protection of all the neutral nations of Europe, whose rights may hereafter be denied or violated.

VIII. Should it, notwithstanding all the possible care of the two powers; and notwithstanding the observance of the most perfect neutrality on their sides, so happen that the merchant ships of his majesty the king of Sweden, or of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, should be insulted, plundered, or taken by the ships of war or privateers of one or other of the belligerent powers, the minister of the injured party shall forthwith represent the same to the government whose ship of war or privateer shall have committed such act of violence; he shall reclaim the captured vessel, demand due satisfaction, and by no means lose sight of the insult offered to the flag. The ministers of the other contracting

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power shall also enforce the complaint in the most energetic and determined manner possible, and they shall generally and uniformly act in concert together. Should their just complaint meet with no redress, or should it be postponed from time to time, then shall their majesties have recourse to reprisals against such power as shall have refused to do justice; and they shall endeavour, by every possible means, to give effect to such reprisals.

IX. Should it happen that one or the other of the two powers, or both, on account of, or from dislike to, the present convention, or any circumstance connected with it, should be disquieted, molested, or attacked; in such case it is agreed, that the two powers shall make it a common cause, mutually to defend each other; and they shall reciprocally employ every exertion to obtain full and complete satisfaction, as well for the insult done to their flag as for the injury sustained by their subjects.

X. The principles and regulations stipulated and settled by this present act shall apply to every maritime war, by which Europe may unhappily be disquieted. These stipulations shall also be considered as perpetual, and upon all occasions shall be appealed to by the contracting powers for the regulation of their commerce and navigation, and for the maintenance of the rights of neutral nations.

XI. As the object and main consideration of this convention is to assure the general freedom of commerce and navigation, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, hereby agree, and bind themselves to each other, to give their consent that other neutral powers may be-

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come parties to it, adopt its principles, conform to its obligations, and partake of its advantages.

XII. In order that the belligerent powers may not have to plead ignorance of the arrangements concluded between their said majesties, information shall be given to such belligerent powers of the regulations they have determined upon, which are so little of an hostile nature, that they can be detrimental to no other country whatever; but, on the contrary, are only calculated to secure the commerce and navigation of their respective subjects.

XIII. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged, in due and good form, within six weeks, or sooner, if possible, from the day of signing it.

In testimony of the same, we, the undersigned, furnished with full powers, have hereunto signed our names, and affixed our seals.

Given at St. Petersburg the 4th (16th) of December, 1800.

(Signed) CURT VON STEDINCK,
VON KOSTOPSIN.

[Here follows the ratification of their Swedish and imperial majesties, countersigned by Joh Christ de Toll, and count Kostopsin. There is also the regulation referred to in the convention; it consists of fifteen articles. It is dated St. Petersburg, the 23d of December, 1800.]

Answer of Baron Ehrenswärd to the Notification of Lord Grenville, of the 15th of January, stating, that an Embargo had been laid on the Danish and Swedish Ships in England.

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his imperial Swedish

majesty, received the official notification, by which his excellency lord Grenville, first minister of state, signified to the undersigned, that his Britannic majesty had ordered an embargo to be laid on all the Swedish ships that should be found in the harbours within his dominions. So unexpected an event between powers who were in relations of friendship towards each other, was received with astonishment by his imperial majesty, who was not only unconscious of having given his Britannic majesty the least cause of complaint, but, on the contrary, was entitled to have demanded indemnification for repeated aggressions. Actuated by this reflexion, he rather expected that the notification was transmitted with the view to bury his grievances in oblivion than to give occasion for fresh ones, which should renew the remembrance of the past.

As the English court has stated, as the ground of this notification, that a maritime convention was in contemplation, it would doubtless have acted with more justice, had it waited for an official communication from the Swedish court, which it most assuredly would, in proper time, have received, of a convention, which is considered in so odious a point of view, as to urge it to an act of violence against a court, whose connexion with England nothing else could have disturbed. As the dispute between the Russian and English courts related to the island of Malta, and the declaration of the Danish court referred to the convention of 1750, the undersigned can see no just reason why the Swedish court, which had given no cause of complaint to the English, and from which no other declaration was required than what related to the note of the 31st of

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of December, which has but just been received, should be attacked in so hostile a manner, before any answer had been given to the insinuations contained in that note.

The undersigned, who imparted the contents of the note of his excellency lord Grenville to his court, is obliged, in conformity to the orders of his master, to protest, as far as by the present act he can formally protest, against the embargo laid on the Swedish ships, and all loss or damage that may be thereby occasioned. He demands, in the most forcible and expressive terms, that, in pursuance of the stipulations of the treaty of 1661, the embargo may be taken off, the continuance of which can no otherwise be considered than as a designed and premeditated declaration of war on the part of England.

The undersigned, whom the expression of the desire of the British court could not escape, observes, in the hostile determinations by which it is accompanied, only a desire to give his imperial Swedish majesty cause of complaint, as well by the detention of the convoy, as in respect to the affair at Barcelona. He wishes the British court had confirmed the truth of its assurances by its actions, in which case this court would have been actuated by corresponding sentiments. The undersigned has the honour, &c.

(Signed)

BARON VON EHRENSWARD.
London, Jan. 17, 1801.

Regulation alluded to in the Northern Convention, as published by the King of Sweden.

The preamble states the necessity of rendering the rights of commerce clear and explicit. For this effect, in order to secure the protection of the government, the commerce of

Sweden must observe the following requisites:—

1. In order that a ship be entitled to be considered as a Swede, she must be built in Sweden, or the provinces under her dominion; or shipwrecked on the Swedish coast, and there sold or bought in a foreign country by a legal and authentic contract. If such purchase is made in a country threatened with war, it shall be considered as lawful as soon as three months have elapsed before its actually breaking out. Every ship purchased must be naturalised. As, however, the naturalisation of ships bought in a foreign country, and afterwards taken by a cruiser belonging to any of the belligerent powers, may frequently produce disagreeable explanations in the sequel, it is hereby declared, that in time of war ships shall not be allowed to be naturalised, which have formerly been the property of the belligerents, or their subjects; nevertheless, with the exception of all ships that were naturalised before the present regulation was adopted, which shall enjoy all the rights which are connected with the character of neutrals and Swedes.

2. The captain of the ship must be provided with all papers requisite and proper for the security of his voyage. Of this kind are (in case the ship goes through the Sound), a certificate of the place where the vessel was built, an invoice, letters showing the cargo not contraband, Turkish and Latin passports, a certificate by the magistrate of the place, a pass for the crew, a copy of the oath for the owner, a charterparty with the subscription of the freighter, the captain, and the person freighting the vessel, a manifest with the like subscriptions, containing a list of the different
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articles of the lading, and the conditions of the intended voyage, and a bill of health, where the same is necessary. If the voyage be merely to the ports of the Baltic, or the Sound, the Turkish and Latin passes are not necessary; but the captain must have all the other papers enumerated, without exception.

3. All these documents must be made out and delivered in a Swedish port, unless when a ship has lost her papers by accident, or where they have been forcibly taken away; in which case these documents may be renewed in a foreign port, if the captain, immediately on his arrival, takes the precaution to exhibit an authentic and properly certified declaration by which the accident is proved, or the grounds stated on which he desires the renewal.

4. The captain is prohibited to have false acts or certificates, or duplicates thereof. He is likewise prohibited to make use of a foreign flag.

5. It is required that the captain and half of the crew shall be Swedish subjects.

6. Captains going to the main ocean shall be bound to follow the course pointed out in their instructions, and agreeable to the contents of their certification.

7. Ships destined for the ports of a belligerent power must, with the utmost care, and under the severest penalties, avoid carrying any contraband commodities. To prevent all doubt or misunderstanding respecting what is contraband, it is agreed that the following goods shall be considered contraband*.

8. All Swedish subjects are prohibited to fit out privateers against the belligerents, their subjects and property.

9. A Swedish ship cannot be employed by a belligerent power to transport troops, arms, or any war-like implements. Should any captain be compelled to do so by superior force, he is bound at least to exhibit a formal protest against such violence.

10. When a merchant ship is not under convoy, and happens to be brought to by a ship of war or privateer belonging to any of the belligerents, the captain shall not, in that case, oppose the searching of his vessel, but be bound faithfully to show all acts and documents which relate to her cargo. The captain and his people are strictly prohibited to keep back or destroy any of their papers.

11. If, however, such ship makes part of a convoy, the foregoing article shall not serve as the rule, but the captain's duty consists in punctually obeying the signals of the commodore of the convoy; for which purpose, therefore, he shall separate as little as possible from the convoy.

12. All captains are expressly forbidden to attempt going into a blockaded port as soon as they are formally apprised by the officer commanding the blockade. In order to ascertain what a blockaded harbour is, this appellation is confined to those to which, by the exertions of the blockading power, with ships destined and adequate to the object, it is evidently dangerous to attempt running in.

13. In case a Swedish merchant ship is captured by a ship of war or privateer of any of the belligerents, the captain shall immediately transmit a circumstantial account, and duly explained, to the Swedish

* The remainder is a transcript of the 2d article of the Convention of the Northern Powers.—See p. (127).

consul or vice-consul of the place to which the ship is taken; and should there be no consul or vice-consul there, he shall transmit a memorial to the Swedish consul of the district to which the place into which his ship is taken belongs.

14. Every captain of a Swedish merchantman, who strictly observes the above regulations and orders, shall enjoy a free voyage, protected by the laws of nations and the provisions of treaties; and to this end, all public agents and Swedish consuls are required, in case of attack or insult, to give their support to the just and well founded complaints on the subject. But those who in any point whatever neglect or violate their orders, must answer for the consequences of their conduct, without relying upon the protection of his majesty.

15. By the contents of a recent order, his majesty has prohibited the privateers of a foreign nation to enter, or bring their prizes into the ports of his kingdom, except in case of their being driven in by stress of weather. In this case it is expressly prohibited to all whatsoever to buy the prizes, or any of the effects which the privateers have taken.

To which end, publication, &c.

Given at St. Petersburg, 23d December, 1800.

(Signed)

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

First Note of Lord Carysfort to Count Haugwitz. Berlin, Nov. 16, 1800.

The instant lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, learned that his Prussian majesty was preparing to order a detachment of his troops to enter Cux-

haven, and that the reason which the public thought proper to assign for that measure was the refusal given by the government of Hamburg to cause a vessel to be released, which, taken by one of the ships of war of his Britannic majesty, had been compelled, in order to avoid the dangers of the sea, to enter that port, he thought it his duty to demand an audience of his excellency count Haugwitz, minister of state and of the cabinet, for the purpose of obtaining information with respect to that affair.

He received from his excellency the assurance that the intentions of his Prussian majesty were in no view hostile or contrary to the interests of Great Britain; but that the occupation of Cuxhaven had for its principal object the maintenance of the authority of his Prussian majesty, in his character of chief and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and that it was conducted with the consent of the city of Hamburg itself.

Lord Carysfort, not being exactly acquainted with the circumstances under which the vessel in question found itself, deferred, to another occasion, the observations which he might have wished to submit to his excellency. He has now grounds to believe, that, laden with contraband goods, it was captured by one of his Britannic majesty's ships as it was entering into the Texel; that is to say, into a port belonging to the enemies of his majesty; and that it was restored as soon as the officer who had the charge of it could be informed of the orders of his superiors.

With respect to the occupation of the town of Cuxhaven by the Prussian troops, which must have

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been founded upon particular conventions between his Prussian majesty and the senate of Hamburg, he does not think himself called upon to take part in that discussion; but he feels himself authorised to claim, in favour of the subjects and vessels of the king his master, all the rights to which they have a just pretension in a neutral port belonging to a republic, whose connexions with the states of his majesty are very antient, and generally known—no convention made between the city of Hamburg and his Prussian majesty being capable of invalidating or altering his rights.

In consequence of these considerations he dares hope that his Prussian majesty may still suspend the occupation of Cuxhaven, until the two courts shall have the means of entering into mutual explanations, more particularly since such an occupation, in the actual circumstances, might give room to ill-disposed minds to attribute to his Prussian majesty views not less opposite to the sentiments of justice and moderation which govern all his measures, than to the friendship and the good harmony which subsist between him and his Britannic majesty.

At all events it will not escape the wisdom and humanity of his majesty, that the entrance of a numerous corps of troops into a village, both poor and with a small extent of territory, would probably augment the misery of the inhabitants; and that the city of Hamburg having always possessed that place, so indispensably necessary to the navigation of the Elbe, all which may trouble that possession, derange ancient customs, and influence the pilots there at present to seek a refuge elsewhere, would strike a sensible blow at the commerce of

all the countries of the north of Germany, and even at that of the states of his Prussian majesty.

(Signed) CARYSFORT.

Second Note, from the same. Berlin, Nov. 18, 1800.

The undersigned, extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, thinks himself obliged again to address himself to his excellency count Haugwitz, relative to the intention of his Prussian majesty in taking military possession of Cuxhaven. When the undersigned had the honour of transmitting to his excellency the verbal note of the 16th, it was not exactly known "that the Prussian vessel brought into that port had been restored." The fact being now certain, as well as the zeal manifested by the senate of Hamburg to fulfil the wishes of the king; the surprise and consternation excited from the moment when the orders for marching a detachment of troops were known, would be raised to their utmost height, if it were ascertained, that, notwithstanding the complete satisfaction given to his Prussian majesty on all the points respecting which he thought proper to complain, he should not appear less attached to his determination of causing Cuxhaven to be occupied by his troops. In fact, it appears at first sight that this occupation would be so calculated to give the most serious alarms to all commercial nations, that, without alluding to the interpretations which calumny might be desirous of giving to the measure, strong hopes are entertained from the justice and moderation of his Prussian majesty, for that reason only, that he will come to the resolution of not carrying it into effect.

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The undersigned would not, however, think he had executed his duty, should he neglect to represent to his excellency the lively alarms which necessarily result from the uncertainty in which the affair remains. The reiterated assurances which the undersigned has received from his excellency of the friendship and good wishes of his Prussian majesty towards the king of Great Britain, do not allow him to believe that any misunderstanding can arise between the two courts; but he cannot avoid thinking that the enemies of humanity and of public tranquillity will endeavour to turn to their purposes the alarm which is generally diffused, in order to scatter discord among the powers, which should all unite and maintain the safety and independence of Europe at large.

(Signed) CARYSFORT:

Answer of Count Haugwitz.

The undersigned minister of state, and of the cabinet, is authorised by the orders of the king to completely tranquillise the anxieties and apprehensions which my lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, expressed to him in his two notes of the 16th and 18th November. The Prussian vessel, the Triton, has, it is true, been restored to its owner; but the mode of release was, in every respect, as irregular as the proceedings which had previously taken place with respect to it; and after an examination of all the circumstances relative to the incident which forms the subject of complaint, there appears throughout the whole a manifest infraction of the principles of the neutrality of the north of Germany. It is this superior consideration

added to the unjust refusal of the magistracy of Hamburg, which dictated to the king the resolution of causing a body of his troops to occupy the port of Cuxhaven, and the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle. This measure was executed the moment it was determined upon, and it is no longer capable of being revoked, the example of what has taken place imposing on his majesty the necessity of effectually watching over the maintenance of that neutrality which he has guaranteed to his co-estates. The king cannot imagine that his Britannic majesty, after participating, in his character of elector of Hanover, in the advantages and benefits of this happy neutrality, can conceive the smallest alarm at seeing a Prussian garrison enter into the port which England has fixed on as her point of communication with the north of Germany. Being thus placed under the immediate guarantee of the king, it will be the more effectually put out of the reach of all violation, and the troops of his majesty will have no other duty to perform than that of causing the laws of good order and equity to be respected. The utmost confidence may be placed in the prudent disposition of the reigning duke of Brunswick, who is invested with the command of the line of demarcation.

But, if more particular assurances be requisite upon this subject, the king feels a pleasure in giving them by the present communication to his Britannic majesty, and in declaring to him, in express and positive terms, that the present order of things will in no respect interrupt the freedom of commerce and navigation in the port of Cuxhaven; nor, above all, the continuation of the correspondence with England. On the contrary, the

officer commanding the troops of the king garrisoned in the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle, will make it his duty to give it every possible facility.

On the whole, the proceeding which the king has, from necessity, been obliged to follow, does not admit of any equivocal interpretation. It has no other object than the maintenance of the system of which he is the author and defender; and this object shall not be exceeded. His views and conduct have procured him the confidence of all Europe, and they never will be found inconsistent; and though it is not to be anticipated that the other powers will be disposed to misconceive the purity of his views in the present case, yet his majesty reserves to himself the privilege of explaining himself further and in a suitable manner to those who may be intitled to such explanation.

(Signed) HAUGWITZ.

Note I.—Presented on the 27th Jan. 1801, by the English Ambassador at Berlin, Lord Carysfort, to His Excellency the Prussian State and Cabinet Minister, Count Von Haugwitz.

As the undersigned ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary has been directed by his court to communicate to the Prussian ministry his majesty's note, which, by command of his majesty the king of Great-Britain and Ireland, was presented to the ministers of Denmark and Sweden, he cannot discharge this commission, without likewise expressing his sincere satisfaction in being authorised to declare, how thoroughly his majesty is convinced that Prussia can never have sanctioned the measures which have given rise to the above recited note. Those measures openly disclose an intention to pre-

scribe rules to the British empire on a subject of the greatest importance; to force those rules upon Great-Britain; and, for that end, before any of the powers who have concurred in it have given the smallest intimation to his majesty to enter into a league, the object of which is, to renew pretensions which Great-Britain at every time has considered hostile to its rights and interests, and so declared whenever an opportunity presented—pretensions which the Russian court has abandoned, not only in fact, but which, by a treaty actually in force, Russia is bound to oppose, and the execution of which treaty his majesty is entitled to insist upon.

When a ship of war belonging to his Danish majesty resisted by force the execution of a right, which the king of Great-Britain and Ireland, by virtue of the clearest and most express stipulations of his treaties with the court of Denmark, had demanded, his majesty on that occasion confined himself to the adoption of such measures as the protection of the trade of his subjects required to be given against that measure of hostility which this conduct on the part of an officer bearing his Danish majesty's commission seemed to show. An amicable arrangement put an end to this dispute; and the king flattered himself, not only that all misunderstanding on that subject was removed, but amity between the two courts was anew strengthened and confirmed.

In this situation of affairs his majesty must have learnt with no less astonishment than concern that the court of Copenhagen was employed in negotiations to renew the hostile confederacy against Great-Britain which took place in 1780, and

and that also great preparations were going on in the ports of Denmark. Under these circumstances the king must have been compelled to call for explanations from the court of Denmark. At this moment he received information that a confederacy was signed at Petersburg; and the answer of the Danish minister left no doubt respecting the object and nature of this convention, as he declared in the most express manner "that these negotiations had in view the renewal of those relations which had been entered into between the same powers in the years 1780 and 1781," adding, "that his majesty the emperor of Russia had proposed to the northern powers the renewal of their connexion in its original form."

The engagements alluded to had for their object principles of maritime law which never had been recognised by the tribunals of Europe, and the contracting parties mutually engaged to maintain them by force, and to compel by force other nations to adopt them. They are still more repugnant to the express stipulations of the treaties which subsist between the courts of Stockholm and Denmark, and the British empire.

The convention which these engagements were to renew was negotiated at a time when the court of Petersburg had adopted hostile measures against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and when nothing but the extraordinary moderation of the king could have authorised other powers not to consider him as at open war with that court.

In such a state of things, nothing certainly could be more inconsistent with the idea of neutrality, and nothing more distinctly indicate a

hostile disposition, than that those engagements were not postponed till it was ascertained whether Russia was not to be considered as a belligerent power. Such forbearance was the more to be expected, and particularly from the court of Copenhagen, as, by an express article of the league of 1780, the Danish ports and havens in Norway were placed at the disposal of Russia for the purpose of facilitating the prosecution of hostilities out of the Baltic.

When therefore the king was informed by one of the contracting parties, that the object of the negotiations which had been begun at Petersburg, without giving the least intimation, and which at last, according to the information received by the king, had terminated in the conclusion of a convention, was no other than to renew the former confederacy to press upon his majesty a new code of law to which he had already refused his assent; and when moreover he had the most certain intelligence, and could no longer doubt that the powers of the Baltic, engaged in this transaction, were pursuing warlike preparations with the utmost activity; when one of those powers had placed itself in a state of actual hostilities with his majesty; no other alternative remained but either to submit, or to adopt measures which were calculated to put an effectual stop to the hostile operation of a league which, by the declaration of the Danish court itself, was openly directed against his majesty.

Meanwhile his majesty has not omitted on this occasion to display his wonted justice and good-will. Although he felt it necessary, for the maintenance of his rights, to secure some pledge against the hostile attacks which were meditated

tated against his rights, yet he has taken the utmost care to guard against loss and injury to individuals.

Firmly convinced that his conduct towards neutral states has been conformable to the recognised principles of laws, whose basis and sanction is to be found, not in passing interests and momentary convenience, but in the general principle of justice; of laws which have been received and observed by the admiralty courts of all the maritime powers of Europe; his majesty does not yet forego the hope that the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen will not take upon them the responsibility that will fall upon the authors of the war; that particularly they will not expose themselves to that responsibility for the introduction of innovations, the notorious injustice of which has induced those powers by which they were first broached to oppose them, when they found themselves at war; innovations, besides, which are expressly repugnant to those treaties which they have concluded with his majesty.

The step on which his majesty has resolved must have long been foreseen. The British government has never concealed that it considered the league of 1780 as hostile, and had never ceased that attention with which it watches over the rights of the nation. It immediately resisted the attempt to renew the principles which at the above-mentioned period had been agitated; and the undersigned declared to count Haugwitz, at the first conference he had with him on his arrival at Berlin, "that his majesty would never submit to pretensions which were irreconcilable to the true principles of public law, and which strike at the foundations

of the greatness and maritime power of his kingdoms."

Still later, in the beginning of November, the undersigned had the honour to represent to his excellency, as the minister of a power connected with his majesty by the most intimate friendship, what disagreeable consequences must follow from the attempt of the northern powers to press forward those pretensions. He has never ceased to renew this declaration when, by the command of his majesty, he has been the interpreter of that satisfaction given to the king by the repeated assurances of the friendship of his majesty the king of Prussia, and of those constant sentiments of perfect justice of which his majesty has never for a moment entertained a doubt. His excellency count Haugwitz will likewise easily recollect the time when the undersigned, intimately convinced of the friendly intentions of the Prussian government, communicated to him, by the command of his Britannic majesty, the king's resolution to allow of no measures which had for their object to introduce innovations in the maritime law now in force; but, on the contrary, to defend that system in every event, and to maintain its entire execution as it had subsisted in all the courts of Europe prior to the year 1780.

If the court of Denmark had announced in the most unequivocal manner the real objects and contents of the engagements into which it had entered, the declaration of that court, that Prussia was one of the powers concerned in the negotiation, would have been sufficient to satisfy the king, and to prove to him that it could have no hostile views against his government; and even still his majesty is convinced

convinced that he may implicitly rely on the friendship of his Prussian majesty. It is true that, in relation to Great-Britain and Ireland, there can be no similarity between the northern powers and Prussia. Those powers are connected with his majesty by the stipulations of mutual treaties, which are less favourable to their interests, and which more or less modify and soften the rigour of the general law; whereas between his majesty the king of Great-Britain and Prussia no treaty of commerce exists, and all intercourse between them is regulated by the general principles of the law of nations, and established usages.

It, however, his majesty were to consider his own sentiments, and the incessant wish he has shown to preserve the friendship of a monarch with whom he is connected by so many ties, he could not at all anticipate the possibility of a difference which might not easily and speedily be terminated by an amicable discussion. The repeated assurances of such sentiments on the part of his Prussian majesty, which the undersigned has been empowered to transmit to his court, confirm this agreeable anticipation; and the known principles which have constantly directed his majesty the king of Prussia, do not tend to countenance the supposition that the latter has entered into the confederacy, or can enter into the confederacy, to support by force principles in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic majesty have been openly proved.

The king, at the same time, while he has given it in charge to the undersigned to make these explanations, could have no other object than to give his Prussian ma-

jesty a new proof of his confidence and particular respect; and he is firmly convinced that his majesty the king of Prussia will approve of his steady resolution to defend the rights and interests of his crown.

Nevertheless, whatever sentiments the Prussian government may entertain in regard to the new principles themselves, yet it is too just, and knows too well what sovereigns owe to their people, and to one another, to favour for a moment the design to employ force in order to induce his Britannic majesty to acknowledge a code which the latter deems inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown.

(Signed) CARYSPORT.
Berlin, Jan. 27, 1801.

Note II. presented on the 1st of Feb. 1801, to His Excellency the State and Cabinet Minister, Count Haugwitz.

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour to address himself to count Haugwitz, by command of his court, in order to communicate to him the following particulars:

The spirit of patience and of moderation which prevails in the note of lord Grenville to count Kostopsin, will not escape the notice of his excellency.

A solemn treaty between the two powers had given the respective subjects of each a complete security for the prosecution of their trade; and even in case of a rupture it had been agreed that not only no embargo should be laid, but that the subjects on both sides should have a whole year to carry away

away their effects, and to arrange their affairs in the country.

Notwithstanding these sacred stipulations, the ships of British subjects in the Russian ports are detained, and their property, in an extraordinary manner, upon various pretexts, sequestered or sold. Their persons are likewise put under arrest, and a number of British sailors have been forcibly taken out of their ships, and been sent under guard and in the midst of winter into the interior of the country.

In consequence of these new acts of violence, lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, received his majesty's order to address a second note to count Kostopsin, in which his majesty stated his having appointed a commissary to superintend the safety and the wants of his unfortunate subjects; a circumstance which is usual even among the powers that are actually at war. Lord Grenville in that paper likewise formally insisted on the execution of the treaty of 1793. But, though he made the strong and just remonstrances which such circumstances demanded, yet his majesty's constant disposition again to restore the former connexion and good understanding between the two crowns has been in vain.

His Britannic majesty anticipates the sentiments which the king of Prussia will entertain when he is informed of the unheard-of and unjustifiable manner in which his Britannic majesty's remonstrances were heard by the court of Saint Petersburg. The note of count Kostopsin to lord Grenville, of the 20th of December, O. S. a copy of which the undersigned is ordered to communicate to count Haugwitz, will enable his Prussian majesty to judge whether the undersigned is

called upon to make any observations upon it.

The undersigned has received orders to make known to the court of Berlin that this conduct, on the part of the emperor of Russia, has put an end to all correspondence between the courts of London and St. Petersburg; and the connexion between the extraordinary violence committed upon the person and property of his majesty's subjects, and the conclusion of a hostile confederacy, which the emperor of Russia has formed, for the express and avowed purpose of introducing those innovations into the maritime code which his Britannic majesty has ever opposed, has at length produced a state of open war between Great-Britain and Ireland and Russia.

It will not be useless to remark that the emperor of Russia, at the present crisis, cannot be considered as a neutral power, because he was at war with Great-Britain before he himself was at peace with France.

The undersigned shall have done justice to the charge with which he is intrusted, when he declares, in the name of the king, his master, that his majesty, on weighing the present circumstances of Europe, is willing to forbear demanding from the court of Prussia that succour which was stipulated by treaty, though he considers the *casus fœderis* as completely coming within those circumstances in which they stand; and that his Britannic majesty cannot doubt that he will receive from his ally all the proofs of friendship which the events of this new war would have required.

The undersigned has the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CARYSFORT.
Berlin, Feb. 1, 1801.

Note

Note transmitted on the 12th of February, by the Prussian Minister Count Haugwitz, to Lord Carysfort, the English Ambassador at Berlin.

The undersigned, state and cabinet minister, has laid before his Prussian majesty the two notes which lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from his majesty the king of Great-Britain and Ireland, has done him the honour to transmit to him on the 27th of January and 1st of February last.

The undersigned, having it in commission to return an explicit and circumstantial answer, is under the necessity of informing lord Carysfort, that his majesty cannot see without the utmost grief and concern the violent and hasty measures to which the court of London has proceeded against the northern naval powers. Error alone can have given occasion to these measures, as the assertions in the note of the 27th sufficiently show. In that it is said that the maritime alliance has for its object to annul the treaties formerly concluded with England, and to prescribe laws to her with respect to the principles of them; that the neutrality is only a pretext to impose these laws on her by force, and to establish a hostile alliance against her.

Nothing, however, is farther from the above-mentioned negotiation, than the principles here supposed. It is founded in justice and moderation; and the communication of a copy of the convention to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for the same, will prove this beyond the possibility of a denial.

When in the beginning of January the minister of his Britannic majesty officially proposed to the undersigned the question—"Whe-

ther the northern courts had actually concluded the confederation which had been reported; and whether Prussia had acceded to it?"—the king conceived that the respect which sovereigns owe to each other, and the liberty possessed by every independent state to consult its own interests, without rendering an account to any other power, authorised him to withhold any communications relative to himself and his allies, and contented himself with answering; that as he had seen without interfering the connexions which England had entered into without consulting him, he considered himself as entitled to the same confidence; and that if the king of Great-Britain thought it his duty to support the rights and interests of his kingdom, his Prussian majesty considered it as not less his duty to employ every means in the defence of the rights and interests of his subjects.

This answer might have sufficed a few weeks since; but in the situation in which affairs now are, the king thinks himself called upon to make an explicit declaration to the court of London, relative to the spirit of the treaty, which has probably been attacked because it was not known, and which is far from having the offensive views of which the contracting parties have been arbitrarily accused.—They have expressly agreed that their measures shall be neither hostile, nor tend to the detriment of any country, but only have for their object the security of the trade and navigation of their subjects.—They have been attentive to adapt their new connexions to present circumstances.

The strict justice of his majesty the emperor of Russia has even in the detail proposed modifications which

which alone might be sufficient to indicate the spirit of the whole. It has since been determined that the treaty shall not be prejudicial to those treaties which had been before concluded with any of the belligerent powers. It was also resolved that this determination should be candidly communicated to these powers, to prove the purity of the motives and views of the contracting parties. But England would not allow them time for this. Had she waited this confidential communication, she might have avoided those intemperate measures which threaten to spread still wider the flames of war. She might likewise have received satisfaction from the correspondence with Denmark, if, instead of dwelling on two detached passages copied into the first note of lord Carysfort, from the note of count Bernstorff of the 31st of December, the court of London had attended to the solemn declaration that "it could never be for a moment imagined that Denmark entertained any hostile projects against Great-Britain, or such as were inconsistent with the maintenance of a good understanding between the two powers; and that the court of Denmark congratulated itself on having obtained an opportunity to contradict such unfounded reports in the most positive manner."

This open and explicit declaration accorded with the assurances which the undersigned had more than once given to lord Carysfort on the same subject; and it is difficult to conceive, how the English court, could conclude, as it afterwards appeared that it did, from the note of the Danish minister, "that the convention of the contracting powers went to establish new principles of maritime law,

which had never been acknowledged by the tribunals of Europe, and the object of which was hostile to England."

The conclusion is totally false, and as little authorised by the answer of the Danish court as the undeserved accusation, that it proposed "to excite a hostile confederacy against Great-Britain; and with that view was employed in active preparations."

Never were measures more incontestably merely defensive than those of the court of Copenhagen; and the spirit of them will be less mistaken, when it is recollected what menacing demonstrations that court experienced on the part of the British government, in consequence of the affair of the frigate Freya, before it adopted those measures.

The arbitrary conduct of England on this occasion is naturally explained by the lofty pretensions she has so long advanced, and which have been several times renewed in the notes of lord Carysfort, at the expence of all the maritime and commercial powers. The British government has, in the present more than in any former war, assumed to itself the sovereignty of the sea, and has arbitrarily formed a maritime code, which it is extremely difficult to reconcile with the true principles of the law of nations: it exercises over friendly and neutral powers a usurped jurisdiction, which it maintains to be just, and endeavours to represent as an indefeasible law sanctioned by all the tribunals of Europe.

Never have the sovereigns of England permitted their subjects to be made amenable to this law, in the numerous cases when the abuse of power has transgressed the limits of justice. The neutral powers have

have made the strongest remonstrances and protestations; but experience has shown that these are generally without effect. It is not therefore surprising, that after so many and repeated injuries they should have had recourse to a measure which may prevent them in future, and with that view have entered into a well concerted alliance, which may define their rights, and place them in a proper relation to the belligerent powers.

The maritime alliance, as it has been consolidated, will lead to this salutary object, and the king makes no difficulty to declare to his Britannic majesty, that he has found in it his own principles, that he is intimately convinced of its necessity and utility, and that he has formally acceded to the convention which was concluded between the courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, on the 16th of December last: his majesty is therefore among the number of the contracting powers, and as such is obliged not only to take a direct part in all events which may interest the affairs of the neutral states, but is bound to support that convention by such vigorous measures as the course of circumstances may require.

The note of lord Carysfort refers to a subject relative to which his majesty conceives he is not obliged to answer, nor even has a right to form an opinion. Disputes exist between the courts of London and Petersburg, which in no manner have connexion with that to which the above-mentioned minister has endeavoured to unite them. But as much as the conduct of Prussia has been hitherto guided by the

most unexceptionable impartiality, it will be equally guided by a respect for the alliances which are a proof of it. Stipulations which contain in themselves nothing hostile, and which the security of his subjects prescribed to him, bind him to have recourse to all the means which providence has placed in his power.

As unpleasant as the extremities are to which England has proceeded, the king entertains no doubt of the possibility of a speedy return to conciliatory and pacific dispositions; and in this respect confides in the sentiments of justice which he has so often had the happiness to experience on other occasions from his Britannic majesty.

Only by the recall and entire taking off of the embargo can things be restored to their former state; and England must judge whether she will consent to afford the neutral powers this means of proceeding to the overtures which they are ready to make.—But as long as those measures shall continue, which were adopted from hatred to a common principle, and against an alliance no longer to be feared, the hostile determination which must be the consequence will be the necessary result of the treaty; and the undersigned has it in command to declare to the minister of his Britannic majesty, that the king, while he testifies his concern at the circumstances that have occurred, and which he has never occasioned, will fulfil, in the most sacred manner, the obligations imposed on him by treaties.

The undersigned, while he executes this command, has the honour to assure lord Carysfort of his high esteem. (Signed)

HAUGWITZ.

Berlin, Feb. 12.

Note

Note transmitted on the 4th of March; by Baron Von Ehrenstard, the Imperial Swedish Minister Plenipotentiary at London, to Lord Hawkesbury, the English Secretary of State:

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty, has the honour to transmit to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, first secretary of state of his Britannic majesty, a printed copy of the naval convention concluded on the 16th of December 1800, between his Swedish majesty and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, as well as a printed copy of the naval regulations which the king has recently ordered to be drawn up.

The undersigned, who, at the command of his court, has the honour to make this communication to the minister of his Britannic majesty, has it likewise in commission expressly to declare, that their majesties, by the said naval convention, have reciprocally determined and settled those rights, which, as neutral powers, they believe themselves entitled to; and by the naval regulations have ascertained those duties for the performance and observance of which, on the part of their subjects, they, as neutral powers, make themselves answerable. The object of their majesties is to confirm and strengthen their rights as neutrality demands, and to promote the repose of their respective states, by the naval convention they have entered into; and nothing is farther from their intention than by such a step to provoke hostilities. The respect which is due to the rights of nations and to treaties—the consciousness that their own inter-

ests are inseparably united with the interests and the love of justice, and peace; are the only motives by which their majesties have been actuated: they have therefore learnt, with the greatest astonishment, that the first news of the conclusion of this convention in England has been the occasion of so violent a measure as that of laying an embargo on the Swedish ships.

So far from desiring to introduce any innovations with respect to the maritime states of Europe, by the assertion of their rights of neutrality, their majesties are sensible that it gives no power whatever where those rights were not acknowledged by former treaties. England has seen those treaties executed; they were officially communicated to her, and she did not protest against them. In like manner it was with regard to the convention of 1780 and 1781, and the ministry, who now proceed with so much violence, know that the partial renewal of that convention between Sweden and Denmark in 1794, and the armament that followed, operated during a period of three years without ever being considered as grounds for hostilities: yet a similar convention is now deemed an hostile confederacy against England. A line of conduct so contradictory proceeds not from the circumstances of the principles and claims of neutral rights having been now enforced; but it seems to have its foundation in that maritime system which England has established in the course of the present war. It appears also, that that government which Europe, from its pacific sentiments, has so often endeavoured to convince of the injustice of its pretensions,

tensions, has now determined to commence a war for the subjection of the sea, after it has rendered itself so renowned in the war undertaken for the freedom of Europe.

If the British minister will refer to the conduct of England against Sweden, and the neutral powers in general, during this war, he will find the real cause why his Swedish majesty has been induced to believe that the formal alliance of several powers, acting upon the same principles, would more effectually tend to convince the court of London of the validity of those principles, than by any one power renewing those reclamations which have hitherto been made in vain: at the same time his majesty never supposed that such an alliance would be considered as an act of hostility. The British minister complains, that the court of London was not before instructed of the intention of the respective courts to renew the convention of 1780; but in the same note he states, that England had entered into engagements this war with its allies respecting neutrals: thus the avowal of the British minister is an answer to his own charge.

If his majesty was not fully convinced of the innocence of his intentions, and if he was desirous of deviating from that line of moderation he has ever observed, he might make an invidious and censurable enumeration of the conduct of England; of the unpunished offences of the commanders of English ships of war, even in Swedish harbours; of the inquisitorial examinations which the captain and crews of the ships detained, as well in the West Indies as in England, have been subjected; of the detention of the convoy in 1798; of the deceit-

1801.

ful chicanery with which the proceeding of the courts of Admiralty were accompanied; of the absolute denial of justice in many instances; and lastly, by the insult offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona. His Swedish majesty must, doubtless, state among the offences of which he has cause to complain, that after one of his ministers had been sent to the British court, its aggressions, instead of being admitted and remedied, were justified. But, he has sought no revenge; his majesty wishes only to procure that security to his flag to which it is entitled. In consequence of this sentiment, the undersigned is empowered to declare, that the British court shall acknowledge the rights of Sweden; that it shall do justice with regard to the convoys detained in 1798, as well as respecting the violence offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona; and above all, that it shall take off the embargo which has been so unjustly laid on the Swedish ships. His majesty will, with the greatest pleasure, see his ports again opened to the trade of England, and the ancient good understanding between the two courts renewed. His majesty, impressed with that dignity due to his empire, has, in consequence of the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships, placed a similar embargo on all English vessels in the harbours of Sweden.

As the pacific tendency of the present convention has been proved to a demonstration, his majesty therefore hopes that no consideration, respecting any accidental occurrence which may have taken place between the ally of his majesty the emperor of Russia and the court of London, will be introduced. The act of the convention itself proves that its bases are the

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rights

rights of neutrality, and that it is in its nature unconnected with every other subject of dispute.

While the undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty recommends the contents of this present note to the earnest consideration of the minister of his Britannic majesty, he has the honour to entreat that his excellency lord Hawkesbury will transmit him an answer, which he hopes will speak the sentiments of the king his master.

His majesty has commanded the undersigned to present this to his excellency. Should the conciliatory views with which it was dictated prove fruitless, it is his majesty's opinion, that the presence of the undersigned at the court of London will no longer be of any advantage.

The undersigned has the honour to assure his excellency lord Hawkesbury of his highest esteem.
(Signed)

THE BARON VON EHRENSWARD.
London, 4th March, 1801.

Answer of Lord Hawkesbury to the foregoing Note.

The undersigned, his majesty's first secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the 4th inst. of baron Ehrensward, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty. His majesty has already repeated his determined and unalterable resolution to insist upon the acknowledgment of the principles of those maritime rights which have stood the test of ages, and have been considered the best security for the just rights and privileges as well of neutral as of belligerent powers.

The explanations which have

been endeavoured to be made respecting the present convention have not, in the slightest degree, weakened the impression which was produced by its first perusal, namely, that the intentions and motives of the contracting powers were hostile to the rights of his majesty; and this impression is fully confirmed by observing that the northern courts have adopted the principles of the convention of 1780, which was entered into at a period when the circumstances of the war, and the proportional strength of the navies of the belligerent powers, altered what was before a general rule of equity to all nations, and rendered it a means of exclusive offence on the part of Great Britain.

Under these circumstances, the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships can only be considered as an act of legitimate and necessary prudence, and cannot be otherwise denominated, while the court of Stockholm continues a party to a convention, the object of which is to impose upon his majesty a new maritime system, incompatible with the dignity of his throne and the rights and interests of his people.

The undersigned requests the baron Von Ehrensward to receive the assurances of his high esteem.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.
Downing-street, March 6, 1801.

Note from the Danish to the British Minister.

The undersigned, having informed the king, his master, of the official communication of lord Grenville, dated the 15th of January last, has received orders to declare, that his majesty is deeply affected at seeing the good understanding which

which has hitherto subsisted between Denmark and England, suddenly interrupted by the adoption of a measure as arbitrary as injurious on the part of Great Britain; and that he is not less afflicted and alarmed at seeing that measure justified by assertions and suppositions as unjust as ill founded.

He remarks with surprise, that by confounding the cause of the measures taken in Russia against the interests of Great Britain, with the object of the convention relative to neutral navigation, the British government evidently mixes two affairs which have not the least connexion with each other.

It is a subject of perfect notoriety, that the incident of the occupation of Malta by the troops of his Britannic majesty has alone been the occasion of the embargo on the English ships in the ports of Russia, and that the ministers of the neutral courts at Petersburg acted according to their full powers and instructions anterior to that event. The dispute relating to it is absolutely foreign to the court of Copenhagen. It knows neither its origin nor foundation, or at least but very imperfectly, and its engagements with Petersburg have no relation whatever to it. The nature of those engagements has been solemnly declared to be only defensive; and it is inconceivable how general principles, conformable to every positive obligation, and modified according to the stipulations of treaties, could be justly considered as attacks on the rights, or the dignity, of any state whatever. While the powers who profess them require only their acknowledgment, the conflict of principles reciprocally maintained cannot be provoked but by those means which, operating as a denial of facts, place

them in direct and inevitable opposition.

The undersigned, by order of the king his master, calls the serious attention of the British government to these reflexions, and to these just and incontrovertible truths: they are analogous to the loyal sentiments of a sovereign, the ancient and faithful ally of Great Britain, who is not only incapable of offering, on his part, any injuries real or voluntary, but who has well founded titles to a return of forbearance and justice.

The prompt cessation of proceedings hostile to the interests of Denmark is a circumstance to which his majesty still looks forward with the confidence he has ever wished to entertain with regard to his Britannic majesty; and it is in his name, and conformably to the instructions expressed on his part, that the undersigned insists on the embargo placed on the Danish vessels in the ports of Great Britain being immediately taken off.

By a constant series of moderation on the part of the king, the measures to which the outrageous proceedings of the British government authorised him to have had recourse, have been suspended, his majesty deeming it an act of glory to give, by this means, a decisive proof of the falsehood of the suspicions advanced against him, and of the doubts thrown on his intentions.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the English government persists in its violent resolutions, he will see himself with regret reduced to the urgent necessity of exerting those means which his dignity, and the interest of his subjects, will imperiously prescribe.

(Signed) WEDEL JARLSBERG.
London, Feb. 23, 1801.

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ANSWER.

ANSWER.

Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to count Wedel Jarlsberg, and has the honour to inform him, that he shall lose no time in communicating to the Danish government his majesty's sentiments on the contents of count Wedel Jarlsberg's note of the 23d instant.

Lord Hawkesbury requests that count Wedel Jarlsberg will accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Downing-street, Feb. 25, 1801.

NOTE.

The undersigned has constantly reposed an unlimited confidence in the sentiments and moderation of his Britannic majesty. He has consequently only endeavoured, in the preliminary note of lord Hawkesbury, dated the 25th of last month, in answer to his official note of the 23d, to discover the expression of an assurance of those sentiments which should be transmitted to Copenhagen; and he is persuaded that the effect of them on the part of his Britannic majesty will be manifested, by calling, in the most efficacious and satisfactory manner, the attention of the government to the representations of his Danish majesty, transmitted through the organs and offices of the undersigned.

But as the adoption of conciliatory measures is constantly found suspended, and as, on the contrary, those of violence and injustice are daily accumulating, the undersigned cannot acquiesce, in silence, in the continuation of this state of things, which only tends to bar the way to amicable explanations, and to compromise the dearest interests of each nation.

He hastens, in consequence, to renew with earnestness the demand

made in the name of his court; that the embargo placed on the Danish vessels should be immediately taken off. And, in the expectation of a satisfactory answer, he has the honour to assure his excellency lord Hawkesbury of his respectful consideration.

(Signed) **W E D E L J A R L S B E R G.**
London, March 4, 1801.

ANSWER.

The undersigned, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of count Wedel Jarlsberg, his Danish majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, of the 4th instant, and to inform him, that he has transmitted to his majesty's chargé des affaires at Copenhagen an answer to his former note of the 23d of February, which will be delivered to the Danish government, and which will fully explain his majesty's sentiments on the differences subsisting between the two countries.

The undersigned requests count Wedel Jarlsberg to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

HAWKESBURY.
Downing-street, March 6, 1801.
Count Wedel Jarlsberg, &c. &c.

CONVENTION OF ST. PETERSBURG.

Copy of the Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburg the 5th (17th) June, 1801.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity,

The mutual desire of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and of his majesty the king of the united

united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland being not only to come to an understanding between themselves with respect to the differences which have lately interrupted the good understanding and friendly relations which subsisted between the two states; but also to prevent, by frank and precise explanations upon the navigation of their respective subjects, the renewal of similar altercations and troubles which might be the consequence of them; and the object of the solicitude of their said majesties being to settle, as soon as can be done, an equitable arrangement of those differences, and an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality, in their application to their respective monarchies, in order to unite more closely the ties of friendship and good intercourse, of which they acknowledge the utility and the benefits, have named and chosen for their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Niquita, count de Panen, his counsellor, &c. and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Alleyen, baron St. Helens, privy counsellor, &c. who, after having communicated their full powers, and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following points and articles:

Art. I. There shall be hereafter between his imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty, their subjects, the states and countries under their domination, good and unalterable friendship and understanding; and all the political, commercial, and other relations of common utility between the respective subjects shall subsist as formerly, without their be-

ing disturbed or troubled in any manner whatever.

II. His majesty the emperor and his Britannic majesty declare, that they will take the most especial care of the execution of the prohibitions against the trade of contraband of their subjects with the enemies of each of the high contracting parties.

III. His imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed:—

1. That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

2. That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot be excepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

3. That in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be qualified as contraband of war, his imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty declare, conformably to the 11th article of the treaty of commerce concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) Feb. 1797, that they acknowledge as such only the following objects,

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viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, flints, matches, powder, salt-petre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, pouches, swords, sword-belts, saddles and bridles, excepting, however, the quantity of the said articles which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew; and all other articles whatever not enumerated here shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subjected to the smallest difficulty, unless they be considered enemy's property in the above settled sense. It is also agreed that that which is stipulated in the present article shall not be to the prejudice of the particular stipulations of one or the other crown with other powers, by which objects of a similar kind should be reserved, prohibited, or permitted.

4. That in order to determine what characterises a blockaded port, that determination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

5. That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay, and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high contracting parties enter here into the most formal engagement to renew the severest prohibitions to their

captains, whether of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal on board their ships any of the objects which, in the terms of the present convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders which they shall have published in their admiralties, and wherever it shall be necessary.

Art. IV. The two high contracting parties, wishing to prevent all subject of dissension in future by limiting the right of search of merchant ships going under convoy to the sole causes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice by the abuse of the neutral flag, have agreed,

1. That the right of searching merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the said power, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters out of privateers, or other vessels, which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

2. That the proprietors of all merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting sovereigns, which shall be destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall be required, before they receive their sailing orders, to produce to the commander of the convoy their passports and certificates, or sea letters, in the form annexed to the present treaty.

3. That when such ship of war, and every merchant ship under convoy, shall be met with by a ship or ships of war of the other contracting party, who shall then be in a state of war, in order to avoid

avoid all disorder, they shall keep out of cannon shot, unless the situation of the sea, or the place of meeting, render a nearer approach necessary; and the commander of the ship of the belligerent power shall send a sloop on board the convoy, where they shall proceed reciprocally to the verification of the papers and certificates that are to prove on one part, that the ship of war is authorised to take under its escort such or such merchant ships of its nation, laden with such a cargo, and for such a port: on the other part, that the ship of war of the belligerent party belongs to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties.

4. This verification made, there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers are found in due form, and if there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war or ships of war of the belligerent power) is to bring to and detain his convoy during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ships, which shall be done in his presence on board each merchant ship conjointly with one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party.

5. If it happen that the captain of the ship or ships of war of the power at war, having examined the papers found on board, and having interrogated the master and crew of the ship, shall see just and sufficient reason to detain the merchant ship in order to proceed to an ulterior search, he shall notify that intention to the captain of the convoy, who shall have the power

to order an officer to remain on board the ship thus detained, and to assist at the examination of the cause of her detention. The merchant ship shall be carried immediately to the nearest and most convenient port belonging to the belligerent power, and the ulterior search shall be carried on with all possible diligence.

Art. V. It is also agreed, that if any merchant ship thus convoyed should be detained without just and sufficient cause, the commander of the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power shall not only be bound to make to the owners of the ship and of the cargo a full and perfect compensation for all the losses, expences, damages, and costs, occasioned by such a detention, but shall further be liable to an ulterior punishment for every act of violence or other fault which he may have committed, according as the nature of the case may require. On the other hand, no ship of war with a convoy shall be permitted, under any pretext whatsoever, to resist by force the detention of a merchant ship or ships by the ship or ships of war of the belligerent power; an obligation which the commander of a ship of war with convoy is not bound to observe towards privateers and their fitters out.

VI. The high contracting powers shall give precise and efficacious orders that the sentences upon prizes made at sea shall be conformable with the rules of the most exact justice and equity; that they shall be given by judges above suspicion, and who shall not be interested in the matter. The government of the respective states shall take care that the said sentences shall be promptly and duly executed, according to the forms prescribed. In case of the unfounded
(K 4) detention,

detention, or other contravention of the regulations stipulated by the present treaty, the owners of such a ship and cargo shall be allowed damages proportioned to the loss occasioned by such detention. The rules to observe for these damages, and for the case of unfounded detention, as also the principles to follow for the purpose of accelerating the process, shall be the matter of additional articles, which the contracting parties agree to settle between them, and which shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted in the present act. For this effect, their imperial and Britannic majesties mutually engage to put their hand to the salutary work, which may serve for the completion of these stipulations, and to communicate to each other without delay the views which may be suggested to them by their equal solicitude to prevent the least grounds for dispute in future.

VII. To obviate all the inconveniences which may arise from the bad faith of those who avail themselves of the flag of a nation without belonging to it, it is agreed to establish for an inviolable rule, that any vessel whatever, to be considered as the property of the country the flag of which it carries, must have on board the captain of the ship and one half of the crew of the people of that country, and the papers and passports in due and perfect form; but every vessel which shall not observe this rule, and which shall infringe the ordinances published on that head, shall lose all rights to the protection of the contracting powers.

VIII. The principles and measures adopted by the present act shall be alike applicable to all the maritime wars in which one of the two powers may be engaged whilst

the other remains neutral. These stipulations shall in consequence be regarded as permanent, and shall serve for a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

IX. His majesty the king of Denmark and his majesty the king of Sweden shall be immediately invited by his imperial majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and at the same time to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic majesty; and his said majesty engages, by acts which shall have established that agreement, to render and restore to each of these powers all the prizes that have been taken from them, as well as the territories and countries under their domination which have been conquered by the arms of his Britannic majesty since the rupture, in the state in which those possessions were found at the period at which the troops of his Britannic majesty entered them. The orders of his said majesty for the restitution of those prizes and conquests shall be immediately expedited after the exchange of the ratifications of the acts by which Sweden and Denmark shall accede to the present treaty.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg in the space of two months at furthest, from the day of the signature. In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have caused to be made two copies perfectly similar, signed with their hands, and have sealed with their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 5th (17 June), 1801.

(L. S.) N. COUNT DE PANEN.

(L. S.) ST. HELENS.

For

Formula of the Passports and Sea Letters which ought to be delivered in the respective Admiralties of the States of the two High Contracting Parties to the Ships of War, and Merchant Vessels, which shall sail from them, conformable to Article IV. of the present Treaty.

Be it known that we have given leave and permission to N—, of the city or place of N—, master or conductor of the ship N—, belonging to N—, of the port of N—, of — tons or thereabouts, now lying in the port or harbour of N—, to sail from thence to N—, laden with N—, on account of N—, after the said ship shall have been visited before its departure in the usual manner by the officers appointed for that purpose; and the said N—, or such other as shall be vested with powers to replace him, shall be obliged to produce in every port or harbour which he shall enter with the said vessel, to the officers of the place, the present licence, and to carry the flag of N— during his voyage.

In faith of which, &c.

Copy of the 1st separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The pure and magnanimous intentions of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias having already induced him to restore the vessels and goods of British subjects which had been sequestered in Russia, his said majesty confirms that disposition in its whole extent; and his Britannic majesty engages also to give immediately orders for taking off all sequestration laid upon the Russian, Danish, and Swedish properties detained in English ports; and to

prove still more his sincere desire to terminate amicably the differences which have arisen between Great Britain and the northern courts, and in order that no new incident may throw obstacles in the way of this salutary work, his Britannic majesty binds himself to give orders to the commanders of his forces by land and sea, that the armistice now subsisting with the courts of Denmark and Sweden shall be prolonged for a term of three months from the date of this day; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, guided by the same motives, undertakes, in the name of his allies, to have this armistice maintained during the said term.

This separate article, &c.

In faith of which, &c.

Copy of the 2d separate Article of the Convention with the Court of London, signed at St. Petersburg the 5th (17th) of June, 1801.

The differences and misunderstandings which subsisted between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland being thus terminated, and the precautions taken by the present convention not giving further room to fear that they may be able to disturb in future the harmony and good understanding which the two high contracting parties have at heart to consolidate, their said majesties confirm anew, by the present convention, the treaty of commerce of the 10th (Feb. 21, 1797), of which all the stipulations are here repeated, to be maintained in their whole extent.

This separate article, &c.

In faith of which, &c.

By

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,
*Declaring the Cessation of Arms, as
 well by Sea as Land, agreed upon
 between His Majesty and the French
 Republic, and enjoining the Ob-
 servance thereof.*

GEORGE R.

Whereas preliminaries for restoring peace between Us and the French republic were signed at London on the first day of this instant October by the plenipotentiary of Us and by the plenipotentiary of the French republic: and whereas, for the putting an end to the calamities of war, as soon and as far as may be possible, it hath been agreed between Us and the French republic, as follows: that is to say, That as soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, friendship should be established between Us and the French republic, by sea and land, in all parts of the world, and that all hostilities should cease immediately: and in order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which might arise on account of prizes which might be made at sea, after the signature of the preliminary articles, it has been also reciprocally agreed, That the vessels and effects which might be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, should be restored on each side; that the term should be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands, as far as the Equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without

any exception, or any more particular description of time and place: and whereas the ratifications of the said preliminary articles between Us and the French republic were exchanged by the respective plenipotentiaries of Us and of the French republic on the 10th day of this instant October, from which day the several terms above mentioned of twelve days, of one month, of two months, and five months, are to be computed: and whereas it is our royal will and pleasure, that the cessation of hostilities between us and the French republic should be agreeable to the several epochs fixed between Us and the French republic, We have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to notify the same to all our loving subjects; and We do declare, that our royal will and pleasure is, and We do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers both at sea and land, and all other our subjects whatsoever, to forbear all acts of hostility, either by sea or land, against the French republic, and their allies, their vassals or subjects, from and after the respective times above mentioned, and under the penalty of incurring our highest displeasure.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twelfth day of this instant October, in the forty-first year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*At the Court at Windsor, the 12th
 of October, 1801. Present, the
 King's Most Excellent Majesty in
 Council,*

His majesty in council was this day pleased to declare and order, that, for the convenience and security

curity of the commerce of his loving subjects, during the cessation of arms, notified by his royal proclamation of this day's date, passes will be delivered, as soon as they can be interchanged, to such of his subjects as shall desire the same, for their ships, goods, and merchandises, and effects, they duly observing the several acts of parliament which are or may be in force.

W. FAWKENER.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, signed at London (in English and French), the 1st of October, 1801; the 9th Vendémiaire, Year 10 of the French Republic.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between the two countries, have named for this purpose; namely, his Britannic majesty, the right hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, commonly called lord Hawkesbury, one of his Britannic majesty's most honourable privy council, and his principal secretary of state for foreign affairs; and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Louis William Otto, commissary for the exchange of French prisoners in England; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full power in good form, have agreed on the following preliminary articles:

Art. I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified,

sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic majesty and the French republic, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world; and, in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instructions shall be sent with the utmost dispatch to the commanders of the sea and land forces of the respective states; and each of the contracting parties engages to grant passports, and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival and ensure the execution of these orders. It is farther agreed, that all conquests which may have been made by either of the contracting parties from the other, or from their respective allies, subsequently to the ratification of the present preliminaries, shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

II. His Britannic majesty shall restore to the French republic and her allies, viz. to his catholic majesty, and to the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the isle of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which island and possessions his Britannic majesty reserves to himself the full and entire sovereignty.

III. The port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

IV. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the order of

of St. John of Jerusalem. For the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

V. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war.

VI. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire.

VII. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall, in like manner, evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports or islands which they occupy in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.

VIII. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic.

IX. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated by the present preliminary articles, shall take place, in Europe, within one month; in the continent and the seas of America and Africa, within three months; and in the continent and the seas of Asia, within six months, after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

X. The prisoners made respectively shall, immediately after the exchange of the definitive treaty, all be restored, and without ransom, on paying, reciprocally, the debts which they may have individually contracted. Discussions having arisen respecting the payment for the maintenance of the prisoners of war, the contracting powers reserve this question to be settled by the definitive treaty, according to the law of nations,

and in conformity to established usage.

XI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be taken at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel, and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Sea, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. All sequestrations imposed by either of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or the debts of any description, belonging to either of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of the definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals of the one country against individuals of the other for private rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before the competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made. It is agreed moreover, that this article, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall apply to the allies

allies of the contracting parties, and to the individuals of the respective nations, upon the condition of a just reciprocity.

XIII. With respect to the fisheries on the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the two parties have agreed to restore them on the same footing on which they were before the present war, reserving to themselves the power of making, in their definitive treaty, such arrangements as may appear just and reciprocally useful, in order to place the fishing of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

XIV. In all cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may be at the time of the signature of the present treaty; and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched. It is farther agreed, that in all cases of cession, stipulated in the present treaty, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of the definitive treaty of peace, for the purpose of disposing of their properties, acquired and possessed either before or during the present war; in the which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property. The same privileges shall be granted in the countries restored, to all those who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain. With respect to the other inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed that none of

them shall be prosecuted, disturbed; or molested, in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

XV. The present preliminary articles shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, in London, in the space of fifteen days, allowing for all delay; and immediately after their ratification, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding upon a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of the first consul of the French republic, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused our seals to be put thereto.

Done at London Oct. 1, 1801,
the 9th Vendémiaire, year 10
of the French republic.

HAWKESBURY. OTTO.
(L. S.) (L. S.)

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Kingdom of Portugal.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the prince regent of the kingdom of Portugal, equally desirous of restoring the connexions of amity and commerce which subsisted between the two states before the war, have resolved to conclude a peace by the mediation of his catholic majesty, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries;

sies; that is to say, on the part of the French republic, citizen Lucien Bonaparte; and on the part of Portugal, his excellency M. Cypriano Bibiero Freire, commander of the order of Christ; one of the privy council of his royal highness, and his minister plenipotentiary to the king of Spain. The plenipotentiaries having exchanged their full powers, agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall always be peace, amity, and good understanding, between the French republic and the kingdom of Portugal. All hostilities shall cease by land and sea, on the ratification of the present treaty, viz. in fifteen days, on the seas near its coasts, and those of Africa; in forty days from the ratification, hostilities shall cease by land and sea, in America and Africa, beyond the Equator; and in three months after for the countries and seas to the West of Cape Horn, and to the East of the Cape of Good Hope. All the prizes, made after any of these periods, shall be restored. The prisoners of war taken on either side shall be restored; and the political connexions between the two countries shall be put upon the same footing as they were before the war.

II. All the ports and roads of Portugal, in Europe, shall be shut against all English vessels of war and of commerce, and shall remain so till the conclusion of peace between England and France; but the ports, &c. shall be open to the vessels of the French republic and her allies. As to the ports, &c. of Portugal in the other parts of the world, the present article is to be obligatory in the terms fixed for the cessation of hostilities.

III. Portugal engages not to furnish, during the course of the pre-

sent war, to the enemies of the French republic and her allies, any assistance in arms, vessels, troops, ammunition, provisions, or money; under any denomination or pretence whatsoever. All prior acts, engagements, or conventions, which are contrary to the present article, are to be regarded as null and of no effect.

IV. The limits between the two Guianas (French and Portuguese) shall, in future, be determined by the river Cartapanatuba; which falls into the river of the Amazons, at about a third of a degree from the Equator. These limits are to follow the course of the river up to its source; from thence they shall turn towards the great chain of mountains which divide the rivers; they shall then follow the bendings of that chain of mountains to the point where they come the nearest to Rio-Branco, about two degrees and one-third North of the Equator. The Indians of the two Guianas who have been carried from their habitations shall be mutually restored. The citizens and subjects of the two powers, who are comprised in the new demarcation of limits, may retire into the territories of their respective states. They are also to be allowed to dispose of their property, real or personal, within two years after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. A treaty of commerce shall be negotiated between the two powers, to establish, in a definitive manner, the commercial relations between France and Portugal: in the mean time, it is agreed upon,

First, That the communications shall be re-established immediately after the exchange of the ratifications; and that the agents and factors
of

of commerce shall, on each side, be restored to the possession of the rights, immunities, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed before the war.

Secondly, That the citizens and subjects of the two powers shall equally and reciprocally enjoy in the states of both all the rights which those of the most favoured nations enjoy.

Thirdly, That the commodities and merchandise produced from the soil or manufactures of each of the two powers, shall be admitted reciprocally without restriction, and without being liable to any duty which would not equally affect the commodities and merchandise of a similar nature imported by other nations.

Fourthly, That the French cloths may be immediately imported into Portugal, on the footing of the most favoured merchandise.

Fifthly, That in other points all the stipulations inserted in the preceding articles, and not contrary to the present treaty, shall be provisionally executed until the conclusion of a treaty of definitive commerce.

Art. VI. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Madrid within the term of twenty days at farthest.

Executed in duplicate the 7th Vendémiaire, in the 10th year of the French republic (20th September, 1801).

(Signed)

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

CYPRIANO BIBIERO FREIRE.

Treaty of Peace between the French Republic and the Emperor of all the Russias.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French

people, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, animated with the desire of re-establishing the relation of good understanding which subsisted between the two governments before the present war, and to put an end to the evils with which Europe is afflicted, have appointed for that purpose, for their plenipotentiaries, viz. the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Arcadi, count de Marcaff, his privy counsellor, and knight of the order of St. Alexander Neuski, and grand cross of that of St. Wladimir of the first class; who, after the verification and exchange of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be in future peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

II. In consequence, there shall not be committed any hostility between the two states, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and neither of the contracting parties shall furnish to the enemies of the other, internal as well as external, any succour or contingent, in men or money, under any denomination whatever.

III. The two contracting parties, wishing as much as is in their power to contribute to the tranquillity of the respective governments, promise mutually not to suffer any of their subjects to keep up any correspondence, direct or indirect; with the internal enemies of the present government of the two states, to propagate in them principles contrary to their respective constitutions,

tutions, or to foment troubles in them; and, as a consequence of this concert, every subject of one of the two powers who, during his residence in the states of the other, shall make any attack upon its security, shall be immediately removed out of the said country, and carried beyond the frontier, without being able, in any case, to claim the protection of his government.

IV. It is agreed to adhere, with respect to the re-establishment of the respective legations, and the ceremonies to be followed by the two governments, to that which was in use before the present war.

V. The two contracting parties agree, till a new treaty of commerce be made, to re-establish the commercial relations between the two countries on the footing in which they were before the war, as far as possible, and with the exception of the modifications which time and circumstances may have produced, and which have given rise to new regulations.

VI. The present treaty is declared to be common to the Batavian republic.

VII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, in the space of fifty days, or sooner if possible.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed and sealed the said treaty.

Done at Paris, the 16th Vendémiaire, year 10 of the French republic (8th Oct. 1801).

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

THE COUNT DE MARCOFF.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the French Republic and the Ottoman Porte.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French

people, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, wishing to put an end to the war which divides the two states, and to restore the ancient connexions which united them, have nominated for that purpose the ministers plenipotentiary, as follow:

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has appointed citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs; and the Sublime Porte, its former ambassador, Basch-Muhassae, and the ambassador Esseyd-Aly-Effendi; who, after exchanging their full powers, agreed to the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace and friendship between the French republic and the Sublime and Ottoman Porte: in consequence of which hostilities shall cease between the two powers from the date of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles; immediately after which exchange, the whole province of Egypt shall be evacuated by the French army, and restored to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, whose territory and possessions in them shall be maintained in their integrity, in the same manner that they stood before the present war. It is understood that, after the evacuation, the concessions which may be made in Egypt to other powers shall be common to the French.

II. The French republic recognizes the constitution of the republic of the Seven Islands and the Ex-Venetian territory, situated on the continent. It guaranties the maintenance of their constitution. The Sublime Ottoman Porte, in that respect, is to guaranty the French republic, as well as that of Russia.

III. Definitive arrangements shall be made between the French republic

public and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, respecting the goods or property of their respective subjects confiscated or sequestered in the course of the war. The political or commercial agents, and the prisoners of war of all ranks, shall be set at liberty immediately after the signing of these preliminary articles.

IV. The treaties which existed between France and the Sublime Ottoman Porte are renewed in their full extent; in consequence of which, the French republic shall fully enjoy in the states of his highness the same rights of trade and navigation which it possessed heretofore, and those which the most favoured nations may hereafter possess.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of twenty-four days.

Treaty of Peace between France and Austria.

His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, having it equally at heart to put an end to the calamities of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

His said imperial and royal majesty, not desiring less anxiously that the German empire should participate in the blessings of peace, and the present conjunctures not allowing the necessary time that the empire should be consulted, and for its intervention by its deputies in the negotiation; his said majesty besides, looking to what has been consented to by the deputation of the empire at the pre-
1801,

ceding congress of Rastadt, has resolved, after the example of what has been done in similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic body:

In consequence of which, the parties contracting have named for their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his royal and imperial majesty, the sieur Louis de Cobentzel, count of the Roman empire, knight of the golden fleece, grand cross of the royal order of St. Stienna, and of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, chamberlain, present privy counsellor of his said imperial and royal majesty, his minister of conferences, and vice-chancellor of his court and state:

And the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state:

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There shall be for the future and ever, peace, friendship, and good understanding between his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, stipulating as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, his said majesty binding himself to give for the said empire his ratification to the present treaty, in good and due form. The greatest attention shall be paid on the one side and on the other to the maintenance of perfect harmony, and to the prevention of all sort of hostilities by land or by sea, for any cause or any pretext whatsoever; always endeavouring with care to preserve the union happily re-established. No succour or protection shall be given, directly or indirectly, to those who would injure one or the other of the parties contracting.

II. The cession of the *ci-devant*
(L) Belgic

Belgic provinces, stipulated by the third article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is renewed here in the most formal manner; so that his imperial and royal majesty, for himself and his successors, as well in his own name as in the name of the Germanic empire, renounces all his rights and titles to the said provinces, which shall be possessed in perpetuity, in full sovereignty and dominion, by the French republic, with all the territorial interests thereunto belonging. In like manner are ceded to the French republic, by his imperial and royal majesty, and with the formal consent of the empire,

1st, The country of Falkenstein, with its dependencies:

2d, The Frickthal, and all that belongs to the house of Austria upon the left bank of the Rhine between Zurzach and Basle; the French republic reserving to itself to cede this latter country to the Helvetic republic.

III. In same manner, in the renewal and confirmation of the article VI. of the treaty of Campo Formio, his majesty the emperor and king shall possess in full sovereignty and dominion the countries hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, Istria, Dalmatia, and the *ciderant* Venetian islands of the Adriatic, and their dependencies; the mouths of Catarro, the city of Venice, the Legunes, and the countries comprised between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor and king, the Adriatic Sea and the Adige, from its leaving the Tyrol to the place where it empties itself into the said sea, the Thalweg of the Adige serving for the line of limitation: and as the cities of Verona and Porto Legnago will be divided by this line, there shall be established upon the middle of the

bridges of the said cities draw-bridges, which shall mark the separation.

IV. The eighteenth article of the treaty of Campo Formio is also renewed in this; that his majesty the emperor and king binds himself to cede to the duke of Modena, as indemnity for the countries which that prince and his heirs have lost in Italy, the Brisgaw, which he shall possess on the same terms as those on which he possessed the Modenese.

V. It is besides agreed, that his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany renounces for himself, his successors, and all persons having title, the grand dukedom of Tuscany, and that part of the Isle of Elbe which depends on it; as also all the rights and titles resulting from those rights to said states, which shall be possessed in future in full sovereignty and dominion by his royal highness the infant duke of Parma. The grand duke shall obtain, in Germany, a full and complete indemnity for his states in Italy. The grand duke shall dispose of, at his pleasure, the property and effects which he possesses in Tuscany, whether by personal acquisition, or by inheritance of the personal acquisitions of his late majesty the emperor Leopold II., his father; or of his late majesty the emperor Francis I., his grandfather. It is also agreed, that the trusts, establishments, and other properties of the grand duchy, as well as the debts duly secured by mortgage on that country, shall pass to the new grand duke.

VI. His majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as that of the Germanic empire, consents that the French republic shall possess in future in full sovereignty and property the countries
and

and domains situate on the left bank of the Rhine, and which make part of the Germanic empire, so as that, in conformity with what has been expressly agreed at the congress of Rastadt by the deputation of the empire and approved by the emperor, the Thalweg of the Rhine shall be in future the limit between the French republic and the Germanic empire; that is to say, from the place where the Rhine leaves the Helvetic territory to the place where it enters the Bavarian territory.

In consequence of which, the French republic formally renounces all its possessions whatsoever on the right bank of the Rhine, and consents to restore to those to whom they belong, the places of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsbourg, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite Mentz on the right bank, the fort of Kehl, and the Vieux-Brissac, upon the express condition that these places and forts shall continue to remain in the state in which they shall be found at the time of the evacuation.

VII. And as, by consequence of the cession which the empire makes to the French republic, several princes and states of the empire find themselves partially dispossessed in whole or in part, whilst it is for the Germanic empire collectively to sustain the losses resulting from the stipulations of the present treaty, it is agreed between his majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as in that of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, that in conformity with the principles formally established at the congress of Rastadt, the emperor shall be bound to give to the hereditary princes, who are dispossessed on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity which shall be

taken in the bosom of the said empire, following the arrangements which, according to these bases, shall be further determined.

VIII. In all the ceded countries acquired or exchanged by the present treaty, it is agreed, in like manner as it has been by the articles IV. and X. of the treaty of Campo Formio, that those to whom they shall belong shall charge themselves with the debts secured by mortgage on the soil of the said countries; but, seeing the difficulties which arise in that respect upon the interpretation of the said articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, it is expressly understood that the French republic does not take in its charge any but the debts resulting from loans formally agreed to by the states of the ceded countries, or of expenses contracted for the effective administration of the said countries.

IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty there shall be granted, in all the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, by the said treaty, to all the inhabitants or proprietors whomsoever, a removal of the sequestration placed upon their goods, properties, and revenues, on account of the war which has taken place. The parties contracting bind themselves to pay every thing which they may owe for funds lent to them by the said individuals, as well as by the public establishments of the said countries; and to pay or reimburse all annuities granted in their favour upon any of them. In consequence of which it is expressly acknowledged that the owners of bills of the bank of Vienna, become French, shall continue to enjoy the benefit of their bills, and shall receive the interests due, or to become due,

notwithstanding any sequestration or obstruction, which shall be regarded as never having taken place, particularly the obstruction resulting from the circumstance that the owners, having become French, have not furnished the thirty or the cent. per cent. demanded from the subscribers of the bank of Vienna by his majesty the emperor and king.

X. The parties contracting shall also take off all sequestrations that may have been put, on account of the war, upon the properties, rights, and revenues of the subjects of his majesty the emperor, or of the empire, in the territory of the French republic, and of the French citizens, in the states of his said majesty, or of the empire.

XI. The present treaty of peace, particularly the articles VIII. IX. X. and XV., hereafter is declared common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics.

The parties contracting mutually guaranty the independence of the said republics, and the liberty of the people who inhabit them, to adopt such form of government as they shall think proper.

XII. His imperial and royal majesty renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights, and titles arising from these rights, which his said majesty could claim in the countries which he possessed before the war, and which, by the terms of the 8th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, now make part of the Cisalpine republic, which shall possess them in full sovereignty and dominion, with all the territorial interests dependent on them.

XIII. His imperial and royal majesty, as well in his own name as in the name of the Germanic empire,

confirms the adhesion already given by the treaty of Campo Formio to the union of the *ci-devant* imperial fiefs with the Ligurian republic, and renounces all the rights, and titles arising from these rights, to said fiefs.

XIV. Conformably with the 11th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, the navigation of the Adige, serving for the limit between the states of his imperial and royal majesty and those of the French republic, shall be free, without either the one party or the other being at liberty to establish there any toll, or having on it any armed ship of war.

XV. All the prisoners of war made on the one side or on the other, as also the hostages carried away or given during the war, who shall not have been yet restored, shall be given up in forty days from the date of the signature of the present treaty.

XVI. The landed and personal property not alienated of his royal highness the archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her late royal highness madame the archduchess Christina, which are situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them, on condition that they shall sell them within the space of three years.

The same shall be observed in the case of the landed and personal property of their royal highnesses the archduke Ferdinand, and madame the archduchess Beatrix his wife, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XVII. The articles XII. XIII. XV. XVI. XVII. and XVIII. of the treaty of Campo Formio are particularly revived, to be executed according to their form and tenor, as if they were inserted, word for word, in the present treaty.

XVIII. The

XVIII. The contributions, deliveries, equipments, and exactions whatsoever of war shall cease to take place from the day of the date of the ratifications of the exchange of the present treaty, on the one part by his majesty the emperor and the Germanic empire, and on the other part by the French republic.

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor and king, by the empire, and by the French republic, within the space of thirty days, or sooner if possible; and it is agreed that the armies of the two powers shall remain in the positions which they occupy, as well in Germany as in Italy, until the said ratifications of the emperor and king, of the empire, and of the French republic, shall have been mutually exchanged at Luneville between the respective plenipotentiaries.

It is also agreed that, ten days after the exchange of the said ratifications, the armies of his imperial and royal majesty shall return to his hereditary possessions, which shall be evacuated within the same space of time by the French armies; and that, thirty days after the said exchange, the French armies shall have evacuated the whole of the territory of the said empire.

Done and signed at Luneville, the 9th February, 1801, (20 Pluviose), year 9 of the French republic.

LOUIS COUNT COBENTZEL.
JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

Treaty of Peace between the First Consul of the French Republic and His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies.

The first consul of the French re-

public, in the name of the French people, and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with a desire to put a definitive end to the war which exists between the two states, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Charles Jean Marie Alquier; and his Sicilian majesty, the sieur Antoine de Micheroux, knight of the royal order Constantinien de St. Georges, and of the imperial Russian order of Saint Anne, of the first class, and colonel in the service of his majesty, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies. All hostilities, by land and sea, shall definitively cease between the two powers, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; and, previously, the armistice concluded at Foligno on the 18th of February (29th Pluviose) last, between the respective generals, shall receive its full and complete execution.

II. All acts, engagements, or anterior conventions, on the one part or the other, of the two contracting powers, which may be contrary to the present treaty, are revoked, and shall be considered as null and void.

III. All the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily shall be shut to all ships of war and merchantmen, Turkish and English, until the conclusion, as well of a definitive peace between the French republic and these two powers, as

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of the differences which have arisen between England and the powers of the north of Europe, and particularly between Russia and England.

The said ports shall remain, on the contrary, open to all the ships of war and merchantmen, as well of his imperial majesty of Russia, and of the states comprised in the maritime neutrality of the north, as of the French republic and its allies. And if, in consequence of this determination, his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies should find himself exposed to the attacks of the Turks, or the English, the French republic binds itself to place at the disposal of his majesty, and upon his demand, to be employed in his states, a number of troops equal to that which shall be sent to him as an auxiliary force by his imperial majesty of Russia.

IV. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies renounces, in perpetuity, for himself and his successors, in the first place, Porto Longone, in the Isle of Elbe, and every thing belonging to it in that island. Secondly, the states of the Presides in Tuscany; and he cedes them, as also the principality of Piombino, to the French government, to be by it disposed of at its pleasure.

V. The French republic and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies bind themselves reciprocally to take off the sequestration from all effects, revenues, and property, seized, confiscated, or detained, from the citizens and subjects of the one or the other power, in consequence of the present war, and to admit them respectively to the legal exercise of the rights and claims which may appertain to them.

VI. In order to remove every

trace of the private calamities which have marked the present war, and to give to peace, re-established, the stability which can only be expected from a general oblivion of the past, the French republic renounces all prosecution in respect of facts of which it might complain; and the king, wishing, on his part, to contribute as much as in him lies to repair the evils occasioned by the troubles which have taken place in his states, binds himself to pay, within three months, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the present treaty, a sum of 500,000 francs, which shall be distributed among the agents and French citizens who have been particularly the victims of the disorders which have been produced at Naples, Viterbo, and in the other points of the south of Italy, by the conduct of Neapolitans.

VII. His Sicilian majesty binds himself also to permit that all those of his subjects who have not been prosecuted, banished, or forced to expatriate themselves voluntarily, but for acts relating to the residence of the French in the kingdom of Naples, shall return without molestation to their country, and be reinstated in their properties. His majesty also promises, that all persons now in custody on account of the political opinions which they have declared shall be immediately set at liberty.

VIII. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies binds himself to restore to the French republic the statues, pictures, and other objects of the arts which have been carried off from Rome by the Neapolitan troops.

IX. The present treaty is declared common to the Batavian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics.

X. The

X. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in the space of thirty days, without delay.

Done and signed at Florence, the 7th Germinal, 9th year of the French Republic, 28th March, 1801,

(Signed) ALQUIER.

ANTOINE DE MICHEROUX.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the French Republic and the Ottoman Porte.

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, being desirous to put an end to the war which divides the two countries, and to re-establish the ancient relations which united them, have nominated with this intention, for ministers plenipotentiary, to wit:

The first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister for foreign affairs, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, its *si-devant* basch-muhassebe and ambassador Esseyd Ali Effendi, who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace and friendship between the French republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte; in consequence of which hostilities shall cease between the two powers, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present preliminary articles. Immediately after the said exchange, the entire province of Egypt shall be evacuated by the French army, and restored to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the territories and possessions of which shall be maintained in their integrity, such as they were before the present war.

It is understood that, after the evacuation, the concessions which may be made in Egypt to other powers, on the part of the Sublime Porte, shall be common to the French.

II. The French republic acknowledges the constitution of the republic of the Seven Islands and Ex-Venetian territories, situated upon the continent. It guarantees the maintenance of that constitution. The Sublime Porte acknowledges and accepts for that purpose the guarantee of the French republic, as well as that of Russia.

III. Definitive arrangements shall be made between the French republic and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, relative to the goods and effects of their respective citizens and subjects confiscated or sequestered during the war. The political and commercial agents, and prisoners of war of every rank, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of the present preliminary articles.

IV. The treaties which existed before the present war between France and the Sublime Ottoman Porte shall be renewed in the entire. In consequence of this renewal the French republic shall enjoy, in the whole extent of the state of its highness, the rights of commerce and navigation which it formerly enjoyed, and which may hereafter be enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of twenty-four days.

Done at Paris the 9th of October, in the 10th year of the French republic, or the first of the month Gemasy-ulahir, one thousand two hundred and sixteen of the Hegira.

(Signed) CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.
ESSEYD ALI EFFENDI.

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Articles

Articles of the Treaty of Peace between Spain and Portugal.

As the object which his catholic majesty had in view, and which he considered as necessary for the general good of Europe, when he declared war against Portugal, is obtained, his majesty has resolved, after conferences had, to restore and renew the bonds of friendship and good understanding by means of a treaty of peace; and the plenipotentiaries of the three belligerent powers having met together have agreed to conclude two treaties, which, in their essential parts, will be but one, as the guarantee will be interchangeable, and will cease with respect to both when either shall be infringed. To carry into full effect this important object, his catholic majesty the king of Spain, and his royal highness the prince of Portugal and Algarve, have granted their full powers as follows; namely, his catholic majesty the king of Spain, to his excellency don Manuel de Godoy, Alvarez de Faria, Rios Sanchez y Zarzosa, prince of peace, duke of Alcudia, lord of Soto di Roma and of the districts of Albala, count of Everamonte, grandee of Spain of the first class, perpetual governor of the city of Madrid and of the towns of Santiago, Cadiz, Malaga, and Ecija, knight of the illustrious order of the golden fleece, grand cross of the distinguished Spanish order of Charles III., commander of Valencia, del Ventoso, Rivera, &c., grand cross of the order of St. John, counsellor of state, chamberlain; generalissimo and captain general of the armies of his catholic majesty, and colonel general of the Swiss troops, &c., and his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve, to his excellency Louis Pinto de Sousa Continho, counsel-

lor of state, grand cross of the order of Aviz, knight of the illustrious order of the golden fleece, minister and secretary of state for the affairs of the kingdom, and lieutenant-general of its armies; who, after having exchanged and verified their full powers in good and proper form, have concluded and signed, according to the orders and intentions of their sovereigns, the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding, between his catholic majesty the king of Spain and the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve, as well by sea as by land, through the whole extent of their kingdoms and possessions; and all captures which shall be made by sea, after the ratification of the present treaty, shall be faithfully restored, with all their goods and effects, or their respective value paid.

II. His royal highness will shut the ports of his whole territories to the ships of Great Britain in general.

III. His catholic majesty will restore to his royal highness the fortresses and places of Jurumena, Aronches, Portalegre, Castel-Davide, Barbacema, Campo Mayor, and Ouguela, with all the territories hitherto conquered by his arms, or which may hereafter be conquered, with all their artillery, fire-arms, or other warlike stores, and in the same condition in which they were when they were surrendered to him; and his catholic majesty will take as a conquest the fortress of Olivenza with its territory and inhabitants, from the Guardiania, and unite the same for ever to his own territory and subjects, so that the river above mentioned shall be the boundary of the respective kingdoms in that part.

IV. His

IV. His royal highness the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve will not permit any depôts of prohibited and contraband goods, which may be prejudicial to the interests of the crown of Spain, to be formed on the frontiers of his kingdom, exclusive of such as appertain to the revenues of the crown of Portugal, or are necessary for the consumption of the respective territories in which they are established. And if this or any other article shall not be maintained, the treaty which is now concluded between the three powers, including the interchangeable guarantee, shall be null and void, as is expressed in the articles of the present treaty.

V. His royal highness will immediately repair and make good all damages or injury which the subjects of his catholic majesty may have sustained during the present war from the ships of Great Britain, or the subjects of the court of Portugal, and for which they can rightfully claim indemnification; and in like manner his catholic majesty engages to make suitable satisfaction for all captures which may have been made by the Spaniards before the present war, in violation of or within cannon shot of the Portuguese territory.

VI. Within the space of three months, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty, his royal highness will pay to the treasury of his catholic majesty the expenses left unpaid when they withdrew from the war with France, and which were occasioned by the same, according to the estimate given in by the ambassador of his catholic majesty, or which may be given in anew; with the exception, however, of any errors that may be found in the said estimates.

VII. As soon as the present treaty shall be signed, hostilities shall cease on both sides, within twenty-four hours, without any contributions or requisitions being laid, after that time, on any of the conquered places, except such as may be allowed to friendly troops in time of peace; and as soon as this treaty shall be ratified, the Spanish troops shall leave the Portuguese territory within six days, and shall begin their march within six hours after receiving notice, without offering any violence or injury to the inhabitants in their way, and they shall pay for whatever may be necessary for them, according to the current price of the country.

VIII. All prisoners which may have been taken by sea or land, shall, within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, be set at liberty, and delivered up on both sides, and at the same time all debts which they may have contracted during their imprisonment shall be paid.

The sick and wounded shall remain in the respective hospitals, there to be taken care of, and in like manner delivered up as soon as they shall be able to begin their march.

IX. His catholic majesty engages to guaranty to his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal the entire possession of all his states and possessions, without the least exception or reserve.

X. The two high contracting parties engage to renew the treaty of defensive alliance which existed between the two monarchies, but with such clauses and alterations as the connexions entered into by the Spanish monarchy with the French republic may demand; and in the same treaty shall be regulated what
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aid shall be mutually afforded should necessity require.

XI. The present treaty shall be ratified within ten days after it is signed, or sooner if possible. In witness of this, we the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary have subscribed the present treaty with our own hands, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Badajoz, June 6, 1801.

(L. S.) THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

(L. S.) LOUIS PINTO DI SOUZA.

Letter of the State and Cabinet Minister His Excellency Count Cobentzel to Count Stadion, the Imperial Minister at Berlin. Vienna, October 14, 1801.

Yesterday intelligence was received that his royal highness the archduke Anthony was unanimously proclaimed archbishop and elector of the electoral archbishopric of Cologne, by the electoral cathedral chapter of Cologne, in a free canonical electoral assembly.

While your excellency will not fail to make the friendly communication of this event to his Prussian majesty's ministry, your excellency will, at the same time, in the most efficacious manner, repeat those declarations which his majesty the emperor and king caused to be made subsequent to the election of Munster.

Your excellency will assure his Prussian majesty's ministry, that, with respect to the electorate of Cologne, the election of an archduke may be considered as indifferent, as the natural course of the accomplishing of the indemnities, by means of secularisation, will not be altered from personal consideration, or secondary views. Hence then the court of his Prussian majesty may rest perfectly convinced, that,

as the imperial court, from love and regard to the old constitution of Germany, according to its internal conviction, can never forbear insisting on the maintenance of the three spiritual electorates, the personal consideration of the archduke having been elected to be elector of Cologne cannot have the smallest influence on this conduct of the high imperial court.

On this occasion your excellency will also disclose in confidence to count Haugwitz, that, although the cathedral chapter of Munster earnestly press that his royal highness the archduke Anthony may repair to Munster, and take upon himself the government; yet his imperial majesty, as the head of the house, has not yet given to his royal highness permission for this purpose, but has rather intimated to the cathedral chapter, to continue the government in the mean time in all respects in the same manner as if the see was vacant—*Sede impedita*.

His royal highness, beyond all doubt, is in all respects entitled to the formal assumption of the government, and might without contradiction put himself in possession of this ecclesiastical electorate, which at this moment has as much right to its existence as other ecclesiastical electorates.

It is also not to be denied, that his imperial majesty, in this moderation which he has shown, could have no other view, than thereby to give a proof that in this respect he has been guided by no personal interest.

LEWIS COBENTZEL.

Note of Count Haugwitz to Count Stadion. Berlin, October 26.

The undersigned state and cabinet minister has informed the king of the communication which count Stadion, minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary

plenipotentiary of his imperial and royal majesty, was charged to make to him within these few days. It was intended to make known to his majesty the election of his royal highness the archduke Anthony, as archbishop and elector of Cologne, and was accompanied with the declaration, that this election, as well as that of Munster, was to be considered as indifferent, and unconnected with every personal or further view; and that it could not in the least alter either the natural course of the secularisations, nor the appropriation of the same to the indemnifications.—That, as on the one side the emperor, partly from attachment to the constitution of the empire, partly from internal conviction, could not forbear persisting in the maintenance of the three ecclesiastical electorates, the election which had fallen on the archduke Anthony could by no means, or in any manner, have an influence on the conduct of his imperial majesty.—That, in order to give a proof of this, his majesty has declined the proposition of the cathedral chapter of Munster, inviting the archduke to repair to that bishopric, and to take possession of it; and that he had at the same time given the said chapter to understand, that they should undertake the government themselves in the mean time, in the same manner as if the see were vacant.

If the elections of Munster and Arensburg are to be considered as mere formalities, the king was obliged on his part to pursue those formalities which the then present circumstances pointed out, to preserve the general rights; and with this view his majesty caused his well-known protestation against the Munster election to be delivered to the states of the empire, which

by anticipation also concerned the election of Arensburg, in case such should take place.

His majesty does not the less approve the wise resolution of his imperial majesty to postpone the further steps which one or both of the chapters might wish to adopt with respect to the introduction of the archduke Anthony; and if the business on both sides be thus to remain in uncertainty, the king will in like manner abide by the preliminary measures which he has hitherto taken.

But even if his majesty were agreed on the last point with the court of Vienna, yet he could not grant his approbation to the principle of the future maintenance of the three ecclesiastical electorates. This principle is in direct contradiction to those which his majesty has at all times expressed in perfect agreement with the French government as one of the contracting powers, and which are founded on the contracts which are now to be put into execution.

In these is to be found the express and essential determination, that the losses of the suffering parties are to be made up by means of secularisations, and that in those losses of the suffering parties must be reckoned,

1. According to the 7th article of the treaty of Luneville, the hereditary princes who have lost their possessions either in whole or in part on the left bank of the Rhine;

2. According to the 5th article of the same treaty, the grand duke of Tuscany; and

3. The house of Orange, to which Prussia and France had insured a suitable indemnity, by a convention, concluded much earlier, on the 5th of August 1796, which incontestably makes the rights and

and pretensions of the house of Orange, equal to those of the house of Tuscany. From the obligations contained in those treaties, it follows that the powers interested must endeavour to regulate and to liquidate the mass of the real loss, and to bring it into proportion with the objects which are destined to produce an equivalent for the same. As the indemnification for the claimants, pointed out in the above-mentioned treaties, must be complete, so must it be carefully examined beforehand, how far the mass arising and presenting itself out of the secularisation is sufficient to indemnify the parties who have sustained losses. If, after a calculation made, funds sufficient were found to raise or restore one or more of the ecclesiastical sees, to which the electoral dignity is applicable, the king, far from opposing it, would take measures to support in this respect the wishes and views of his imperial majesty; but it would be a contradiction in principle at this time, and before the mass of the losses can be weighed against the mass of the objects of indemnification, to decide beforehand, or to pre-resolve on the maintenance of the present ecclesiastical electorates.

As the king is accustomed in all his declarations against the court of Vienna, to be very free, so it is agreeable to him to strengthen anew the principles which he shows in all his transactions, and which he has invariably laid down as the ground of his conduct. His majesty has therefore authorised the undersigned to lay them again before count Stadion in the present note. He fulfils this duty, and repeats to the count the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) HAUGWITZ.

Declaration of the King of Prussia to the Royal and Electoral Council of Hanover, and to the Commandants of the Troops.

After the oppressions which neutral navigation and commerce have experienced since the beginning of the war on the part of the English navy, the different courts interested in it could no longer refrain, after so many useless complaints, from protecting the violated rights of their subjects with more energy.

The result was the convention entered into on the 16th of December, 1800, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, the just and moderate principles of which had been formerly adopted and followed by the court of London itself; and his majesty the king of Prussia, who had equally experienced this violence, prejudicial to his states and flag, did not hesitate to accede to the treaty.

The contracting courts were on the point of communicating to the belligerent powers their convention, and of adopting arrangements with them, when England, by an unexpected step, disconcerted this amicable design, by laying an embargo upon all the ships of the maritime powers of the north in her ports, and thus showing herself as an enemy.

It might be expected that his Prussian majesty could not look upon this conduct with a favourable eye and with indifference: to this end he sent soon after to the court of London the declaration of the 12th of February, avowing formally and publicly his accession to the convention of St. Petersburg, and showing, at the same time, the means by which the differences might be accommodated, and an entire rupture avoided.

But, instead of adopting the expedient proposed, England passed over

over in silence the note transmitted to lord Carysfort at Berlin. She has continued to treat as enemies the flags of the north; and, in a note sent by the secretary of state, lord Hawkesbury, to the envoy from Sweden, baron d'Ehren-Schwerd, dated London, the 7th March, she has once more manifested her false principles so often refuted;

“That under the present circumstances the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships could not be taken off whilst the court of Stockholm remained attached to a coalition, which had no other object than to force his Britannic majesty to accept a new maritime law incompatible with the dignity and independence of his crown, as well as with the rights of his subjects.”

Such a declaration was soon after sent to the court of Denmark; and it was added, that she was required to abandon the northern coalition, and to enter into a separate negotiation with England.—After having received a reply in the negative, the English *chargé d'affaires* Drummond, and the plenipotentiary extraordinary Vansittart, left Copenhagen the same day: in the mean time the English fleet, under the orders of admiral Parker, destined for the Baltic, had actually arrived on the coasts of Zealand.

It appears from all these events, that the court of London will not absolutely desist from its insupportable demands, and accept the means proposed of an amicable approximation. His Prussian majesty therefore is forced, conformably to his obligations contracted, to adopt the most efficacious means to support the convention attacked, and to return the inimical measures adopted against him; to this end,

he will not only shut up the mouths, of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but will also take possession of the states belonging to his majesty the king of England, as elector of Brunswic Luneburg, situated in Germany.

With this view, his majesty the king of Prussia demands, requires, and expects from the electoral college of the privy counsellors at Hanover, and of the generality, that they submit to this disposition without delay and reply, and that they follow, willingly, the orders which shall be given relative to the taking possession of the electorate by the Prussian troops, as well as with respect to the electoral countries. His majesty demands, principally, that the Hanoverian corps, which has hitherto been in the line of demarcation of the north of Germany, be disbanded, with a proportional part of the other troops.—His majesty requires from the generals and all the officers, to vow, by writing, not to serve against his Prussian majesty; on the contrary, to follow strictly his orders till the affair be finished. The troops who shall remain with their colours shall go into quarters, one on the right bank of the Leine, one on the left bank of the Alter, and behind the Luhe to the Elbe, where they shall remain divided in the towns of Hanover, Gishorne, Uelgin, Luneburg, and in the other small towns and villages of that district. All the other places, comprising the fortress of Hameln, shall be delivered up to the Prussian troops under the orders of lieutenant-general de Klein.

His majesty, at the same time, announces that the maintenance of the Prussian troops shall be at the expense of the electoral country. It shall

shall begin from the end of the month of April. His majesty has sent his cabinet minister Schullenburg to announce to the electoral college of privy counsellors and commandants of troops the present declaration. On this account, all connexion between the electoral college and his majesty the king of England shall cease, and the authorities are in consequence responsible to his majesty the king of Prussia for the government and the treasury. Under the hope of a voluntary submission, his majesty is induced and ready to promise solemnly, as well to the nobility as to the burghers, and to all the inhabitants of the electorate, the entire enjoyment of their tranquillity, and the security of their property. But if, on the contrary, the government and the general officers should be of advice to prevent the execution of the measures adopted, and to oppose the entrance of the Prussian troops, his majesty will be obliged to withdraw these promises, and to treat the electoral states as enemies. The civil and military magistrates are therefore responsible for the fatal effects which might result. It is on this account that his majesty advises them to submit to this summons, and to prevent the rigorous measures which would inevitably be taken in case of refusal. By order of his majesty,

(Signed) HAUGWITZ.

Berlin, 30th March, 1801.

Note from the Hanoverian Ministry to the Royal Prussian Directorial Counsellor Von Dohm, respecting the Withdrawing of the Prussian Troops from the Electorate of Hanover. Hanover, June 14.

His majesty the king of Prussia having, in the beginning of April

of the present year, unexpectedly ordered that corps of his troops hitherto acting with the army of observation, formed for the general defence, to take possession of the districts in Germany belonging to his Britannic majesty, as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg, the causes and motives which induced his majesty the king of Prussia to resort to this extraordinary and unexpected measure were stated to the German ministry of his Britanic majesty, in a written declaration of the 30th of March of the present year, on the part of his Prussian majesty, by his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, count Schullenburg, sent to Hanover for that purpose. These causes and motives were founded on the differences that had arisen between his Britannic majesty and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, on account of the Petersburg convention of the 16th of December 1800; on the proceedings of England against Denmark and Sweden; on the engagements of his Prussian majesty for his allies, agreeably to his accession to the Petersburg convention; and particularly on the circumstance that England would not resort to means for an amicable settlement of these differences.—Hence his Prussian majesty deduced his resolution “not only to shut up the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, but also to take possession of the states of his majesty the king of the united islands of Great Britain and Ireland, situated in Germany, and belonging to him as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg.” His Prussian majesty added, in his letter addressed to his Britannic majesty’s German ministers at Hanover, “that the said declaration related to the differences that had arisen between England

England and the northern powers, and was to be considered merely as a necessary consequence of the disagreeable circumstances that had taken place." By the circumstances and causes, therefore, assigned as the reason on the part of Prussia, the agreement was relative, which his Britannic majesty's German ministry, together with the general commanding his German troops, were obliged to enter into on the 3d of April of the present year, and whereby, under the existing circumstances, the entrance of the Prussian troops and their maintenance by the king's German possessions were agreed to. It is now well known, that the circumstances and causes, formerly existing, have been entirely changed and removed in the course of the month of April, and still more in the course of the month of May; so that circumstances, at present, are rather the reverse. Hostilities have ceased between England and the northern powers; and so far from rejecting means for an amicable settlement, immediate friendly missions have even taken place on both sides, and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, imitating the wise sentiments of his majesty the present emperor of Russia, are actually engaged in amicably settling the differences with the British government. The happy issue of these peaceable negotiations not being doubted by any of the parties, the British government began rendering commerce free in the Baltic; Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have restored the commercial intercourse by public declarations; and the embargo formerly laid on English ships in Russia is again taken off. His majesty the king of Prussia having, during the course of these successive changes, permitted all

commercial and other intercourse with his Britannic majesty's subjects, which has likewise remained undisturbed by England with respect to the Prussian states, it is evident, that his Prussian majesty has no longer any cause for allowing measures to be taken, on his part, against the crown of England. But his majesty the king of Prussia has also declared already, that the measures which had been formerly taken could now no longer be deemed applicable and expedient, so that, on the part of Prussia, the shutting up of the rivers is entirely annulled, and the navigation of the Elbe and Weser has been again declared free. His majesty the king of Prussia, from the same consideration, has likewise demanded from the crown of Denmark, and effected, the evacuation of Hamburg and Lubeck, and withdrawn the troops that had been stationed in the duchy of Oldenburg for the purpose of occupying the left banks of the Weser. It is impossible, therefore, that the occupation of his Britannic majesty's dominions, which had been connected with the shutting up of the rivers, and grounded on the same causes, can alone remain and continue. On the contrary, it appears evidently, from the whole course of the proceedings, that the causes no longer any where exist which furnished the ground for the letter addressed to the king's ministry here by the king of Prussia on the 30th of March, the declaration made by his majesty in consequence thereof, and the agreement afterwards entered into. It is impossible to consider this, agreeably to his majesty's wisdom and justice, but as something which cannot be mistaken by him, and which, in the events already stated, has already been admitted and acknowledged

known by his majesty. The sentiments which his majesty the king of Prussia entertains for his Britannic majesty, and the friendly relations subsisting between him and the crown of England, will, therefore, leave no doubts on this subject, without being under the necessity of recurring to the nature of the constitution of the German empire, and the union of its states with each other, with respect to this business, which relates entirely to a foreign kingdom, and which has always been, and will ever remain, foreign to the dominions which his majesty possesses as elector, and as a state of the German empire. All this is grounded on the firm confidence which his Britannic majesty here wishes to manifest, that his majesty the king of Prussia will not hesitate to withdraw his troops from his majesty's German dominions; and that maintenance will no longer be demanded for those troops, which has been so burthensome to the country.—The king's minister has, for this purpose, addressed this note to the Prussian directorial counsellor, Von Dohm, entreating him, at the same time, to forward it to his court, and to effect a speedy resolution in consequence.

(Signed)

(L. S.) By the ROYAL and ELECTORAL MINISTRY.

To the Royal Prussian Directorial Counsellor Von Dohm, at Hornburg.

Memorial presented by his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange to Lord Hawkesbury, previous to his leaving this Country.

The prince of Orange being informed that the ratifications of the

preliminary articles of peace between his Britannic majesty and the French republic, signed on the 1st instant, have been exchanged on the 10th; and those articles, as published by government, having thus come to his knowledge, thinks he ought not to delay any longer, in a conjuncture so important to his interests and those of his house, to express, without reserve, his sentiments and his wishes to his majesty.

The unfortunate circumstances which obliged the prince of Orange and his family to repair to England in the year 1795, are too well known to make it necessary to renew the statement of them in this place.

After having been received by his majesty with the most affectionate kindness, the prince of Orange experienced no less convincing proofs of his majesty's goodness towards him during his stay in this country, where he has constantly been treated with the most generous hospitality. On every occasion he received unequivocal assurances and marks of the unvaried interest which his majesty and his government continued to take, not only in what related to himself and to his family, but also to the numerous and faithful adherents of the house of Orange, and the ancient constitution of the republic of the United Provinces. These marks of interest had so often been repeated, that the prince of Orange has not even conceived it to be necessary for him to make any formal demand, founded upon the solemn engagements by which Great Britain guaranteed, in 1788, the stadtholderate, and the other dignities hereditary in his house.

The prince of Orange has seen with great concern the course of events lead gradually to a state of things very different from that under

der which those engagements had been formed, and by which the probability of their being completely fulfilled was from day to day diminishing. Nevertheless, as long as the war continued he could never prevail upon himself to give up that hope entirely; but he awaited in silence the final issue of events. Now that the preliminaries of peace are concluded on the conditions known to the public, without the prince of Orange having received any information that anything has been stipulated with respect to himself, he thinks himself under the obligation of breaking the silence he had hitherto thought fit to observe, and considers it as his indispensable duty to recommend in the strongest and most pressing manner to the king's solicitude and powerful protection, at the approaching conferences for the formation of the definitive treaty, his own interest, those of his house, and of a considerable number of his countrymen, who are become the unfortunate victims of their unshaken zeal for his person and his cause, of their tried fidelity to the ancient constitution of their native country, and of their attachment to that system which so long and so closely united the republic of the United Provinces to Great-Britain.

The prince of Orange thinks it would be injuring the generous feelings of his majesty and his government to dwell upon the motives which induce him to make this request. He has no doubt of his majesty's finding them in his own royal breast; and he flatters himself that the dispositions he hopes to find on this subject will add still more to the manifest obligations he owes to the king, and of which he

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will never lose the grateful remembrance.

The prince of Orange requests lord Hawkesbury to lay the present note before his majesty, and to inform him of his majesty's intentions with respect to its contents. He takes this opportunity to assure lord Hawkesbury of his perfect consideration.

Hampton Court Palace, 13th of October, 1801.

(Signed) W. PRINCE OF ORANGE.

First Report of the Committee of Secrecy, to whom the several Papers, which were presented (sealed up) to the House, by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the 1st and 2d Days of April, by His Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them, to the House.

Your committee have proceeded with the utmost diligence to the consideration of the matters referred to them; but, from the extent and variety of the information respecting different parts of the united kingdom, which has been laid before them, they are under the necessity of requesting the indulgence of the house for a short time, before they can submit the result of their investigation on all the points to which it has extended.

Your committee, however, think it incumbent upon them to state, without delay, that they have received the fullest proofs that the dangerous and treasonable conspiracy for the subversion of the constitution and government, which in the year 1798, in concert with a foreign enemy, produced the horrid and sanguinary rebellion in Ire-

(M) land,

land, and the progress and extent of which, in Great-Britain, is detailed in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy in the year 1799, has never been abandoned. The hopes and activity of the disaffected were checked, and their intentions frustrated, by the vigilance of government, and by the effect of the laws which were adopted; but their principles and designs remained unchanged, and they have for some time, and more especially of late, been endeavouring to take advantage of the distress occasioned by the high price of provisions for carrying those wicked designs into effect. It has particularly appeared to your committee, that the instigators of these proceedings have, on repeated occasions, secretly expressed their wish for the aggravation of those evils, which they every where endeavour to use as a pretext and engine for exciting popular discontent. They appear to have derived their principal encouragement from the pressure arising from the scarcity, from the hopes of assistance from a foreign enemy upon the invasion of Great-Britain or Ireland, and from the expiration of the laws before referred to; which, from the concurrent testimony from different parts of the kingdom, they acknowledge and declare to have been the principal obstacle to their measures.

Within a few weeks past, and to the latest period to which the information received by your committee can apply, their activity has been great, and increasing in the metropolis and in other parts of the kingdom: every effort is employed that can tend to disturb the public tranquillity; and recent intelligence has been received from different quarters, which justifies your com-

mittee in believing, that at this moment the immediate object of the disaffected is to endeavour, by a sudden explosion, to avail themselves of the interval which may still take place before those laws can be renewed. The dangerous system of a secret confederacy, under the obligation of an unlawful oath, which prevailed in Ireland, and afterwards extended itself to Great-Britain, has been revived, with additional precautions, for the purpose of eluding detection, and of ensuring concert, secrecy, and dispatch. And it appears to be in agitation, suddenly, by these means, to call numerous meetings, in different parts of the country, at the same day and hour, to an extent which, if not prevented, must materially endanger the public peace; and that, among the persons most forward for instigating these criminal proceedings, are some of those who had been detained under the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, and who have been recently released from confinement.

These considerations your committee have felt themselves bound to submit, in the first instance, to the wisdom of the house, believing that any delay in so doing would be attended with material danger to the country; and for the same reason they feel it a duty incumbent on them, to take the first moment of stating to the house their strong and unanimous opinion, grounded on the information which they have received, that no time ought to be lost in renewing those measures of precaution which the wisdom of the legislature has before adopted; particularly the act for the suspension of the provisions of the habeas-corpus act, and the act to prevent seditious meetings; which,

which, while they remained in force, were attended with the happiest effects in preserving the public tranquillity, and which your committee have the most confident hope would have the same salutary operation under the present circumstances.

Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy, to whom the several Papers, which were presented (sealed up) to the House, by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the 1st and 2d Days of April, 1801, by His Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the Matters thereof, and report the same as they shall appear to them, to the House.

After some preliminary observations upon the means by which information had been obtained, the report states:—

“ It was not to be expected that persons who had deeply imbibed the principles of the French revolution, who were inflamed with the most sanguinary animosity against all the existing establishments of church and state; that such of them, particularly of the lower orders of society, whose hopes were instigated by the prospect of the plunder of the rich, and the partition of the landed property of the country, and who had been taught to abjure all the restraints which divine or human laws have imposed on the passions of men; should be induced, by any change of circumstances, or legal coercion, suddenly to abandon those principles, and to return to the duties of loyal and peaceable subjects. It accordingly appears manifest, that though the exertions of the disaffected in this country were suppressed by the vigilance of government, acting under the powers entrusted to them

by parliament, and by the fear of detection and immediate apprehension, yet their disposition remained unaltered. That, from the month of May 1799, notwithstanding the detention of several of the most active members of the late corresponding society, others have continued occasionally to meet without any form of regular association, and studiously avoiding any constant place of assembling, or written memorial of their transactions. A principal object at first was the collection of money for the relief of the persons confined under charges of treasonable and seditious practices, with whom they seem constantly to have preserved their former connexion. On the 5th of November 1799, when they began to derive fresh encouragement from the unfavourable events on the continent, and the evacuation of Holland by the British troops, a party of them assembled to celebrate the anniversary of Hardy's acquittal; on which occasion they appear first to have ventured on a more open avowal of their opinions, and to have indulged in the most treasonable and seditious toasts and songs. As yet, however, the mischief went no further; and indeed, during all this period, till late in the last year, they seem to have despaired of any immediate success in their projects, for which some of them supposed no favourable opportunity would occur till the restoration of peace should, as they hoped, have at once removed the legal restraints which now impeded their operations, and brought home such an addition of unemployed hands as would increase the existing scarcity, and add to the prevailing discontents. They felt themselves, and lamented the effect of, the powers entrusted to government by the act for suspend-

ing the habeas-corpus act: their former leaders were dispersed and secluded, and they apprehended for themselves a similar fate. Particular events, however, of the nature before alluded to, had at different times given some encouragement to their views, and diminished their apprehensions: the successes of the enemy in the last campaign, the disappointments of our allies, still more of any enterprise in which this country was more particularly concerned, or any danger which threatened the life or health of their sovereign, were, as they occurred, a constant source of satisfaction, and of renewed hope and expectation.—The health of the chief consul of France, the success of his arms when opposed to those of their country, the progress of the rupture with the northern powers, as a means of impoverishing our merchants, and creating distress and discontent among the manufacturers, were among the first wishes that marked the complexion of their convivial meetings, or expressed the malignity of their private reflexions.—The dearth of provisions early in the last year opened a new field for similar speculations, and the return of it after the last harvest increased the inducements and the hope of converting it to their views. Of this, as well as of other public calamities, they were disposed to avail themselves in a way that marks sufficiently the character of those principles which lead the revolutionary enthusiast to overlook, or make him seek to augment the miseries, however extended, of individuals, in the hope of deriving from them the means of subverting existing establishments. They affected indeed openly much feeling for the sufferings of the people, and fomented their complaints against the

supposed authors of them; but in private they expressed their satisfaction at the continuance of the distress, and were only apprehensive that the cause of the complaint might cease by a return of plenty: they hoped particularly that the scarcity would press hard upon the soldiery, and produce discontent and insubordination; and, the better to serve their cause, they did not scruple to hold out the most unwarranted hopes of success in their extensive plans of meditated seduction. They disapproved indeed of the disposition to riot, which appeared in some places on account of the scarcity in the month of September last, as leading to partial and premature insurrection, not sufficiently connected with their own more large and revolutionary views; but they thought a period somewhat later more favourable to their designs, which might be better advanced by a different line of conduct. Under this impression, they promoted a meeting of a most dangerous nature, to be held at Kennington Common on the 9th of November, by public advertisement, which was stated to government at the time to be issued under their direction: this fact has since been confirmed by positive depositions upon oath, and by concurrent testimony which has been obtained in consequence of some of the late apprehensions; from all which it also appears that several of the persons above referred to attended, and that the state of the weather alone prevented their being present in great numbers: other meetings were concerted in different parts of the metropolis, or its vicinity, with a view to distract the attention of the magistrates, and harass the operations of the military. The first of these, however, failed, in consequence

consequence of the information previously afforded to the officers of government, and the presence of magistrates; and the others were prevented by the apprehension of detection, from the reward offered for the conviction of the persons concerned in convening the first. Similar plans were still in agitation in the following month, when a seditious and treasonable hand-bill, in the form of a proclamation, was prepared and circulated by a person lately a leading member of the disaffected societies, and who your committee have reason to believe was principally concerned in convening the meeting on Kennington Common; a copy of which is annexed to this report."

The report then proceeds to state the arrival of United Irishmen, and the fabrication of pikes and daggers. The expiration of the act suspending the habeas-corpus encouraged them to renew their designs at the commencement of the present year. Their plan, as stated in the report of the house of lords, to have an executive committee of ten, and sub-agents for the different districts. To conceal their designs, they formed themselves into clubs called benefit-societies, where private assassination of certain individuals was recommended. Another society, called *Spensumians*, was formed merely to discuss public affairs, they agreeing with a book published by Spence, recommending an agrarian law, the destruction of the nobility, &c. Upon the release of their leaders by the expiration of the act suspending the habeas-corpus, a supper was given, at which seditious and treasonable language was held.

"This meeting seems to have occasioned a more confident opinion of their strength, and of the

success of their schemes of seduction. They boasted of the extension of their society over different and remote districts of the metropolis. They were not, however, insensible to the proceedings of parliament on the subject of the martial law bill in Ireland, which they were apprehensive might be applied to the suppression of their enterprises here; or, if not, at least that the suspension of the habeas-corpus act would be renewed, and effectually operate to counteract their designs. Under this impression, a particular degree of caution was recommended by the executives as to the persons to whom the oath should be administered: they suspected they were observed, and were afraid of being apprehended before their plan was ripe for execution, which they admitted it would not be till they should be provided with arms sufficient for their purpose. The same apprehension operated differently on some of the most ardent spirits of the confederacy, who were still more sanguine as to the numbers who would join them, and who were desirous of striking the blow before measures could be taken for their suppression; and who thought they might supply the want of which they complained by a desperate attack on several repositories of arms, which would at once deprive the military of the means of resistance, and furnish themselves with weapons for attack: others, not admitted to the secrets of the executives, accused them of tardiness in their operations, and were impatient to be called into action. The more cautious councils however prevailed, which were perhaps promoted by mutual suspicion, and by the reluctance of some, when it came near the point, to engage in outrages of such atrocity."

(M 3)

Other

Other meetings were held in different parts of the town; and at one of them—the *Spensonians*—the following toasts were drunk:—

May the last of Kings be strangled in the Bowels of the last of Priests.

A speedy Amalgamation of Party with the Mass of the People.

Religion without Priests, and Governments without Kings.

A Dish of Fish for the English, and may they always relish an Irish Pike!

Vinegar Hill, and may the Foes of the People meet with sour Sauce!

The Heroes of Wexford.

The Rights of the People, and may the People never want Spirit to maintain their Rights!

Honest Men at the Head of Affairs, and those at the Head of Affairs without Heads at all.

No Lord, nor Landlord! but the Lord God, our only Lord.

May the Usurpation of the great Landholders be speedily destroyed, and every Man recover his original Share of Land!

May the Age of Superstition be annihilated, and the Age of Reason be established in its stead!

At one of the most recent meetings a supper was given, at the expense of some unknown patron, to celebrate again the release of the champions of their cause; when they were still entertained with the most seditious songs and toasts, sufficiently descriptive of their attachment to our foreign enemy, and abhorrence of the form of our own constitution; such as,

Bonaparte! and Success to the Army of Egypt!

The Guillotine!—a Cure for the King's Evil.

The disaffected take steps to win over religious enthusiasts, as well as visionary reformers, though they despise religion. The report next proceeds to state, that societies on similar principles were formed in the chief towns, and that the great object and hope of all was to foment

rebellion by means of the scarcity of provisions. They represented their numbers trained to arms at 60,000, sometimes double that number; one of their plans was to seize the arms of the loyal associations. They connected themselves with a religious sect (the Jerusalemites) in Yorkshire, whose creed was the 25th, 26th, and 27th verses of the xxist chapter of Ezekiel. In Lancashire the numbers were great and bold, and an insurrection was proposed for the seed-time. A secret convention sat for six different divisions of the kingdom, and a general meeting was actually held early in April, near Manchester, which was dispersed. The disaffected held out encouragement to the enemy to invade this country, by representing they would be joined by great numbers. The report then describes a new plot lately discovered in Ireland for forming the disaffected into regiments, a seditious address to the Irish sailors in our fleet, and solicitations of assistance from France. But the agent who asks this, it is said, "stipulates, however, with his proposed allies for the assurance of their property to all the present possessors, in opposition to any claim of the catholics, whom he states still to look forward with hopes of establishing a popish ascendancy; and it appears that he has been given to understand, that both the late directory, and one of the principal ministers of the present government of France, had coincided in the justice and propriety of that stipulation."

The report next details the rebellious and atrocious proceedings in Ireland at considerable length, the plans of assassination, &c. Persons are flogged to compel them to sell cheap provisions; cattle

cattle are destroyed; horses are stolen to facilitate the designs of the rebels; a general tendency to insurrection exists among the lower class; and the rebellion is not quenched.

“That in one county, for a year past, one whole barony has been tributary to and in possession of an armed banditti of about fifty persons, under two known leaders, who regularly exercise their men, station their pickets, and march, to the sound of a horn, to the commission of all sorts of outrages; and declare their intention of persisting till a general rising may enable them to overturn the existing constitution and government.

“The robbery of the mail in Kildare, in the month of April last, by a gang of eighteen or nineteen armed men, who commenced their attack by a volley of musketry, is a striking instance of the manner in which these outrages are committed; and a recent and well known transaction of the most atrocious nature, in the county of Tipperary, proves that the system of secret proscription and delegated assassination is still in force, supported either by the concurrence of extensive confederacy, or the effects of general intimidation. Your committee refer to the murder of Mr. Price, who, having taken a farm against the wishes of those who take upon them to regulate the rents of land, received a written intimation, which appears, from the evidence of a member of this house, to have been to the following effect:—

“Liberty Hall.

“Take notice; that you have been tried and convicted of having taken — farm—you have been sentenced to death—you are to give up the farm, otherwise the warrant for your

execution is in the hands of the executioner.

“Given at the Council chamber.”

“This account the member received from the brother of the deceased, who showed him another letter to the same effect, which was served on a tenant of Mr. Price at the same time, who in consequence fled the country. Mr. Price was, within a few days, in the open fields at noon, fired at and murdered by a single individual, who was suffered to depart at his leisure, without any endeavour being made to detain him, though many people were at work at no great distance.”

The report here describes and justifies the conduct of the Irish courts-martial.

The report next states the impossibility of disclosing the means by which government has obtained its information, without endangering the persons, and ruining their channels of intelligence. It notices the small number of persons imprisoned under the suspension of the habeas-corpus act, and sanctions their imprisonment after having inquired the motives. The report concludes with this paragraph:—

“Under these circumstances, your committee cannot forbear submitting to the wisdom of the house the propriety of such an act of indemnity as may protect all persons concerned in these commitments from the effects of any legal proceeding, without subjecting them to the necessity, either of suffering for a conduct in itself meritorious, or of disclosing, in their own defence, those particulars which every consideration of humanity, good faith, and policy, must render it their duty to conceal.”

(M 4)

The

The Appendix consists of the handbill calling the meeting at Kennington Common; papers inflaming the minds of the people on account of the high price of provisions; oaths binding to maintain the rights of man; an extract from Spence's pamphlet, recommending that land should not be the property of individuals but of parishes, and the rents common to all; and that a convention should meet to enforce the plan. There are also several inflammatory papers from the United Irish, and an address to the Irish sailors of the same nature, together with long depositions of persons employed on courts-martial in Ireland; and depositions, and other evidence, respecting the general state of that country.

Abstract of the Second Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, which was delivered to their Lordships on April 28.

When it became known to some of the most stirring members of the society, which under the name of the London Corresponding Society is so particularly described in the former report, that the act for preventing seditious meetings had expired, they drew together at first in small parties with a degree of caution, changing frequently their place of meeting, and omitting their accustomed forms, being still apprehensive, as they expressed themselves, of the act which had not then expired for the suspension of the habeas-corpus act. In this condition, various plans were formed in different meetings for resuming and carrying on with more security their former practices. Among other devices, one was proposed and adopted by a considerable number, to assume the name and appearance of a benefit-society.

Those who were thus to take the name of a benefit-society had no other purpose but to mask under that name a political society formed for purposes the most flagitious; for it was expressly declared that no fund, raised by regular contribution, should form the stock of this society; no persons admitted members but those of democratic sentiments, who were to receive copies of the rules of a benefit-society, not that they should be observed, but that they might deceive the magistrates in case any of the meetings should be suspected; converting thereby, in fraud of the law, an excellent establishment for the relief of the sober and industrious poor, into an instrument for the destruction of sobriety and industry. Many members of the former corresponding society and their friends were in this manner engaged.—Others appear to have been at the same time concerting a deeper design of a secret society, which after it had attained a proper maturity was announced to the benefit-society, that had been established about three weeks, and became numerous, by two persons in the character of delegates from a society for emancipation, and desiring to know whether the pretended benefit-society would connect itself with their society. The proposal was favourably received, and a future meeting appointed, at which they should be furnished with the instructions of the plan of that society. At that meeting the instructions produced in writing were to this effect:—The members to be admitted by a test, or declaration on oath, to be sworn on the Bible when it can be produced; but it is observed, that since Paine's Age of Reason it is looked on as a mark of incivism to keep a Bible. The persons

persons entrusted to swear others, or, in the phrase of the society, to initiate them, are termed conductors. They receive a written appointment, with a printed instruction and printed declaration (copies of each of these are annexed to this report); ten initiated are allotted to each conductor, who is to make a report of them at stated times to another officer, called a superintendant, appointed over every ten conductors. To each superintendant a messenger is assigned, by whom he is to communicate with the executive, the names and number of which are only to be known by themselves, or perhaps to the messengers; but they are supposed to be persons of superior consequence. Signs are instituted by which the members may know each other; but it does not distinctly appear whether all the initiated, or only the conductors, are intrusted with the knowledge of the signs. The plan thus explained was fully approved, and the benefit-society agreed to form one indivisible society, under the name of United Britons. This association appears to have taken place about the middle of the month of March last. Of the practice and habits of this association the committee has received more precise information. In their general meetings they are somewhat reserved on the subject of religion, for fear of frightening away persons who have some respect for religion (which happily has been the case, and has contributed to the detecting of their schemes). But it appears to your committee that a very principal object of their leaders has been to use every means in their power to work upon all persons whose religious opinions differ from those of the establishment: for which purpose

the general executive has recommended it in the strongest manner to their followers to mix as much as possible with such persons, and, by concealing their own sentiments, which are adverse to all religion, and seemingly adopting those of the persons with whom they should communicate, to gain proselytes to their political designs, and thus to promote the execution of their mischievous and determined purpose of overthrowing the constitution. In the confidential meetings of the initiated, however, they endeavour to turn the people against religion, in order to overthrow the state through the church; observing, that if there were no priests there would be no king. Amongst the most frequent subjects treated in these confidential meetings of the initiated, plans of insurrections to be excited on the pretext of the high price of provisions, but directed to the subversion of government, have been discussed, and the means traced out for procuring arms of the most dangerous species. The members are instructed to frequent clubs where workmen and soldiers resort, to appear there unconnected, and to hold opposite sides in the questions they are instructed to raise. Their purposes are of a more sanguinary complexion than the ordinary mischiefs of a mob; for your committee has had particular information of the time and place, and of some persons attending the meeting within a very recent period, when a plan of assassinating certain members of parliament at their own houses, formed with no inconsiderable degree of contrivance, was proposed, and seemed to meet with the general acquiescence of all the company, that it would be meritorious.

It has also appeared to your committee

committee, that societies of a similar formation with this, since the period when it became generally known that the act for preventing seditious meetings had expired, have been formed in various parts of the country, and, after the expiration of the act for suspending the habeas-corpus act, assumed a bold and daring aspect. Besides these places, where the operations of such societies have only been known to the vigilant attention of the magistrates, and kept down by their prudence and firmness, a very dangerous conspiracy of a similar nature has manifested itself in some parts of the country, which from all its forms and habits affords the strongest presumption of mutual intercourse between those conspirators and the United Britons; the only apparent difference being, that the meeting in the country, being chiefly connected with manufacturers, is obliged to assume a more apparent concern for their interest in regard to the dearness of living, and ostensibly aims at the reduction of the price of provisions, or the increase of the price of labour; whereas the society of United Britons in London does not hesitate to profess their wish to frustrate every plan for the relief of the poor; the high price of provisions being most favourable to their object of exciting insurrection.

The committee has further to observe, that by most certain intelligence, it appears that there still exist in the dominions of the king's enemies at least two established committees of traitors to the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, actively employed in carrying on correspondence by their agents with the leaders of these societies; and abetting them in the most atrocious circumstances of the

crimes they are meditating, and encouraging them by holding out hopes of invasion.

The committee has also had great reason to believe that many of the United Irish, who, either by the lenity of the government of that country, or by their own apprehension of its just severity, have taken refuge here, have, by all the means they had been used to practise, stimulated and inflamed the minds of the members of these meetings to an higher pitch of extravagance, and rendered it more necessary to subject them to that controul, which in its former exercise was as useful to themselves as it was salutary to the state; for it is remarkable that no act of restriction could be more truly preventive of evil than the statute in question has proved to be, there having seldom occurred an occasion for enforcing the act during the period of its continuance. It is therefore the unanimous and decided opinion of your committee, that the bill now referred to their consideration ought to pass into a law.

Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting Corn.

The committee appointed to consider of the present high price of provisions, and to report the same, with their opinion thereupon, from time to time, to the house, have proceeded to consider of the present state of the corn trade, with a view to inquire into the abuses supposed to exist therein, and to examine any regulations which it might be thought expedient to propose, in order to the more regular and satisfactory management of the business in future: they now offer the general result of this investigation to the house, together with the evidence which has been

been laid before them (to which they beg leave to refer for more detailed information), with a view to prepare for the subject's being resumed in a future session, under circumstances, it is to be hoped, more favourable for legislative interference, on a point of so much delicacy and difficulty as the permanent regulation of the corn trade.

Your committee have found themselves obliged to confine their inquiries principally to the corn-trade in this metropolis; the state of which, however, in seasons of dearth and scarcity like the present, cannot but have a very material effect on most of the markets throughout England.

It appears, from a variety of evidence which is annexed to this report, that, strictly speaking, there is no regulated public corn-market at this day existing in the city of London; the corn-trade therein being wholly carried on at the Corn-exchange in Mark-lane, which was erected in a confined space, and on a limited scale, about forty or fifty years ago, for the accommodation of the factors and dealers (who, before that time, carried on their business at Bear Quay, exposed to the weather, and other inconveniences), at the private expense of individuals, and is consequently private property; that this property is divided into about eighty shares, most of which are held by factors or dealers in corn; the estate being managed by a committee of three trustees, chosen by the proprietors, to whom Mr. Smiton is secretary, and is likewise inspector of corn returns in London, elected to that office by the same body of proprietors in virtue of the statute 31 George III. c. 30. This committee have the uncontrolled disposal of all the stands

on which the samples of corn are exposed to sale, and which are limited to the number of seventy-two; sixty-four of them being leased to factors or dealers, and the remaining eight appropriated to the use of the Kentish hoymen. Although it is stated to your committee, that the possession of these stands is never transferred for a valuable consideration, as the lease would thereby be vacated; yet there seems reason to believe, that in some instances large sums have been given for such an accommodation; without which it appears wholly impracticable for any one to carry on the trade of a factor or dealer in corn to any material extent; though the Exchange is indeed considered as open to all who come to buy and sell; and there are instances of persons attending the market at times, who bring with them their samples in their pockets.

It also appears to your committee, that the factors and dealers are at liberty either to expose all their samples at the same time on their stands, or as few of them as they think fit; so that in fact a buyer has no means whatever of judging, from the appearance of the samples exposed on the stand, during any period of the market, what the supply is: added to which, it does not appear to your committee that any public authentic mode is at present provided for communicating to the frequenters of the Corn-exchange what the actual quantities of corn imported coastwise, or from abroad, at any given period, really are; nor what part of it is in a merchantable state, and fit for immediate sale; though it is true that persons carrying on the business on a great scale, and having large connexions, may,

may, with more or less trouble and difficulty, acquire the necessary information on these points, by a reference to the entries at the Custom-house and Cocket-office, and by a comparison of different returns ordered to be made, by law, for various purposes.

It further appears to your committee, that in some instances factors import largely, and even deal in British corn to a great extent on their own account; but that several of them think it more proper to abstain from such a practice, considering, as it has been stated by some of them, "that the business of a corn-factor is perfectly distinct from that of a corn-merchant, because a person who receives consignments, and deals at the same time on his own account, may not always be inclined to serve his employers with that impartiality he otherwise would do."—There is reason also to apprehend, that in some instances factors, having large quantities of corn of their own to dispose of, may be tempted to employ the superior knowledge and influence they possess in the market, for the undue advancing or maintaining the prices of the article, in times of earnest demand and inadequate supply, to the disadvantage of the public. This practice, however, does not seem altogether of modern date; though your committee think it not improbable, from the increased importations which have taken place within a few years past, that it may have been carried to a greater extent within a late period. It further appears to your committee, that a practice has prevailed, for a considerable time, of purchasing corn with a view to sell it again in the same or some future market, at an increased price, by persons who are

called jobbers: but it should seem that these transactions principally apply to the trade in oats; and there is even a considerable difference of opinion among those who have been examined on this point, both as to the extent of such a proceeding, and the number of individuals concerned.

Such being the leading facts, as they appear upon the evidence, your committee beg leave to observe upon them:—

I. That the present Corn-exchange is much too confined for the business carried on in it, which has of late years increased considerably. That the number of stands is too small for the fair and reasonable accommodation of all those who may have business to transact, and that consequently the present corn-market can hardly be considered as an open one; competition is to a certain degree prevented, and the trade thrown into too few hands. That from the Exchange being private property, and principally in the hands of corn-factors and dealers, there is some reason to suspect partiality in the manner of transferring and leasing the stands. That considerable inconvenience results to the public from the want of a sworn clerk or superintendant of the market, appointed by some competent and impartial authority, and placed, by means of an adequate compensation for his time and trouble, beyond the suspicion of undue influence; by the want of an open and correct register of transactions in the market; and from there being no regular hours prescribed for opening and closing the Exchange on every market day.

With a view to remedy these material inconveniencies, your committee recommend that effectual measures should be adopted, early
in

in the next session of parliament, for enlarging and opening the corn-market in London, either by removing it to the west side of Tower-hill, near the river, or by extending the Exchange in Mark-lane, by the purchase and pulling down of some of the warehouses and premises surrounding it, according to a plan mentioned in the Appendix, the expenses of which alteration might probably be provided for without much difficulty in so opulent a metropolis; for appointing, by election of the lord mayor and aldermen, or other competent and unsuspected authority, a proper clerk or superintendant of the market, to be responsible to the corporation; and for establishing a correct and public register of all transactions therein, and regular hours for opening and closing the same.

II. That it would likewise be advantageous to the public, if factors and dealers in corn were compelled by law to expose all the samples intended to be by them offered for sale on a given day, at the same time, publicly on their stands, at the opening of the market, marking on each bag the quantities to which it related; abstracts of which marks should be delivered to the clerk of the market, for public inspection, before its opening; and further, that it would be advisable that some regular and authentic publication should take place in the market of the quantities of all corn arrived coastwise, from abroad, or in the river, within a given period, either by returns transmitted from the proper officer at the Custom-house, or Cocket-office, to the clerk of the market, or otherwise, as might be thought expedient. And with a view to the same object, it might be proper to provide for the constant and im-

partial inspection of the quality of all corn on board ships, or in granaries, in order to ascertain whether it was or was not in a state fit to be brought into the market for sale and consumption.

III. That it would be expedient to prevent corn-factors from becoming dealers on their account; and with that view to place them on the footing of brokers in other trades carried on within the city of London, by obliging them to give bonds to the same effect. Your committee cannot but think that such a regulation would be found advantageous upon the principle alluded to in a preceding page of this report; and they have the satisfaction of perceiving, from the evidence of some very intelligent factors, in a considerable line of business, that no material detriment or inconvenience could arise from it to the persons concerned—if adopted, as it ought to be, with full notice, and applied to the regular and uniform course of trade, and not to any particular and critical emergency like the present.

IV. Your committee cannot hesitate to declare an opinion, that the practice of purchasing corn to sell it again in the same or some subsequent market before delivery, and consequently before the payment becomes due on the first sale, with a view to a possible advantage on the difference between the first and second price of the article, ought to be discouraged. If any effectual measures could be proposed for preventing such speculations in corn, without materially affecting the usual course of trade, or interfering with the fair and necessary means which must exist in conducting commerce on a great scale, and in an advanced state of society, they might very properly and

and reasonably be adopted. For it is obvious the price of any commodity must be enhanced by every intermediate profit which is taken in its passage to consumption, beyond such as necessarily arises from the more convenient and speedy modes of conveying it from the first hand to the consumer. Whether these are in particular cases useful or superfluous, is matter of very difficult discrimination in a legislative point of view, and the decision must in general depend on an examination and knowledge of an infinite variety of circumstances. On one hand, the statute law expressly allows the buying of corn to sell it again for profit, by the precise words of the act of 31 Geo. III. c. 30. sect. 2.; and, on the other, the ancient common law of the land prohibits any one from buying of corn, or other dead victual, in any market, and selling it again in the same market, or within four miles of the same; which constitutes the offence of regrating. It has, however, been suggested to your committee, that considerable benefit would be derived, and no inconvenience sustained, from prohibiting the re-sale of corn in Mark-lane till at least four weeks had elapsed from the time of the first purchase (to be ascertained by the register, or by the meter's book); it being presumed in this case, that by the course of trade the corn would have been actually delivered to the original purchaser, and the price paid for it, before it could be a second time offered for sale, and consequently that such speculation of the kind alluded to would be much embarrassed, if not wholly prevented. This proposition is certainly deserving of attention, and proceeds from several respectable quarters; your committee therefore

think they cannot forbear to refer it to the future deliberation and superior wisdom of the house.

Upon the whole, though your committee are of opinion that the state of the corn-trade, in this metropolis; admits of and requires regulation and improvement, with a view to the more convenient, open, fair, and satisfactory mode of carrying it on; and although they are inclined to think that practices have at times prevailed, inconsistent with the perfect justice due to the public; yet that these have not been proved to exist to any very considerable extent, or to have contributed materially to enhance the price of bread-corn to the enormous amount which it has most unfortunately maintained for a long time past. The original cause must be sought for, principally, in the dearth and scarcity produced by such a succession of unfavourable seasons, as is not to be paralleled in the modern history of Great-Britain; which has rendered the supply inadequate to the usual demand. Other circumstances have undoubtedly contributed in a degree to aggravate the distress the country has been obliged to endure: the return of plenty will, it is hoped, remove this evil; but your committee cannot conclude without observing to the house, that it is during plenty that it is most fit and safe to provide against the probable recurrence of scarcity, by wise regulations, by wholesome and well considered laws, and, above all, by every practicable and rational mode of encouraging and improving agriculture within the realm; upon which, under Providence, every great nation must depend for its existence; and without which commerce and manufactures are of little comparative advantage.

FINANCE,

FINANCE.

Resolutions moved by Mr. Tierney, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday June 17.

That the amount of the public funded debt on the 1st of February, 1793, was 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities for lives to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* of which sums stock to the amount of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt, and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt on the 1st of February, 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* and that on the 1st of February, 1801, stock to the amount of 36,099,562*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners, and stock to the amount of 16,083,802*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, and annuities to the amount of 123,477*l.* had fallen in, reducing on the 1st of February, 1801, the actual amount of debt existing before the war to 186,017,834*l.* and the annuities to 1,250,073*l.*

That the total amount of stock created since the 1st of February, 1793 (including the amount created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and after deducting 16,182,094*l.* purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt on the 1st of February, 1801), is 298,317,590*l.* of which sum the interest on 7,502,633*l.* is payable by the emperor of Germany, and the interest on 19,708,750*l.* is payable by Ireland, and that annuities have been granted since the 1st of February, 1793, to the amount of 542,664*l.* of which 9,791*l.* is payable by Ireland; and 230,000*l.* by the emperor of Germany.

That the whole amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 32,281,656*l.* purchased by the commissioners, and 16,083,802*l.* transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed), was, on the 1st of February, 1801, 484,365,174*l.* of which sum 27,211,383*l.* is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany, leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 457,154,091*l.* including 56,445,000*l.* the interest of which is to be defrayed, and the capital redeemed by the tax on income; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February, 1801, in short annuities and for lives, about 540,000*l.* and in long annuities 1,007,000*l.*

That under the heads of treasury, army, ordnance, barracks, advances from civil list, and re-payments to be made for services, not voted, but paid out of grants for 1800 (after deducting the surplus of ways and means of that year), outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for on the 5th of January, 1801, to the amount of 1,549,486*l.*

That exclusive of anticipations of the receipt of certain taxes, and payments on loans to the amount of 8,489,800*l.* the unfunded debt in exchequer-bills unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January, 1801, 17,590,300*l.*

That

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for was, on the 5th of January, 1801, 3,705,886*l*.

And that the total amount of demands outstanding, navy debt, and exchequer bills, unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January, 1801, 27,846,372*l*. of which sum 6,900,486*l*. has been since made good out of the supplies of the present session; leaving an unfunded debt hereafter to be provided for of 20,945,886*l*. and exceeding by 12,020,000*l*. the amount outstanding in 1793.

That the sum applicable to the reduction of the national debt was, on the 1st of February, 1793, 1,427,143*l*. and on the 1st of February, 1801, 4,989,818*l*.

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, was 10,325,866*l*. including 1,000,000*l*. applicable to the reduction of the debt.

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt created since the 5th of January, 1793 (exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session), is 10,375,078*l*. of which sum 2,350,162*l*. is applicable to the reduction of debt; and that a further charge of 497,735*l*. per annum is guarantied by parliament in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the war, was, on the 5th of January, 1793, 14,284,000*l*. and on the 5th of January, 1801, 14,194,539*l*.

That the net produce of the permanent taxes imposed since the 5th of January, 1793, was, on the 5th of January, 1801, 8,079,076*l*.

And, that the total amount of the permanent taxes was, on the 5th of January, 1801, 22,273,615*l*.

That the total official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 19,659,358*l*. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,685,390*l*.

That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1801, supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year, was 29,925,858*l*. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1801, was 25,259,890*l*.

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 18,336,851*l*. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 14,771,049*l*.

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1801, was 24,411,067*l*. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1801, was 20,085,198*l*.

That the total official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 6,568,346*l*. and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1793, was 5,469,014*l*.

That the total official value of foreign merchandise exported in

in the year ending the 5th of January 1801, was 17,166,145*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1801, was 12,868,043*l.*

That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain in the year 1801 may be estimated as follows, viz.—

Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1801, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	20,144,586.
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January 1801, and the 5th of January 1802, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 44,816,000 <i>l.</i>	1,812,816
Interest on exchequer-bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending the 5th of January 1801	766,489
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,000 <i>l.</i>	1,376,470
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia and deserters' warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1801	635,549
Charges of management of revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1801	1,699,225
Charges of collecting income tax, as per estimate	152,620
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1801 for Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 43,686,715 <i>l.</i>	39,333,489
Advance to Ireland	2,500,000
Interest payable for loans of emperor of Germany	497,735
Making in the whole the sum of	68,923,970
That it appears by the report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure of the peace establishment (including the annual million for the sinking fund) was, on an average of five years, ending the 5th of January 1791	16,816,936
That the additional charge incurred by debt, created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is	10,395,078
That the additional charge to be incurred for increasing amount of exchequer-bills outstanding is	212,100
Carry forward	£.27,424,163
1801. (N)	That

	Brought forward	£.27,424,163
That the additional charge to be incurred for interest of navy-debt is.....	}	285,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is.....	}	370,000
That the additional charge to be incurred for a sum annually voted for redemption of debt is.....	}	200,000
That the additional charge on 18,000 seamen, the number employed in the last peace, from augmentation of pay, addition to their provisions, and increased price of naval stores, cannot be estimated at less than.....	}	351,000
That the additional pay to the army, on the same number as in the last peace, deducting stoppages, cannot be estimated at less than.....	}	170,000
That the increased charge of half-pay and Chelsea cannot be estimated at less than.....	}	130,000
That the increased charges of the ordnance, calculated on the numbers in the last peace, cannot be estimated at less than.....	}	49,500
And that the future peace-establishment of Great-Britain (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; exclusive of any augmentation in the naval or military establishments beyond the last peace, and exclusive of 497,000 <i>l.</i> interest due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) cannot be estimated at less than....	}	28,979,663

That the net produce of the tax on income for the year ending the 5th of April 1801 (exclusive of voluntary contributions) did not exceed the sum of 5,590,530*l.*

That the amount of three per cent. stock (of which the interest is to be defrayed, and the principal to be redeemed by the tax on income) is 56,445,000*l.*

That supposing the war to end with the present year, the net annual produce of the tax on income to be 5,600,000*l.* and the three per cents. to be, on an average, at 80, the sum of 56,445,000*l.*, together with the interest thereon, would not be redeemed until the end of the year 1811; and that the probable annual expenditure during the first ten years of peace (exclusive of any charges to be incurred for sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, or any increase in the naval or military establishments beyond the last peace) cannot be estimated at less than 34,500,000*l.*

Counter-Resolutions moved by the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Monday, June 22.

1. That the amount of the public funded debt, on the 1st of February 1793, was 238,231,248*l.* exclusive of long and short annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550*l.* of which sums stock to the amount of

of 10,242,100*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,380*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account, reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 1st of February 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.*; and that, on the 1st of February 1801, stock to the amount of 36,099,562*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners, and stock to the amount of 16,083,802*l.* had been transferred to them, on account of land-tax redeemed; and annuities to the amount of 123,477*l.* had fallen in; reducing, on the 1st of February 1801, the actual amount of debt existing before the war to 186,047,884*l.* and the annuities to 1,250,073*l.*

2. That the total amount of stock created since the 1st of February 1793 (including the amount created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and after deducting 16,182,094*l.* purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt), on the 1st of February 1801, is 298,317,590*l.*; of which sum the interest on 7,502,633*l.* is payable by the emperor of Germany; and the interest on 19,708,750*l.* is payable by Ireland: And that annuities have been granted, since the 1st of February 1793, to the amount of 542,664*l.*; of which 9,791*l.* is payable by Ireland, and 230,000*l.* by the emperor of Germany.

3. That the total amount of the public funded debt (including the amount created by the sums borrowed in the present session, and after deducting 52,281,656*l.* purchased by the commissioners; and 16,083,802*l.* transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed) was, on the 1st of February 1801, 484,363,474*l.*; of which sum 27,211,383*l.* is on account of Ireland and the emperor of Germany; leaving a funded debt charged on Great-Britain of 457,154,091*l.* including 56,445,000*l.* the interest of which is to be defrayed and the capital redeemed by the tax on income: and that the amount of annuities charged on Great-Britain (after deducting what have fallen in) was, on the 1st of February 1801, in short annuities and for lives, about 540,000*l.* and in long annuities 1,007,000*l.*

4. That, under the heads of treasury, army, ordnance, barracks, advances from civil list, and re-payments to be made for services not voted, but paid out of grants for 1800 (after deducting the surplus of ways and means of that year), outstanding demands, as far as the same can be made up, remained to be provided for, on the 5th of January 1801, to the amount of 1,550,486*l.*

That, exclusive of anticipations of the receipt of certain taxes and payments on loans to the amount of 8,449,800*l.* the unfunded debt in exchequer-bills unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1801, 17,590,300*l.*

That the debt of the navy remaining to be provided for was, on the 5th of January 1801, 8,705,886*l.*

And that the total amount of demands outstanding, navy debt, and exchequer-bills unprovided for, or provided for out of funds which have proved insufficient, was, on the 5th of January 1801, 27,846,672*l.*; of which sum 6,900,486*l.* has been since made good out of the supplies of the present session, leaving an unfunded debt, hereafter to be provided for, of 20,946,186*l.* and exceeding by 12,020,000*l.* the amount outstanding in 1793.

5. That the sum applicable to the reduction of the national debt was, on the 1st of February 1793, 1,427,143*l.*; and on the 1st of February 1801, 4,989,813*l.*

6. That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, on the 5th of January 1793, was 10,325,866*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt.

That the annual charge incurred by the permanent debt, created from the 5th of January 1793 (exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, and including the charge incurred by the loan of the present session), is 10,375,078*l.*; of which sum 2,350,162*l.* is applicable to the reduction of debt; and that a further charge of 497,735*l.* per ann. is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his majesty the emperor of Germany.

7. That the net produce of the permanent taxes, existing previous to the war, was, on the 5th of January 1793, 14,284,000*l.* and on the 5th of January 1801, 14,194,539*l.*

That the net produce of the permanent taxes, imposed since the 5th of January 1793, was, on the 5th of January 1801, 8,079,076*l.*

And that the total amount of the permanent taxes was, on the 5th of January 1801, 22,273,615*l.*

8. That the total official value of all imports into Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 19,659,358*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,685,390*l.*

That the total official value of all imports, in the year ending the 5th of January 1801 (supposing the imports from the East-Indies, of which no account has been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year), was 29,925,853*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1801, was 25,259,890*l.*

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 18,336,851*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 14,771,049*l.*

That the total official value of British produce and manufactures exported, in the year ending the 5th of January 1801, was 24,411,067*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1801, was 20,085,198*l.*

That the total official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great-Britain, in the year ending the 5th of January 1793, was 6,569,346*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1793, was 5,469,014*l.*

That the total official value of foreign merchandise exported, in the year ending the 5th of January 1801, was 17,166,145*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January 1801, was 12,868,043*l.*

9. That the total sum to be raised in Great-Britain in the year 1801. may be estimated as follows, viz.

Interest of the public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of January 1801, after deducting interest payable by Ireland	} 20,144,586
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Interest.

	Brought over	£. 20,144,586
Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of January 1801, and the 5th of January 1802, on stock created by loans of the present session to the amount of 44,816,000l.		1,812,816
Interest on exchequer bills, estimated to be the same as paid in the year ending the 5th of January 1801		766,480
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of the union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great-Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,560,000l.		1,376,470
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia and deserters' warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1801		635,549
Charges of management of revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending the 5th of January 1801		1,699,225
Charges of collecting income-tax, as per estimate		152,620
Proportion to be defrayed by Great-Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1801, for Great Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 43,686,715l.		39,338,489
Advanced to Ireland		2,500,000
Interest payable for loans of emperor of Germany		497,735
Making in the whole the sum of	£.	68,923,970

10. That it appears, by the report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure of the peace establishment (including the annual million for the sinking fund) was, on an average of five years ending the 5th of January 1791

That the additional charge incurred by debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is		10,395,078
That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer-bills outstanding is		212,000
That the additional charge to be incurred for interest of navy-debt is		285,000
That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund is		370,000
That the additional charge incurred for a sum annually voted for redemption of debt is		200,000
That the additional charge on 18,000 seamen, the number employed in the last peace, from augmentation of pay, addition to their provisions, and increased price of naval stores, cannot be estimated at less than		351,000

Carry forward £ 28,630,063

	Brought over	£.28,630,063
That the additional pay to the army, on the same number as in the last peace, deducting stoppages, cannot be estimated at less than		170,000
That the increased charge of half-pay, and Chelsea, cannot be estimated at less than		130,000
That the increased charge of the ordnance, calculated on the numbers in the last peace, cannot be estimated at less than		49,500
And that the future peace-establishment of Great-Britain (exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; exclusive of any augmentation in the naval or military establishments beyond the last peace; and exclusive of 497,000 <i>l.</i> interest due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament) cannot be estimated at less than		28,979,563

11. That the net produce of the tax on income, for the year ending the 5th of April 1801 (exclusive of voluntary contributions), did not exceed the sum of 5,590,530*l.*

12. That the amount of three per cent. stock (of which the interest is to be defrayed, and the principal to be redeemed by the tax on income) is 56,445*l.*

13. That supposing the war to end with the present year, the net annual produce of the tax on income to be 5,600,000*l.* and the three per cents. to be, on an average, at 80, the sum of 56,445,000*l.* together with the interest thereon, would not be redeemed until the end of the year 1811: and that the probable annual expenditure, during the first ten years of peace (exclusive of any charges to be incurred for sums to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war, or any increase in the naval or military establishments beyond the last peace) cannot be estimated at less than 34,500,000*l.*

Speech of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress in the Senate-Chamber, at Washington, on November 22, 1800.

“Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“Immediately after the adjournment of congress, at their last session in Philadelphia, I gave directions, in compliance with the laws, for the removal of the public offices, records, and property. These directions have been executed, and the public officers have since resided

and conducted the ordinary business of the government in this place.

“I congratulate the people of the United States on the assembling of congress at the permanent seat of their government, and I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the prospect of a residence not to be changed. Although there is cause to apprehend that accommodations are not now so complete as might be wished, yet there is great reason to believe that this inconvenience will cease with the present session.

“It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble,

semble, for the first time, in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the great character whose name it bears, be for ever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion, flourish for ever!

"It is with you, gentlemen, to consider whether the local powers over the district of Columbia, vested by the constitution in the congress of the United States, shall be immediately exercised. If in your opinion this important trust ought now to be executed, you cannot fail, while performing it, to take into view the future probable situation of the territory for the happiness of which you are about to provide. You will consider it as the capital of a great nation, advancing with unexampled rapidity in arts, in commerce, in wealth, and in population; and possessing within itself those energies and resources, which, if not thrown away, or lamentably misdirected, secure to it a long course of prosperity and self-government.

"In compliance with a law of the last session of congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged. It affords real pleasure to recollect the honourable testimony they gave of the patriotic motives which brought them into the service of their country, by the readiness and regularity with which they returned to the station of private citizens.

"It is, in every point of view, of such primary importance to carry the laws into prompt and faithful

execution, and to render that part of the administration of justice, which the constitution and laws devolve on the federal courts, as convenient to the people as may consist with their present circumstances, that I cannot omit once more to recommend to your serious consideration the judiciary system of the United States. No subject is more interesting than this to the public happiness, and to none can those improvements which may have been suggested by experience be more beneficially applied.

"A treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Prussia has been concluded and ratified. The ratifications have been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

"The difficulties which suspended the execution of the 6th article of our treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain, have not yet been removed. The negotiation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honour of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation, that the sincere endeavours of the government of the United States to bring it to an amicable termination will not be disappointed.

"The envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary from the United States to France were received by the first consul with the respect due to their character, and three persons with equal powers were appointed to treat with them. Although at the date of the last official intelligence the negotiation had not terminated, yet it is to be hoped that our efforts to effect an accommodation will at length meet with a success proportioned to the sincerity with which they have been so often repeated.

“ While our best endeavours for the preservation of harmony with all nations will continue to be used, the experience of the world, our own experience, admonish us of the insecurity of trusting too confidently to their success. We cannot, without committing a dangerous imprudence, abandon those measures of self-protection which are adapted to our situation, and to which, notwithstanding our pacific policy, the violence and injustice of others may again compel us to resort. While our vast extent of sea-coast, the commercial and agricultural habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defence which will be most beneficial to ourselves, our distance from Europe, and our resources for maritime strength, will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy adapted to defensive war, and which may, in case of necessity, be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much recommended by a wise and true economy, as by a just regard for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean. The present navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence by a great national exigency, has raised us in our own esteem; and by the protection afforded to our commerce has effected, to the extent of our expectations, the objects for which it was created.

“ In connexion with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal sea-ports and harbours. A variety of considerations, which will readily suggest themselves, urge an attention to this measure of precaution:

to give security to our principal ports considerable sums have been expended; but the works remains incomplete. It is for congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made in order to render competent to the intended purposes the fortifications which have been commenced.

“ The manufacture of arms within the United States still invites the attention of the national legislature. At a considerable expense to the public, this manufactory has been brought to such a state of maturity, as, with continued encouragement, will supersede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

“ Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the public revenue and expenditures to a late period, to be laid before you. I observe, with much satisfaction, that the product of the revenue, during the present year, has been more considerable than during any former equal period. This result affords conclusive evidence of the great resources of this country, and of the wisdom and efficiency of the measures which have been adopted by congress for the protection of commerce and preservation of public credit.

“ Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

“ As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid, the causes which may have produced it. If turning our eyes homeward we find reason to re-
joice

joice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour; we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of such real felicity, and resist with unabating perseverance the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence.

"To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honourable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you, that your labours to promote the general happiness will receive from me the most zealous co-operation.

"JOHN ADAMS."

Speech of the President of the American States on taking the Oaths to the Constitution. March 4, 1801.

"Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

"Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow-citizens which is here assembled, to express my grateful thanks for the favour with which they have been pleased to look towards me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful sentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry; engaged in commerce with nations who feel powers

and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye; when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honour, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair, did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me, that in the other high authorities provided by our constitution, I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal, on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which all are embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

"During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussions and exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution, all will of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that, though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect; and to violate would be oppression. Let us then, fellow-citizens, unite with one

one heart and one mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty, and even life itself, are but dreary things; and let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonising spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore—that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety; but every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans, all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong—that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, in the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may, by possibility, want energy to preserve itself? I trust not; I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest go-

vernment on earth. I believe it the only one where every man at the call of the law would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself—Can he then be trusted with the government of others? or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer the question. Let us then with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles; our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions; and their sense of them enlightened by a benign religion—professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man—acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens; a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise

otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government: and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

“ About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend every thing dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear; stating the general principle, but not all its limitations:—Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigour, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution, where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense,

that labour may be lightly burthened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture and commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of the person, under protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of all our sages, and blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment: they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and, should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

“ I repair, then, fellow-citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this, the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favour which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in your first and greatest revolutionary character, whose pre-eminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love, and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often

go wrong through defect of judgment: when right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional; and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past; and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance; to conciliate that of others, by doing them all the good in my power; and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

“Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choices it is in your power to make; and may that infinite Power, which rules the destinies of the universe; lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favourable issue for your peace and prosperity!”

Correspondence of Mr. King, the American Minister, with Lord Hawkesbury.

*Great Cumberland-place,
March 13, 1801.*

My Lord,

The decree of the vice-admiralty court of Nassau, a copy of which is annexed*, condemning the cargo of an American vessel, going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies, upon the ground that the articles of innocent merchandise composing the same, though

bona fide neutral property, were of the growth of Spain, having been sanctioned, and the principles extended by the prize-courts of the British islands, and particularly by the court of Jamaica, has been deemed sufficient authority to the commanders of the ships of war and privateers cruising in those seas to fall upon and capture all American vessels bound to an enemy's colony; and having on board any article of the growth or manufacture of a nation at war with Great-Britain.

These captures, which are vindicated by what is termed the belligerent's right to distress his enemy, by interrupting the supplies which his habits or convenience may require, have produced the strongest and most serious complaints among the American merchants, who have seen with indignation a reason assigned for the capture and confiscation of their property, which is totally disregarded in the open trade carried on between the British and Spanish colonies by British and Spanish subjects, in the very articles, the supply of which, by neutral merchants, is unjustly interrupted.

The law of nations, acknowledged in the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great-Britain, allows the goods of an enemy to be lawful prize, and pronounces those of a friend to be free.

While the United States take no measures to abridge the rights of Great-Britain, as a belligerent, they are bound to resist with firmness every attempt to extend them at the expense of the equally in-

* In the case of the American brigantine *Leopard*, Ropes master, laden in part with Malaga wines. The cargo, so far as it consisted of wines, though regularly imported into the United States, was condemned by Judge Kensal, 20th October 1800, “the same being productions of the Spanish territory in Europe, and bound to the trans atlantic parts of that empire.”

contestable rights of nations, which find their interest and duty in living in peace with the rest of the world.

So long as the ancient law of nations is observed—which protects the innocent merchandise of neutrals, while it abandons to the belligerent the goods of his enemy—a plain rule exists, and may be appealed to, to decide the rights of peace and war: the belligerent has no better authority to curtail the rights of the neutral than the neutral has to do the like in regard to the rights of the belligerent; and it is only by an adherence to the ancient code, and the rejection of modern glosses, that fixed and precise rules can be found defining the rights and regulating the duties of independent states.

This subject is of such importance, and the essential interests of the United States, whose policy is that of peace, are so deeply affected by the doctrines which, during the present war, have been set up, in order to enlarge the rights of belligerents, at the expense of those of neutrals, that I shall, without loss of time, submit to your lordship's consideration such further reflexions respecting the same as its great importance appears to demand.

In the mean time, as the decisions referred to cannot, from the unavoidable delay which attends the prosecution of appeals, be speedily reversed, and as the effect of those decrees will continue to be the unjust and ruinous interruption of the American commerce in the West-Indian seas, it is my duty to require that precise instructions shall, without delay, be dispatched to the proper officers in the West Indies and Nova Scotia, to correct the abuses which have arisen out of these illegal decrees, and put an end to

the depredations which are wasting the lawful commerce of a peaceable and friendly nation.

With great consideration and respect,

I have the honour to be
your lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

RUFUS KING.

Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c.

Downing-street, April 11, 1801.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of last month, and to inform you, that, in consequence of the representation contained in it, a letter has been written, by his majesty's command, by his grace the duke of Portland, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty; a copy of which letter I herewith enclose to you for the information of the government of the United States. I have the honour to be, with great truth,

Sir, your most obedient
humble servant,

(Signed) HAWKESBURY,
Rufus King, esq. &c. &c.

Whitehall, 30th March, 1801.

My Lords,

I transmit to your lordships herewith a copy of the decree of the vice-admiralty court of Nassau, condemning the cargo of an American vessel going from the United States to a port in the Spanish colonies; and the said decree having been referred to the consideration of the king's advocate-general, your lordships will perceive from his report, an extract from which I enclose, that it is his opinion, that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court is erroneous, and founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision

decision of the high court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

In order, therefore, to put a stop to the inconveniencies arising from these erroneous sentences of the vice-admiralty courts, I have the honour to signify to your lordships the king's pleasure, that a communication of the doctrine laid down in the said report should be immediately made by your lordships to the several judges presiding in them, setting forth what is held to be the law upon the subject by the superior tribunals for their future guidance and direction.

I am, &c.

PORTLAND.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Extract of the Advocate-General's Report, dated March 16, 1801.

I have the honour to report, that the sentence of the vice-admiralty court appears to me erroneous, and to be founded in a misapprehension or misapplication of the principles laid down in the decision of the court of admiralty referred to, without attending to the limitations therein contained.

The general principle respecting the colonial trade has, in the course of the present war, been to a certain degree relaxed in consideration of the present state of commerce. It is now distinctly understood, and it has been repeatedly so decided, by the high court of appeal, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother country of such colony; and, in like manner, the produce and manufactures of the mother

country may, in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies has not, I apprehend, been recognised as legal; either by his majesty's government, or by his tribunals.

What is a direct trade; or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the neutral country, may some time be a question of some difficulty. A general definition of either, applicable to all cases, cannot well be laid down. The question must depend upon the particular circumstances of each case. Perhaps the mere touching in the neutral country to take fresh clearances may properly be considered as a fraudulent evasion, and is, in effect, the direct trade; but the high court of admiralty has expressly decided (and I see no reason to expect that the court of appeal will vary the rules), that landing the goods and paying the duties in the neutral country breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalises the trade; although the goods be re-shipped in the same vessel; and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country or the colony.

A true copy from the files of the department of state.

JACOB WAGNER, chief clerk.

Letter from Mr. John King to Mr. Hammond.

Whitehall, May 27th, 1801.

Sir,

Having laid before the duke of Portland your letter of the 18th instant, with its inclosures, relative to the capture of American vessels trading to the Spanish colonies in the

the West-Indies, his grace lost no time in referring them to the consideration of his majesty's advocate-general; and I am now directed to transmit to you, for lord Hawkesbury's information, a copy of his report thereupon, together with a copy of a letter which the duke has written upon the subject to the lords commissioners of the admiralty. I am, &c.

(Signed) J. KING.

Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Whitehall, May 27, 1801.

My Lords,

I transmit to your lordships herewith, for your information, an extract of a letter from Mr. Thornton, his majesty's chargé d'affaires in America, to lord Grenville, with copies of its inclosures relative to the capture of American vessels trading to the Spanish ports, together with a copy of the report of his majesty's advocate-general, to whom, by the king's command, the papers in question have been referred.

I have, at the same time, the honour to signify to your lordships his majesty's pleasure, that you should direct the judges of our colonial vice-admiralty courts to follow and be guided in their decisions in cases relating to the trade carried on between a neutral and belligerent nation, by the rules and principles established in the high court of admiralty, and laid down in the inclosed report of his majesty's advocate-general.

And, the better to enforce an uniform and strict adherence to those principles, I am further to signify to you the king's commands,

that directions should be given to withdraw letters of marque and reprisal, in cases where the owners thereof shall appear wilfully and knowingly to have captured, and brought in for adjudication, contrary to his majesty's existing instructions, vessels trading between a neutral country and the enemy's colonies.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

Report of the King's Advocate.

Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

May 23, 1801.

My Lord Duke,

I am honoured with your grace's letter of the 29th instant, transmitting to me several papers which have been communicated to your grace by lord Hawkesbury, from his majesty's chargé d'affaires in America, with a direction to take them into consideration, and to report to your grace, for his majesty's information, my opinion, whether, in consequence of what is contained in the extract of Mr. Thornton's letter to lord Grenville, especially that part of it which states "a principle to have been lately adopted in the courts of vice-admiralty at Jamaica and Providence, that no commerce would be permitted between a belligerent and neutral nation, in the vessels of the latter, but such as had been authorised previously to the commencement of hostilities," it would be advisable to make any or what communications to the vice-admiralty courts at Jamaica and the Bahamas for their guidance and direction.

In obedience to your grace's commands, I have considered the papers referred to me; and I have the honour to report, that the principle

ciple stated to have been lately adopted in the courts of vice-admiralty at Jamaica and Providence is directly in opposition to the decisions daily passing in the high court of admiralty and the court of appeals. It has been held by the tribunals of this country, that neutrals cannot be admitted by the enemy, under the pressure of war, to carry on his colonial trade, from which in time of peace they were wholly excluded. But this principle may be, and has been, on account of special circumstances during the present hostilities, to a certain degree, relaxed. His majesty's instructions, of January 1798, only order that vessels shall be brought in for legal adjudication which are coming directly from the enemy's colonies to Europe, and not being bound to England, or a port of their own country. A trade be-

tween the neutral country and the enemy's colonies is now clearly permitted. Colonial produce, actually imported into the neutral country, may also be re-exported from thence to any other place, even to the mother country of that colony of which it is the produce. His majesty's existing instructions are therefore the rule by which at present the judges of the vice-admiralty courts ought to govern themselves; and I humbly apprehend that it would be advisable to convey to the courts referred to a direction to that effect; as the application of the more extended principle upon which they are represented to act may be productive, not only of much injustice, but of great public inconvenience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. NICHOLL.

PUBLIC ACTS passed in the Fifth Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great-Britain, and in the Imperial Parliament.

November 24, 1800.

An act to prohibit the exportation of rice.

To authorise his majesty to prohibit the exportation of provisions or food.

December 3.

The land and malt acts.

Act for charging new duties on hops.

For continuing until September 1801 the several laws for the exportation and importation of corn—the brewery act, and prohibitions on the distillery.

To explain and amend the poor act of 22 Geo. III.

For shortening the time of keep-

ing in steep for making barley damaged by rain.

December 15.

An act for granting bounties on the importation of grain.

To permit the importation of fish from Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, &c.

February 9, 1801.

An act to suspend the act which prevents the manufacturing of any fine flour from wheat, and the making of any bread solely from the fine flour of wheat.

March 3.

An act to repeal the above act.

March 12.

An act to raise 28,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

To issue exchequer bills.

March

March 24.

An act for granting new postage duties.

For additional stamps on bills of exchange, &c.

For additional duties on paper, pasteboard, &c.

On horses.

For preventing the making of malt and the distilling of spirits from corn or grain in Ireland.

To amend the bakers' act.

For mutiny.

For the regulation of the marine forces.

For increasing bounties on the importation of flour from America.

To continue the rebellion acts in Ireland.

To continue the suspension of the habeas-corpus act in that kingdom.

April 2.

An act for continuing the starch act—neutral ships' act, and act respecting the trade of the Cape of Good Hope.

To extend the waste land act.

April 18.

An act to continue the suspension of the habeas-corpus act,

For the exportation of East-India goods to the colonies.

For the better collection of the poor-rates.

April 30.

Lottery act.

For granting certain customs and duties on timber, sugar, raisins, pepper, and lead.

New duties on tea imported into Ireland.

Additional duties on English spirits imported into Scotland.

To revive and continue the sedition act.

May 21.

An act allowing the importation of British and foreign hops into Ireland.

land at the same duties as in Great-Britain.

For enabling the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to prohibit the exportation of provisions, and permit the importation of the same.

Militia act.

To enable clergymen to keep one horse free of duty.

To exempt elephant-oil from the auction duty.

For preventing the forgery of bank notes and bills.

For the importation of India rice.

To amend the workmen's combination act.

June 20.

An act to grant additional stamp-duties in Ireland.

For regulating the duties and price of sugars,

For permitting Portugal wines to be landed without payment of duties for a limited time.

To continue several revenue acts on tobacco, auctions, glass, paper, spirits, &c.

Irish liquor-licence act.

For regulating the trade of the Isle of Man.

To render valid the orders of the privy-council respecting bills of exchange drawn in Russia, and the freight of Russia, Swedish, and Danish ships.

For declaring what persons shall sit in the commons house of parliament.

For preventing the forgery of bankers' paper.

June 23.

An act to continue the Irish rebellion act,

To exempt Irish members of parliament from certain duties.

To remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the house of commons.

(O)

For

For the further relief of debtors in imprisonment.

June 24.

An act for granting his majesty 200,000*l.* to be placed to the account of the commissioners for reducing the national debt.

For indemnifying such persons as, since 1793, have acted upon the act ordering the suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act.

Scotch militia act.

New copper act.

June 27.

Grant to his majesty of 2,000,000*l.*

Act for raising 6,000,000*l.* by way of loan or exchequer bills.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by ditto.

For extending the land-tax redemption act.

For regulating the Irish sugar act.

To permit the importation of tea into Ireland.

For transferring the hair and armorial bearing duties to the tax-office.

For transferring the horse-dealers' duty to the same.

For granting letters of marque and reprisals to custom and excise vessels.

For granting a bounty on the importation of Newfoundland fish.

For the relief of insolvent debtors.

For the better regulation of public notaries.

Printers' indemnity act.

July 2.

For additional stamp-duties on cards, dice, wills, indentures, &c.

For alteration in the duties on imported stone, marble, and statues.

Excise regulation act.

Irish corn, hop, and sugar acts.

To regulate the trade of Ireland with America.

To regulate his majesty's prize courts in the West-Indies.

British fishery act to be continued.

Irish militia act.

For granting bounties on fish brought to London, &c.

For regulating the trial of controverted elections in Ireland.

To stay proceedings against the clergy, on the act of Henry VIII.

To regulate the trade and commerce of Malta.

Irish indemnity act.

Irish literary property act.

BIOGRAPHICAL
A N E C D O T E S
AND
CHARACTERS.

1801.

A

B I O G R A P H I C A L

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF DR. HUGH
BLAIR, BY DR. JAMES FINLAYSON.

[From SERMONS by Dr. BLAIR, Vol. V.]

“**D**R. Hugh Blair was born in Edinburgh, on the 7th day of April 1718. His father, John Blair, a respectable merchant in that city, was a descendant of the ancient family of Blair, in Ayrshire, and grandson of the famous Mr. Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrew’s, chaplain to Charles I, and one of the most zealous and distinguished clergymen of the period in which he lived. This worthy man, though firmly attached to the cause of freedom and to the presbyterian form of church government; and though actively engaged in all the measures adopted for their support; yet by his steady, temperate conduct, commanded the respect even of his opponents. In preference to all the other ecclesiastical leaders of the covenanting party, he was selected by the king himself to fill an office which, from the circumstances of the time, gave frequent access to the royal person; ‘because,’ said his majesty, ‘that

‘man is pious, prudent, learned, and ‘of a meek and moderate calm temper.’—His talents seem to have descended as an inheritance to his posterity. For, of the two sons who survived him, David, the eldest, was a clergyman of eminence in Edinburgh, father to Mr. Robert Blair, minister of Athelstonford, the celebrated author of the poem entitled *The Grave*; and grandfather to his majesty’s solicitor-general for Scotland, whose masculine eloquence and profound knowledge of law have, in the public estimation, placed him indisputably at the head of the Scottish bar. From his youngest son, Hugh, who engaged in business as a merchant, and had the honour to fill a high station in the magistracy of Edinburgh, sprung the learned clergyman who is the subject of this narrative.

“The views of Dr. Blair, from his earliest youth, were turned towards the church, and his education received a suitable direction. After

[4] Short Account of the LIFE and CHARACTER of Dr. BLAIR.

the usual grammatical course at school, he entered the Humanity Class in the university of Edinburgh, in October 1730, and spent eleven years at that celebrated seminary, assiduously employed in the literary and scientific studies prescribed by the church of Scotland to all who are to become candidates for her licence to preach the Gospel. During this important period he was distinguished among his companions both for diligence and proficiency; and obtained from the professors under whom he studied repeated testimonies of approbation. One of them deserves to be mentioned particularly, because in his own opinion it determined the bent of his genius towards polite literature. An essay, *Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ*, or, *On the Beautiful*, written by him when a student of logic in the usual course of academical exercises, had the good fortune to attract the notice of professor Stevenson, and, with circumstances honourable to the author, was appointed to be read in public at the conclusion of the session. This mark of distinction made a deep impression on his mind; and the essay which merited it he ever after recollected with partial affection, and preserved to the day of his death as the first earnest of his fame.

“At this time Dr. Blair commenced a method of study which contributed much to the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, and which he continued to practise occasionally even after his reputation was fully established. It consisted in making abstracts of the most important works which he read, and in digesting them according to the train of his own thoughts. History, in particular, he resolved to study in this manner; and, in concert with some of his youthful associates, he

constructed a very comprehensive scheme of chronological tables for receiving into its proper place every important fact that should occur. The scheme devised by this young student for his own private use was afterwards improved, filled up, and given to the public by his learned friend Dr. John Blair, prebendary of Westminster, in his valuable work, ‘Chronology and History of the World.’

“In the year 1739 Dr. Blair took his degree of A. M. On that occasion he printed and defended a thesis *De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ*, which contains a short but masterly discussion of this important subject, and exhibits in elegant Latin an outline of the moral principles, which have been since more fully unfolded and illustrated in his Sermons.

“The university of Edinburgh, about this period, numbered among her pupils many young men who were soon to make a distinguished figure in the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the literary history of their country. With most of them Dr. Blair entered into habits of intimate connexion, which no future competition or jealousy occurred to interrupt, which held them united through life in their views of public good, and which had the most beneficial influence on their own improvement, on the progress of elegance and taste among their contemporaries, and on the general interests of the community to which they belonged.

“On the completion of his academical course, he underwent the customary trials before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, and received from that venerable body a licence to preach the Gospel on the 21st of October 1741. His public life now commenced with very favourable prospects.

prospects. The reputation which he brought from the university was fully justified by his first appearance in the pulpit; and, in a few months, the fame of his eloquence procured for him a presentation to the parish of Collessie in Fife, where he was ordained to the office of the holy ministry on the 23d of September 1742. But he was not permitted to remain long in this rural retreat. A vacancy in the second charge of the canongate of Edinburgh furnished to his friends an opportunity of recalling him to a station more suited to his talents. And, though one of the most popular and eloquent clergymen in the church was placed in competition with him, a great majority of the electors decided in favour of this young orator, and restored him in July 1743 to the bounds of his native city.

"In this station Dr. Blair continued eleven years, discharging with great fidelity and success the various duties of the pastoral office. His discourses from the pulpit in particular attracted universal admiration. They were composed with uncommon care; and, occupying a middle place between the dry metaphysical discussion of one class of preachers, and the loose incoherent declamation of another, they blended together, in the happiest manner, the light of argument with the warmth of exhortation, and exhibited captivating specimens of what had hitherto been rarely heard in Scotland—the polished, well-compacted, and regular didactic oration.

"In consequence of a call from the town-council and general session of Edinburgh, he was translated from the canongate to lady Yester's, one of the city churches, on the 11th of October 1754: and on the 15th day of June 1758 he was promoted to the high church of Edin-

burgh, the most important ecclesiastical charge in the kingdom. To this charge he was raised at the request of the lords of council and session, and of the other distinguished official characters who have their seats in that church. And the uniform prudence, ability, and success which, for a period of more than forty years, accompanied all his ministerial labours in that conspicuous and difficult station, sufficiently evince the wisdom of their choice.

"Hitherto his attention seems to have been devoted almost exclusively to the attainment of professional excellence, and to the regular discharge of his parochial duties. No production of his pen had yet been given to the world by himself, except two sermons preached on particular occasions, some translations in verse of passages of Scripture for the psalmody of the church, and a few articles in the Edinburgh Review—a publication begun in 1755, and conducted for a short time by some of the ablest men in the kingdom. But standing as he now did at the head of his profession, and released by the labour of former years from the drudgery of weekly preparation for the pulpit, he began to think seriously on a plan for teaching to others that art which had contributed so much to the establishment of his own fame. With this view, he communicated to his friends a scheme of Lectures on Composition; and having obtained the approbation of the university, he began to read them in the college on the 11th of December 1759. To this undertaking he brought all the qualifications requisite for executing it well; and along with them a weight of reputation which could not fail to give effect to the lessons

[6] Short Account of the LIFE and CHARACTER of Dr. BLAIR.

he should deliver. For besides the testimony given to his talents by his successive promotions in the church, the university of St. Andrew's, moved chiefly by the merit of his eloquence, had in June 1757 conferred on him the degree of D.D. a literary honour which at that time was very rare in Scotland. Accordingly his first course of lectures was well attended, and received with great applause. The patrons of the university, convinced that they would form a valuable addition to the system of education, agreed in the following summer to institute a rhetorical class, under his direction, as a permanent part of their academical establishment: and on the 7th of April 1762, his majesty was graciously pleased 'To erect and endow a Professorship of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the university of Edinburgh, and to appoint Dr. Blair, in consideration of his approved qualifications, Regius Professor thereof, with a salary of 70*l*.' These Lectures he published in 1783, when he retired from the labours of the office; and the general voice of the public has pronounced them to be a most judicious, elegant, and comprehensive system of rules for forming the style and cultivating the taste of youth.

"About the time in which he was occupied in laying the foundations of this useful institution he had an opportunity of conferring another important obligation on the literary world, by the part which he acted in rescuing from oblivion the poems of Ossian. It was by the solicitation of Dr. Blair and Mr. John Home that Mr. Macpherson was induced to publish his *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*; and their patronage was of essential service in procuring the subscription which enabled him

to undertake his tour through the Highlands for collecting the materials of Fingal, and of those other delightful productions which bear the name of Ossian. To these productions Dr. Blair applied the test of genuine criticism; and soon after their publication gave an estimate of their merits in a *Dissertation*, which for beauty of language, delicacy of taste, and acuteness of critical investigation, has few parallels. It was printed in 1763, and spread the reputation of its author throughout Europe.

"The great objects of his literary ambition being now attained, his talents were for many years consecrated solely to the important and peculiar employments of his station. It was not till the year 1777 that he could be induced to favour the world with a volume of the Sermons which had so long furnished instruction and delight to his own congregation. But this volume being well received, the public approbation encouraged him to proceed: three other volumes followed at different intervals; and all of them experienced a degree of success of which few publications can boast. They circulated rapidly and widely wherever the English tongue extends; they were soon translated into almost all the languages of Europe; and his present majesty, with that wise attention to the interests of religion and literature which distinguishes his reign, was graciously pleased to judge them worthy of a public reward. By a royal mandate to the exchequer in Scotland, dated July 25th, 1780, a pension of 200*l*. a year was conferred on their author, which continued unaltered till his death.

"The motives which gave rise to the present volume are sufficiently explained by himself in his address to

to the reader. The sermons which it contains were composed at very different periods of his life; but they were all written out anew in his own hand, and in many parts recomposed, during the course of last summer, after he had completed his eighty-second year. They were delivered to the publishers about six weeks before his death in the form and order in which they now appear. And it may gratify his readers to know that the last of them which he composed, though not the last in the order adopted for publication, was the sermon on *a Life of Dissipation and Pleasure*—a sermon written with great dignity and eloquence, and which should be regarded as his solemn parting admonition to a class of men whose conduct is highly important to the community, and whose reformation and virtue he had long laboured most zealously to promote.

“The sermons which he has given to the world are universally admitted to be models in their kind; and they will long remain durable monuments of the piety, the genius, and sound judgment of their author. But they formed only a small part of the discourses he prepared for the pulpit. The remainder modesty led him to think unfit for the press; and, influenced by an excusable solicitude for his reputation, he left behind him an explicit injunction that his numerous manuscripts should be destroyed. The greatness of their number was creditable to his professional character, and exhibited a convincing proof that his fame as a public teacher had been honourably purchased by the most unwearied application to the private and unseen labours of his office. It rested on the uniform intrinsic excellence of

his discourses in point of matter and composition, rather than on foreign attractions; for his delivery, though distinct, serious, and impressive, was not remarkably distinguished by that magic charm of voice and action which captivates the senses and imagination, and which, in the estimation of superficial hearers, constitutes the chief merit of a preacher.

“In that department of his professional duty, which regarded the government of the church, Dr. Blair was steadily attached to the cause of moderation. From diffidence, and perhaps from a certain degree of inaptitude for extemporary speaking, he took a less public part in the contests of ecclesiastical politics than some of his cotemporaries; and, from the same causes, he never would consent to become moderator of the general assembly of the church of Scotland. But his influence among his brethren was extensive; his opinion, guided by that sound uprightness of judgment which formed the predominant feature of his intellectual character, had been always held in high respect by the friends with whom he acted, and for many of the last years of his life it was received by them almost as a law. The great leading principle in which they cordially concurred with him, and which directed all their measures, was to preserve the church on the one side from a slavish corrupting dependence on the civil power and on the other from a greater infusion of democratical influence than is compatible with good order and the established constitution of the country.

“The reputation which he acquired in the discharge of his public duties was well sustained by the great respectability of his pri-

[5] **Short Account of the Life and Character of Dr. Blair.**

vate character. Deriving from family associations a strong sense of clerical decorum, feeling on his heart deep impressions of religious and moral obligation, and guided in his intercourse in the world by the same correct and delicate taste which appeared in his writings, he was eminently distinguished through life by the prudence, purity, and dignified propriety of his conduct. His mind, by constitution and culture, was admirably formed for enjoying happiness:—well-balanced in itself by the nice proportion and adjustment of its faculties, it did not incline him to any of those eccentricities, either of opinion or of action, which are too often the lot of genius; free from all tincture of envy, it delighted cordially in the prosperity and fame of his companions; sensible to the estimation in which he himself was held, it disposed him to dwell at times on the thought of his success with a satisfaction which he did not affect to conceal; inaccessible alike to gloomy and to peevish impressions, it was always master of its own movements, and ready, in an uncommon degree, to take an active and pleasing interest in every thing, whether important or trifling, that happened to become for the moment the object of his attention. This habit of mind, tempered with the most unsuspecting simplicity, and united to eminent talents and inflexible integrity, while it secured to the last his own relish of life, was wonderfully calculated to endear him to his friends, and to render him an invaluable member of any society to which he belonged. Accordingly there have been few men more universally respected by those who knew him, more sincerely esteemed in the circle of his acquaintance, or more tenderly be-

loved by those who enjoy the blessings of his private and domestic connexion.

“In April 1746 he married his cousin Catharine Bannatine, daughter of the Rev. James Bannatine, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. By her he had a son who died in infancy, and a daughter who lived to her twenty-first year, the pride of her parents, and adorned with all the accomplishments that became her age and sex. Mrs. Blair herself, a woman of great good sense and spirit, was also taken from him a few years before his death, after she had shared with the tenderest affection in all his fortunes, and contributed near half a century to his happiness and comfort.

“Dr. Blair had been naturally of a feeble constitution of body; but as he grew up his constitution acquired greater firmness and vigour. Though liable to occasional attacks from some of the sharpest and most painful diseases that afflict the human frame, he enjoyed a general state of good health; and, through habitual cheerfulness, temperance, and care, survived the usual term of human life.—For some years he had felt himself unequal to the fatigue of instructing his very large congregation from the pulpit; and, under the impression which this feeling produced, he has been heard at times to say, with a sigh, ‘that he was left almost the last of his cotemporaries.’ Yet he continued to the end in the regular discharge of all his other official duties, and particularly in giving advice to the afflicted, who from different quarters of the kingdom solicited his correspondence. His last summer was devoted to the preparation of this volume of Sermons; and in the course of it he exhibited a vigour of understanding and

and capacity of exertion equal to that of his best days. He began the winter pleased with himself on account of the completion of this work; and his friends were flattered with the hope that he might live to enjoy the accession of emolument and fame which he expected it would bring. But the seeds of a mortal disease were lurking unperceived within him. On the 24th of December, 1800, he complained of a pain in his bowels, which, during

that and the following day, gave him but little uneasiness; and he received as usual the visits of his friends. On the afternoon of the 26th the symptoms became violent and alarming:—he felt that he was approaching the end of his appointed course: and retaining to the last moment the full possession of his mental faculties, he expired on the morning of the 27th with the composure and hope which became a Christian pastor."

PROGRESS of DR. ROBERTSON'S Literary PLANS and UNDERTAKINGS.—HISTORY of the REIGN of the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

[FROM "ACCOUNT of the LIFE and WRITINGS of WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D. F.R.S.E. by Mr. DUGALD STEWART."]

DURING the time that the History of Scotland was in the press, Dr. Robertson removed with his family from Gladsmuir to Edinburgh, in consequence of a presentation which he had received to one of the churches of that city. His preferments now multiplied rapidly. In 1759, he was appointed chaplain of Stirling Castle; in 1761, one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary for Scotland; and, in 1762, he was chosen principal of this university. Two years afterwards, the office of king's historiographer for Scotland (with a salary of two hundred pounds a-year) was revived in his favour.

"The revenue arising from these different appointments, though far exceeding what had ever been enjoyed before by any presbyterian clergyman in Scotland, did not satisfy the zeal of some of Dr. Robertson's admirers, who, mortified at the narrow field which this part of the island afforded to his ambi-

tion, wished to open to it the career of the English church. References to such a project occur in letters addressed to him about this time by sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Hume, and Dr. John Blair. What answer he returned to them I have not been able to learn; but, as the subject is mentioned once only by each of these gentlemen, it is presumable that his disapprobation was expressed in those decided terms which became the consistency and dignity of his character.

"Dr. Robertson's own ambition was, in the mean time, directed to a different object. Soon after the publication of his Scottish history, we find him consulting his friends about the choice of another historical subject; anxious to add new laurels to those he had already acquired. Dr. John Blair urged him strongly on this occasion to write a complete history of England; and mentioned to him, as an inducement, a conversation between
 lord

lord Chesterfield and colonel Irwin, in which the former said that he would not scruple, if Dr. Robertson would undertake such a work, to move, in the house of peers, that he should have public encouragement to enable him to carry it into execution. But this proposal he was prevented from listening to by his unwillingness to interfere with Mr. Hume; although it coincided with a favourite plan which he himself had formed at a very early period of his life. The two subjects which appear to have chiefly divided his choice were, the History of Greece, and that of the emperor Charles the Fifth. Between these he hesitated long, balancing their comparative advantages and disadvantages, and availing himself of all the lights that his correspondents could impart to him. Mr. Walpole and Mr. Hume took a more peculiar interest in his deliberations, and discussed the subject with him at length in various letters. I shall extract a few passages from these. The opinions of such writers upon such a question cannot fail to be generally interesting; and some of the hints they suggest may perhaps be useful to those who, conscious of their own powers, are disposed to regret that the field of historical composition is exhausted.

“ The following passages are copied from a letter of Mr. Walpole, dated 4th March, 1759.

‘ If I can throw in any additional temptation to your disposition for writing, it is worth my while even at the hazard of my judgment and my knowledge, both of which however are small enough to make me tender of them. Before I read your History, I should probably have been glad to dictate to

you, and (I will venture to say it— it satirises nobody but myself) should have thought I did honour to an obscure Scotch clergyman, by directing his studies with my superior lights and abilities. How you have saved me, sir, from making a ridiculous figure, by making so great an one yourself! But could I suspect that a man I believe much younger, and whose dialect I scarce understood, and who came to me with all the diffidence and modesty of a very middling author, and who I was told had passed his life in a small living near Edinburgh— could I suspect that he had not only written what all the world now allows the best modern history, but that he had written it in the purest English, and with as much seeming knowledge of men and courts as if he had passed all his life in important embassies? In short, sir, I have not power to make you, what you ought to be, a minister of state; but I will do all I can; I will stimulate you to continue writing, and I shall do it without presumption.

‘ I should like either of the subjects you mention, and I can figure one or two others that would shine in your hands. In one light the history of Greece seems preferable. You know all the materials for it that can possibly be had. It is concluded; it is clear of all objections; for perhaps nobody but I should run wildly into passionate fondness for liberty, if I was writing about Greece. It even might, I think, be made agreeably new, and *that* by comparing the extreme difference of their manners and ours, particularly in the article of finances, a system almost new in the world.

‘ With regard to the History of Charles V. it is a magnificent subject,

ject, and worthy of you. It is more: it is fit for you; for you have shown that you can write on ticklish subjects with the utmost discretion, and on subjects of religious party with temper and impartiality. Besides, by what little I have skimmed of history myself, I have seen how many mistakes, how many prejudices, may easily be detected: and, though much has been written on that age, probably truth still remains to be written of it. Yet I have an objection to this subject. Though Charles V. was in a manner the emperor of Europe, yet he was a German or a Spaniard. Consider, sir, by what you must have found in writing the History of Scotland, how difficult it would be for the most penetrating genius of another country to give an adequate idea of Scottish story. So much of all transactions must take their rise from, and depend on, national laws, customs, and ideas, that I am persuaded a native would always discover great mistakes in a foreign writer. Greece, indeed, is a foreign country; but no Greek is alive to disprove one.

There are two other subjects which I have sometimes had a mind to treat myself; though my naming one of them will tell you why I did not. It was The History of Learning. Perhaps, indeed, it is a work which could not be executed unless intended by a young man from his first looking on a book with reflexion. The other is, the history of what I may in one light call the most remarkable period of the world, by containing a succession of five good princes: I need not say they were Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines. Not to mention that no part almost of the Roman history

has been well written from the death of Domitian, this period would be the fairest pattern for use, if History can ever effect what she so much pretends to—doing good. I should be tempted to call it The History of Humanity; for though Trajan and Adrian had private vices that disgraced them as men, as princes they approached to perfection. Marcus Aurelius arrived still nearer, perhaps with a little ostentation; yet vanity is an amiable machine if it operates to benevolence. Antoninus Pius seems to have been as good as human nature royalised can be. Adrian's persecution of the Christians would be objected, but then it is much controverted. I am no admirer of elective monarchies; and yet it is remarkable, that when Aurelius's diadem descended to his natural heir, not to the heir of his virtues, the line of beneficence was extinguished; for I am sorry to say, that *hereditary* and *bad* are almost synonymous. But I am sensible, sir, that I am a bad adviser for you; the chastity, the purity, the good sense and regularity of your manner, that unity you mention, and of which you are the greatest master, should not be led astray by the licentious frankness, and, I hope, honest indignation, of my way of thinking. I may be a fitter companion than a guide; and it is with most sincere zeal that I offer myself to contribute any assistance in my power towards polishing your future work, whatever it shall be. You want little help; I can give little; and indeed I, who am taxed with incorrectnesses, should not assume airs of a corrector. My Catalogue I intended should have been exact enough in style: it has not been thought so by some:

some: I tell you, that you may not trust me too much. Mr. Gray, a very perfect judge, has sometimes censured me for parliamentary phrases, familiar to me as your Scotch law is to you. I might plead for my inaccuracies, that the greatest part of my book was written with people talking in the room; but that is no excuse to myself, who intended it for correct. However, it is easier to remark inaccuracies in the work of another than in one's own; and, since you command me, I will go again over your second volume with an eye to the slips, a light in which I certainly did not intend my second examination of it.'

"In transcribing some of these paragraphs, as well as in the other extracts I have borrowed from Mr. Walpole's letters, I must acknowledge that I have been less influenced by my own private judgment than by my deference for the partiality which the public has long entertained for this popular and fashionable writer. Of the literary talents of an author on whom so much flattery has been lavished, it does not become me to speak disrespectfully; nor would I be understood to detract from his merits in his own peculiar and very limited walk of historical disquisition; but I should be wanting to myself if I were not to avow that, in the foregoing quotation, my object was rather to gratify the curiosity of others than to record a testimony which I consider as of any importance to Dr. Robertson's fame. The value of praise, besides, whatever be the abilities of him who bestows it, depends on the opinion we entertain of his candour and sincerity—qualities which it will be difficult to allow to Mr. Wal-

pole; after comparing the various passages quoted in this memoir with the sentiments he expresses on the same subject in his posthumous publication.

"For the length of the following extract from a letter of Mr. Hume's no such apology is necessary. The matter is valuable in itself; and the objections stated to the age of Charles V, as a subject for history, form the highest possible panegyric on the abilities of the writer by whom the difficulties which appeared so formidable to Mr. Hume were so successfully surmounted."

'I have frequently thought and talked with our common friends upon the subject of your letter. There always occurred to us several difficulties with regard to every subject we could propose. The Ancient Greek history has several recommendations, particularly the good authors from which it must be drawn: but this same circumstance becomes an objection when more narrowly considered: for what can you do in most places with these authors but transcribe and translate them? No letters or state-papers from which you could correct their errors, or authenticate their narration, or supply their defects. Besides Rollin is so well wrote with respect to style, that with superficial people it passes for sufficient. There is one Dr. Leland, who has lately wrote the life of Philip of Macedon, which is one of the best periods. The book, they tell me, is perfectly well wrote; yet it has had such small sale, and has so little excited the attention of the public, that the author has reason to think his labour thrown away. I have not read the book; but by the size I should judge it to be too particular. It is a pretty large quarto,

quarto. I think a book of that size sufficient for the whole history of Greece till the death of Philip: and I doubt not but such a work would be successful, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances. The subject is noble, and Rollin is by no means equal to it.

' I own I like still less your project of the Age of Charles the Fifth. That subject is disjointed; and your hero, who is the sole connexion, is not very interesting. A competent knowledge at least is required of the state and constitution of the empire; of the several kingdoms of Spain, of Italy, of the Low Countries; which it would be the work of half a life to acquire: and, though some parts of the story may be entertaining, there would be many dry and barren; and the whole seems not to have any great charms.

' But I would not willingly start objections to these schemes, unless I had something to propose which would be plausible; and I shall mention to you an idea which has sometimes pleased me, and which I had once entertained thoughts of attempting. You may observe that among modern readers Plutarch is in every translation the chief favourite of the ancients. Numberless translations, and numberless editions, have been made of him in all languages; and no translation has been so ill done as not to be successful. Though those who read the originals never put him in comparison either with Thucydides or Xenophon, he always attracts more the reader in the translation—a proof that the idea and execution of his work is, in the main, happy. Now, I would have you think of writing modern lives somewhat after that manner; not to enter into a detail of the actions,

but to mark the manners of the great personages, by domestic stories, by remarkable sayings, and by a general sketch of their lives and adventures. You see that in Plutarch the life of Cæsar may be read in half an hour. Were you to write the life of Henry the Fourth of France after that model, you might pillage all the pretty stories in Sully, and speak more of his mistresses than of his battles. In short, you might gather the flower of all modern history in this manner: the remarkable popes, the kings of Sweden, the great discoverers and conquerors of the New World; even the eminent men of letters might furnish you with matter, and the quick dispatch of every different work would encourage you to begin a new one. If one volume were successful, you might compose another at your leisure, and the field is inexhaustible. There are persons whom you might meet with in the corners of history, so to speak, who would be a subject of entertainment quite unexpected; and as long as you live you might give and receive amusement by such a work. Even your son, if he had a talent for history, would succeed to the subject, and his son to him. I shall insist no further on this idea; because, if it strikes your fancy, you will easily perceive all its advantages, and, by further thought, all its difficulties.'

"After much deliberation, Dr. Robertson resolved to undertake the History of Charles V.—a determination not less fortunate for the public than for his own fame, as it engaged him, unexpectedly perhaps, in a train of researches not confined to the period, or to the quarter of the globe that he had originally in view; but which opening, as he advanced, new and more

more magnificent prospects, attracted his curiosity to two of the greatest and most interesting subjects of speculation in the history of human affairs—the enterprises of modern ambition in the western world, and the traces of ancient wisdom and arts existing in the east.

“The progress of the work, however, was interrupted for some time, about a year after its commencement, by certain circumstances which induced him to listen more favourably than formerly to the entreaties of those friends who urged him to attempt a History of England. The motives that weighed with him on this occasion are fully explained in a correspondence still extant, in which there are various particulars tending to illustrate his character and his literary views.

“From a letter of the late lord Cathcart to Dr. Robertson (dated 20th July, 1761), the revival of this project would appear to have originated in a manner not a little flattering to the vanity of an author.

“Lord Bute told me the king's thoughts, as well as his own, with respect to your History of Scotland, and a wish his majesty had expressed to see a History of England by your pen. His lordship assured me every source of information which government can command would be opened to you; and that great, laborious, and extensive as the work must be, he would take care your encouragement should be proportioned to it. He seemed to be aware of some objections you once had founded on the apprehension of clashing or interfering with Mr. David Hume, who is your friend; but as your performance and his will be upon

plans so different from each other, and as his will, in point of time, have so much the start of yours, these objections did not seem to him such as upon reflexion were likely to continue to have much weight with you.

“I must add, that though I did not think it right to inquire particularly into lord Bute's intentions before I knew a little of your mind, it appeared to me plain that they were higher than any views which can open to you in Scotland, and which, I believe, he would think inconsistent with the attention the other subject would necessarily require.

“A paper which has been accidentally preserved among the letters addressed to Dr. Robertson by his friends enables me to state his sentiments, with respect to the foregoing proposal, in his own words. It is in Dr. Robertson's hand-writing, and is marked on the back as ‘An imperfect Sketch of his Answer to lord Cathcart's Letter of July 20th.’ The following extracts contain all those parts of it which are connected with the project of the English history.

“After the first publication of The History of Scotland, and the favourable reception it met with, I had both very tempting offers from booksellers, and very confident assurances of public encouragement, if I would undertake the history of England. But as Mr. Hume, with whom, notwithstanding the contrariety of our sentiments both in religion and politics, I live in great friendship, was at that time in the middle of the subject, no consideration of interest or reputation would induce me to break in upon a field of which he had taken prior possession; and I determined that my interference
with

with him should never be any obstruction to the sale or success of his work. Nor do I yet repent my having resisted many solicitations to alter this resolution. But the case I now think is entirely changed. His History will have been published several years before any work of mine on the same subject can appear; its first run will not be marred by any justling with me; and it will have taken that station in the literary system which belongs to it. This objection, therefore, which I thought and still think so weighty at that time, makes no impression on me at present; and I can now justify my undertaking the English history to myself, to the world, and to him. Besides, our manner of viewing the same subject is so different or peculiar, that (as was the case in our last books) both may maintain their own rank, have their own partisans, and possess their own merit, without hurting each other.

‘I am sensible how extensive and laborious the undertaking is, and that I could not propose to execute it in the manner I could wish, and the public will expect, unless I should be enabled to consecrate my whole time and industry to it. Though I am not weary of my profession, nor wish ever to throw off my ecclesiastical character, yet I have often wished to be free of the labour of daily preaching, and to have it in my power to apply myself wholly to my studies. This the encouragement your lordship mentions will put in my power. But as my chief residence must still be in Scotland, where I would choose, both for my own sake and that of my family, to live and to compose—as a visit of three or four months now and then to England will be fully suffi-

cient for consulting such manuscripts as have never been published—I should not wish to drop all connexion with the church of which I am a member, but still to hold some station in it without being reduced entirely to the profession of an author.

‘Another circumstance must be mentioned to your lordship. As I have begun the History of Charles V. and have above one-third of it finished, I would not choose to lose what I have done. It will take at least two years to bring that work to perfection; and after that I shall begin the other, which was my first choice long before Mr. Hume undertook it, though I was then too diffident of myself, and too idle to make any progress in the execution of it, further than forming some general ideas as to the manner in which it should be prosecuted.

‘As to the establishment to be made in my favour, it would ill become me to say any thing. Whether the present time be a proper one for settling the matter finally I know not. I beg leave only to say, that, however much I may wish to have a point fixed so much for my honour, and which will give such stability to all my future schemes, I am not impatient to enter into possession before I can set to work with that particular task for which my appointments are to be given.’

“In a letter addressed to Mr. baron Mure (dated Nov. 25, 1761), Dr. Robertson has explained himself still more fully on some points touched on in the foregoing correspondence.

‘I need say no more of my reasons for not undertaking the History of England immediately after the publication of my last book,

book, or the circumstances which induce me to think that I may now engage in it with propriety. These I have already explained, and I hope they are approved of. The only thing about which I have any difficulty is the proposal of my residing in London with my family during the time I shall be employed in my intended work. If such a prospect had opened to me a dozen of years ago I should have reckoned it a very fortunate accident, and would have embraced it without hesitation. But, at my time of life, accustomed to the manners of my own country, and living with ease and credit and in good company here, I am unwilling to think of entering upon new habits, of forming new connexions and friendships, and of mingling with a society which, by what I have seen of it, I do not relish so much as that to which I am more familiar. This is the light in which, if I were still a single man, I must have viewed the matter. But in my present situation, with a wife and four children, my difficulties increase; and I must consider not only what would be agreeable to myself, but what may be of advantage to them. You know how greatly the expense of house-keeping at London exceeds that at Edinburgh, and how much the charge of educating children increases. You know with what ease women of a middling fortune mingle with good company in Edinburgh; how impossible that is in London; and even how great the expense is of their having any proper society at all. As I happen to have three daughters, these circumstances must occur to me, and have their own weight. Besides this, if it shall please God to spare my life a few years, I shall be able to leave my

family, if it continue in Scotland, in a situation more independent than I could ever expect from any success or encouragement, if they shall settle in England.

..... 'Were I to carve out my own fortune, I should wish to continue one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland; but to resign my charge as a minister of Edinburgh, which engrosses more of my time than one who is a stranger to the many minute duties of that office can well imagine. I would wish to apply my whole time to literary pursuits, which is at present parcelled out among innumerable occupations. In order to enable me to make this resignation, some appointment must be assigned me for life. What that should be it neither becomes me, nor do I pretend to say. One thing, however, I wish with some earnestness—that the thing might be executed soon, both as it will give me great vigour in my studies to have my future fortune ascertained in such an honourable manner, and because, by allowing me to apply myself wholly to my present work, it will enable me to finish it in less time, and to begin so much the sooner to my new task.'

"In what manner this plan, after being so far advanced, came to be finally abandoned, I have not been able to discover. The letters from which the foregoing extracts are taken seem to have been preserved by mere accident; and, after the date of the last, I find a blank till 1763 in Dr. Robertson's correspondence with Lord Cathcart. Some letters which passed between them about that time are now in my possession. They relate chiefly to a scheme which was then in agitation, and which was soon after accomplished, of reviving in Dr. Robertson's

Robertson's favour the office of historiographer for Scotland; but, from various incidental passages in them, it appears clearly that he still looked forwards to a history of England as the next subject he was to undertake after that of Charles V. It is not impossible that the resignation of lord Bute, in 1764, may have contributed somewhat to alter his views, by imposing on him the necessity of a new negotiation through a different channel. The History of Charles V. besides, employed him much longer than he foresaw; partly in consequence of his avocations as principal of the university, and partly of those arising from his connexion with the church, in which, at that period, faction ran high. In the execution too of this work, he found that the transactions relating to America, which he had originally intended as the subject of an episode, were of such magnitude as to require a separate narrative: and when at last he had brought to a termination the long and various labours in which he was thus involved, his health was too much impaired, and his life too far advanced, to allow him to think of an undertaking so vast in itself, and which Mr. Hume had already executed with so splendid and so merited a reputation.

"The delays which retarded the publication of the History of Charles V. together with the author's established popularity as a writer, had raised the curiosity of the public to a high pitch before that work appeared; and perhaps there never was a book, unconnected with the circumstances of the times, that was expected with more general impatience. It is unnecessary for me to say, that these expectations were not disap-

pointed; nor would it be worth while to swell this memoir with a repetition of the eulogiums lavished on the author in the literary journals of the day. The sentiments of his own personal friends, as expressed in the openness and confidence of a private epistolary correspondence, cannot fail to be more interesting; and I shall accordingly on this, as on other occasions, avail myself of whatever passages in his papers appear to me to be useful, either for illustrating his literary progress, or his habits and connexions in private life.

"The paragraphs which immediately follow are part of a letter from Mr. Hume, without any date; but written, as appears from the contents, while the History of Charles V. was still in the press. The levity of the style forms such a striking contrast to the character which this grave and philosophical historian sustains in his publications, that I have sometimes hesitated about the propriety of subjecting to the criticisms of the world so careless an effusion of gaiety and affection. I trust, however, that to some it will not be wholly uninteresting to enjoy a glimpse of the writer and his correspondent in the habits of private intercourse; and that to them the playful and good-natured irony of Mr. Hume will suggest not unpleasant pictures of the hours which they borrowed from business and study. Dr. Robertson used frequently to say, that in Mr. Hume's gaiety there was something which approached to *infantine*; and that he had found the same thing so often exemplified in the circle of his other friends, that he was almost disposed to consider it as characteristic of genius. It has certainly lent an amiable grace to some

of the most favourite names in ancient story.

——— 'Atqui
Primores populi arripuit, populumque
tributum—
Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secretis
remorant
Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
Nugari cum illo et distincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti.'———

'I got yesterday from Strahan about thirty sheets of your History to be sent over to Suard, and last night and this morning have run them over with great avidity. I could not deny myself the satisfaction (which I hope also will not displease you) of expressing presently my extreme approbation of them. To say only they are very well written is by far too faint an expression, and much inferior to the sentiments I feel: they are composed with nobleness, with dignity, with elegance, and with judgment, to which there are few equals. They even excel, and, I think, in a sensible degree, your History of Scotland. I propose to myself great pleasure in being the only man in England, during some months, who will be in the situation of doing you justice, after which you may certainly expect that my voice will be drowned in that of the public.

'You know that you and I have always been on the footing of finding in each other's productions *something to blame, and something to commend*; and therefore you may perhaps expect also some seasoning of the former kind; but really neither my leisure nor inclination allowed me to make such remarks, and I sincerely believe you have afforded me very small materials for them. However, such particulars as occur to my memory I shall mention. *Maltreat* is a Scottishism which occurs once. What

the devil had you to do with that old-fashioned dangling word *wherewith*? I should as soon take back *whereupon, whereunto, and wherewithal*. I think the only tolerable, decent gentleman of the family is *wherein*; and I should not chuse to be often seen in his company. But I know your affection for *wherewith* proceeds from your partiality to Dean Swift, whom I can often laugh with, whose style I can even approve, but surely can never admire. It has no harmony, no eloquence, no ornament; and not much correctness, whatever the English may imagine. Were not their literature still in a somewhat barbarous state, that author's place would not be so high among their classics. But what a fancy is this you have taken of saying always *an hand, an heart, an head*? Have you *an ear*? Do you not know that this (n) is added before vowels to prevent the cacophony, and ought never to take place before (h) when that letter is sounded? It is never pronounced in these words: why should it be wrote? Thus, I should say, a *history*, and an *historian*; and so would you too, if you had any sense. But you tell me, that Swift does otherwise. To be sure there is no reply to that; and we must swallow your *hath* too upon the same authority. I will see you d—d sooner.—But I will endeavour to keep my temper.

'I do not like this sentence in page 149. *This step was taken in consequence of the treaty Wolsey had concluded with the emperor at Brussels, and which had hitherto been kept secret*. Si sic omnia dixisses, I should never have been plagued with hearing your praises so often sounded, and that fools preferred your style to mine. Certainly it had been better to have said, *which*
Hols,

Wolsey, &c. That relative ought very seldom to be omitted, and is here particularly requisite to preserve a symmetry between the two members of the sentence. You omit the relative too often, which is a colloquial barbarism, as Mr. Johnson calls it.

'Your periods are sometimes, though not often, too long. Suard will be embarrassed with them, as the modish French style runs into the other extreme.' . . . *

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"Another letter of Mr. Hume's (dated 28th March, 1769,) relates to the same subject. 'I find then that you are not contented without a particular detail of your own praises, and that the very short but pithy letter I wrote you gives you no satisfaction. But what can I say more? The success has answered my expectations: and I, who converse with the great, the fair, and the learned, have scarcely heard an opposite voice, or even whisper, to the general sentiment. Only I have heard that the Sanhedrim at Mrs. Macaulay's condemns you as little less a friend to government and monarchy than myself.'

"Mr. Walpole's congratulations on this occasion were no less warm than Mr. Hume's; but as they are expressed in more general terms, they do not supply materials equally interesting for a quotation. The only letter, besides, from Mr. Walpole relative to Charles V. that has

come into my hands, was written before he had proceeded further in the perusal than the first volume. What the impressions were which that part of the work had left upon his mind may be judged of from the following paragraph.

'Give me leave, sir, without flattery, to observe to yourself, what is very natural to say to others. You are almost the single, certainly the greatest instance, that sound parts and judgments can attain every perfection of a writer, though it be buried in the privacy of retired life and deep study. You have neither the prejudices of a recluse, nor want any of the taste of a man of the world. Nor is this polished ease confined to your works, which parts and imitation might possibly seize. In the few hours I passed with you last summer I was struck with your familiar acquaintance with men, and with every topic of conversation. Of your Scottish History I have often said, that it seemed to me to have been written by an able ambassador, who had seen much of affairs. I do not expect to find less of that penetration in your Charles. Why should I not say thus much to you? Why should the language of flattery forbid truth to speak its mind, merely because flattery has stolen truth's expressions? Why should you be deprived of the satisfaction of hearing the impression your merit has made? You have sense enough to be conscious that you deserve what

* "Considering the critical attention which Mr. Hume appears to have given to the *minutiae* of style, it is somewhat surprising that he should himself fail so frequently both in purity and grammatical correctness. In these respects, his historical compositions will not bear a comparison with those of Dr. Robertson; although they abound, in every page, with what Mr. Gibbon calls 'careless, inimitable beauties.' In his familiar letters the inaccuracies are more numerous, than might have been expected from one accustomed so much to write with a view to publication; nor are these negligences *always* compensated by that happy lightness and ease which he seems to have been studious to attain."

I have said; and though modesty will forbid you to subscribe to it, justice to me and my character, which was never that of a flatterer, will oblige you silently to feel, that I can have no motive but that of paying homage to superior abilities.'

"Lord Lyttelton was another correspondent with whom Dr. Robertson had occasional communications. The first of his letters was an acknowledgment to him for a present of Charles V.; and is valuable on account of its coincidence with a letter of Mr. Hume's formerly quoted, in which he recommended to Dr. Robertson to write lives in the manner of Plutarch.

'I don't wonder that your sense of the public expectation gives you some apprehensions; but I know that the historian of Mary Queen of Scots cannot fail to do justice to any great subject; and no greater can be found in the records of mankind than this you have now chosen. Go on, dear sir, to enrich the English language with more tracts of modern history. We have nothing good in that way, except what relates to the island of Great Britain. You have talents and youth enough to undertake the agreeable and useful task of giving us all the lives of the most illustrious princes who have flourished since the age of Charles V. in every part of the world, and comparing them together as Plutarch has done the most celebrated heroes of Greece and Rome. This will diffuse your glory as a writer farther than any other work. All nations will have an equal interest in it; and feel a gratitude to the stranger who takes pains to immortalise the virtues of those to whom he is only related by the general sympathy of sentiment and esteem. Plutarch was a Greek,

which made him less impartial between his countrymen and the Romans in weighing their comparative merit, than you would be in contrasting a Frenchman with a German, or an Italian with a Spaniard, or a Dutchman with a Swede. Select, therefore, those great men out of different countries, whose characters and actions may be best compared together, and present them to our view, without that disguise which the partiality of their countrymen or the malice of their enemies may have thrown upon them. If I can animate you to this, posterity will owe me a very great obligation.'

"I shall close these extracts with a short letter from Voltaire, dated 26th February, 1778, from the *Château de Ferney*.

'Il y à quatre jours que j'ai reçu le beau présent dont vous m'avez honoré. Je le lis malgré les fluxions horribles qui me font craindre de perdre entièrement les yeux. Il me fait oublier tous mes maux. C'est à vous et à M. Hume qu'il appartient d'écrire l'Histoire. Vous êtes éloquent, savant, et impartial. Je me joins à l'Europe pour vous estimer.'

"While Dr. Robertson's fame was thus rapidly extending wherever the language in which he wrote was understood and cultivated, he had the singular good fortune to find in M. Suard, a writer fully capable of transfusing into a language still more universal all the spirit and elegance of the original. It appears from a letter preserved among Dr. Robertson's papers, that M. Suard was selected for this undertaking, by the well-known baron d'Holbach. He has since made ample additions to his fame by his own productions; but, if I am not mistaken, it was his translation of
Charles

Charles V. which first established his reputation, and procured him a seat in the French Academy.

"The high rank which this second publication of Dr. Robertson's has long maintained in the list of our English classics is sufficient to justify the warm encomiums I have already transcribed from the letters of his friends. To the general expressions of praise, however, which they have bestowed on it, I shall take the liberty of adding a few remarks on some of those specific excellencies by which it appears to me to be more peculiarly distinguished.

"Among these excellencies, a most important one arises from the address displayed by the author in surmounting a difficulty, which has embarrassed, more or less, all the historians who have attempted to record the transactions of the two last centuries. In consequence of those relations which connect together the different countries of modern Europe as parts of one great system, a general knowledge of the contemporary situation of other nations becomes indispensable to those who fully comprehend the political transactions of any one state at a particular period. In writing the history of a great nation, accordingly, it is necessary to connect with the narrative occasional episodes with respect to such foreign affairs as had an influence on the policy of the government, or on the fortunes of the people. To accomplish this with success, by bestowing on these digressions perspicuity and interest, without entering into that minuteness of detail which might mislead the attention of the reader from the principal subject, is unquestionably one of the most difficult tasks of an his-

torian; and, in executing this task, Dr. Robertson's judgment and skill will not suffer by a comparison with those displayed by the most illustrious of his rivals.

"In the work, however, now under our consideration, he has aimed at something more; for while he has recorded, with admirable distinctness, the transactions of a particular reign (preserving his episodes in so just a subordination to his main design, that they seldom produce any inconvenient distraction of attention or of interest), he has contrived, by happy transitions, to interweave so many of the remarkable events which happened about the same time in other parts of Europe, as to render his history of Charles V. the most instructive introduction that has yet appeared to the general history of that age. The advantage of making the transactions of a particular nation, and still more the reign of a particular sovereign, a ground-work for such comprehensive views of human affairs, is sufficiently obvious. By carrying on a connected series of important events, and indicating their relations to the contemporary history of mankind, a *meridian* is traced (if I may use the expression) through the vast and crowded map of time; and a line of reference is exhibited to the mind, for marking the bearings of those subordinate occurrences, in the multiplicity of which its powers would have been lost.

"In undertaking a work on a plan so philosophical in the design, but so difficult in the execution, no period, perhaps, in the history of the world, could have been more happily chosen than that which commences with the sixteenth century; in the course of which (as he

himself observes) 'the several powers of Europe were formed into one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it has since remained with less alteration than could have been expected, after the shocks occasioned by so many internal revolutions and so many foreign wars.'

"Mr. Hume, in a letter which I had occasion already to quote, objects to him that 'his Hero is not very interesting;' and it must undoubtedly be acknowledged, that the characteristical qualities of his mind were less those of an amiable man than of a great prince. His character, however, on the whole, was singularly adapted to Dr. Robertson's purpose; not only as the ascendant it secured to him in the political world marks him out indisputably as the principal figure in that illustrious groupe which then appeared on the theatre of Europe, but as it every where displays that deep and sagacious policy, which, by systematising his counsels, and linking together the great events of his reign, inspires a constant interest, if not for the personal fortunes of the man, at least for the magnificent projects of the politician.—Nor is the character of Charles, however unamiable, without a certain species of attraction. The reader, who is previously acquainted with the last scenes of his enterprising and brilliant life, while he follows him through the splendid career of his ambition, can scarcely avoid to indulge occasionally those moral sympathies which the contrast awakens; and to borrow from the solitude of the cloister some prophetic touches, to soften the sternness of the warrior and the statesman.

"With a view to facilitate the study of this important portion of modern history, Dr. Robertson has employed a preliminary volume in tracing the progress of society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire to the æra at which his narrative commences. In this instance, as well as in the first book of his Scottish History, he has sanctioned by his example a remark of Father Paul, that an historical composition should be as complete as possible in itself—exhibiting a series of events intelligible to every reader, without any reference to other sources of information. On the minuteness and accuracy of Dr. Robertson's researches concerning the state of Europe during the middle ages, I do not presume to offer an opinion. They certainly exhibit marks of very extensive and various reading, digested with the soundest judgment; and of which the results appear to be arranged in the most distinct and luminous order. At the time when he wrote, such an arrangement of materials was the grand *desideratum*, and by far the most arduous task; nor will the merit of having first brought into form a mass of information so little accessible till then to ordinary readers, be ever affected by the controversies that may arise concerning the justness of particular conclusions. If, in some of these, he has been censured as hasty by later writers, it must be remembered how much their labours were facilitated by what he did to open a field for their minuter diligence; and that, by the scrupulous exactness with which he refers to his authorities, he has himself furnished the means of correcting his errors. One thing is certain (and it affords no inconsiderable testimony both to the
felicity

felicity of his choice in the various historical subjects he undertook, and to the extent of his researches in the investigation of facts), that the most acute and able of all his adversaries * was guided by Dr. Robertson's example in almost all his literary undertakings; and that his curiosity has seldom led him into any path where the genius and industry of his predecessor had not previously cleared the way.

"In no part of Dr. Robertson's works has he displayed more remarkably than in this introductory volume, his patience in research;

his penetration and good sense in selecting his information; or that comprehension of mind, which, without being misled by system, can combine, with distinctness and taste, the dry and scattered details of ancient monuments. In truth, this dissertation, under the unassuming title of an Introduction to the History of Charles V. may be regarded as an introduction to the history of modern Europe. It is invaluable, in this respect, to the historical student; and it suggests, in every page, matter of speculation to the politician and the philosopher."

ANECDOTES OF SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS.

[From "AN HISTORICAL TOUR in MONMOUTHSHIRE, by WILLIAM COXE, A.M. F.R.S. F.A.S. RECTOR of BEMERTON and STOURTON."]

"CHARLES Hanbury (Williams) was born in 1709, and educated at Eton, where he made considerable progress in classical literature; and having finished his studies, travelled through various parts of Europe. Soon after his return he assumed the name of Williams, obtained from his father the estate of Colebrook, and espoused, in 1732, lady Frances Coningsby, youngest daughter of Thomas earl of Coningsby.

"On the death of his father in 1733, he was elected member of parliament for the county of Monmouth, and uniformly supported the administration of sir Robert Walpole, whom he idolised; he re-

ceived from that minister many early and confidential marks of esteem, and in 1739 was appointed by him paymaster of the marines. His name occurs only twice, as a speaker, in Chandler's Debates; but the substance of his speech is given in neither instance.

"Sprightliness of conversation, ready wit, and agreeable manners, introduced him to the acquaintance of men of the first talents: he was the soul of the celebrated coterie, of which the most conspicuous members were, lord Hervey, Winnington, Horace Walpole (late earl of Orford), Stephen Fox (earl of Ilchester), and Henry Fox (lord Holland), with whom in particular he

* "Dr. Gilbert Stuart."

lived in the strictest habits of intimacy and friendship. At this period he distinguished himself by political ballads remarkable for vivacity, keenness of invective, and ease of versification. He did not, however, confine his satire to politics, but descended into private life: with much wit, and little delicacy, he wrote a severe lampoon on the marriage of Mr. Hussey, afterwards lord Beaulieu, with Isabella, daughter and heiress of John duke of Montague, and widow of William duke of Manchester, whose exquisite beauty attracted general admiration:

* Wide was the extent of her commands,
O'er fertile fields or barren lands
She stretch'd her haughty reign:
The coxcomb, fool, and man of sense,
Youth, manhood, age, and impotence,
With pride receiv'd her chain*.

"The ode was written in 1743, soon after the marriage, and confined to the perusal of his intimate friends; but copies being indiscreetly circulated, it became public in 1746, to the chagrin and dissatisfaction of the author.

"Mr. Hussey bore the severe attack with great forbearance: but the Hibernian spirit was roused by the illiberal satire against the whole nation:

'Nature indeed denies them sense:
But gives them legs and impudence,
That beats all understanding.'

And several Irish gentlemen in London seem to have entered into a combination to challenge the author. To avoid a succession of duels, by the advice of his friends,

he prudently retired into Monmouthshire, though he did not himself entertain serious apprehensions of danger. His absence, and the intervention of friends, cooled the anger of those whom his satire had provoked, gave them time to reflect on the absurdity of converting a national into a personal quarrel; and their cause was justly avenged by several counter lampoons, which vied with his own in sprightliness and wit. In 1746 he was installed knight of the bath, and soon after his return to London appointed envoy to the court of Dresden—a mission which his lampooners imputed to cowardice†, but which he attributes to a nobler motive, his affliction for the death of his friend Mr. Winnington, which threw him into a temporary fit of deep melancholy, and considerably affected his health. An epitaph‡ which he composed to his memory is written with much feeling, and a letter to sir Thomas Robinson on that event does honour to his friendship.

'I am here a good deal retired, and in a melancholy way, which I have been in ever since the death of my friend Mr. Winnington, in whom my country lost an useful citizen, and I the man upon earth I loved the best. 'Twas upon his death I begged the king to send me abroad, and resigned a very profitable employment to come out of a country where I missed an object that I esteemed and honoured very highly, and where every thing daily put me in mind of him. When he

* "Ode to Henry Fox, esq. on the marriage of the duchess of Manchester."

† 'Think you, because you basely fled
To Saxony to hide your head,
On odes you still may venture? &c.'

‡ "See sir Charles H. Williams's Odes.

'Near his paternal seat here buried lies, &c."

highly,

died he had much the best interest of any man in England with the king; and had three times in one day returned the chancellor of the exchequer's seal into the king's hand, who would fain have forc'd it upon him; but he was steady to his friends and the cause in which he had embarked, and proof against the temptation of power itself*.

"The votary of wit and pleasure was instantly transformed into a man of business, and the author of satirical odes penned excellent dispatches. He was well adapted for the office of a foreign minister, and the lively no less than the solid parts of his character proved useful in his new employment: flow of conversation, sprightliness of wit, politeness of demeanor, ease of address, conviviality of disposition, together with the delicacy of his table, attracted persons of all descriptions. He had an excellent tact for discriminating characters, humouring the foibles of those with whom he negotiated, and conciliating those by whom the great were either directly or indirectly governed.

"In 1749 he was appointed, at the express desire of the king, to succeed Mr. Legge as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin; but in 1751 returned to his embassy at Dresden. During his residence at these courts, he transacted the affairs of England and Hanover with so much address, that he was dispatched to Petersburg in a time of critical emergency, to conduct a negotiation of great delicacy and importance.

"The disputes concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, and the possessions in North America, threatened a rupture between Great-Britain and France; hostilities were on the

point of commencing in America, and France had resolved to invade the Low Countries and the electorate of Hanover, and to excite a continental war. With this view, the cabinet of Versailles proposed to the king of Prussia, to co-operate in invading the electorate, and attacking the dominions of the house of Austria, hitherto the inseparable ally of England. The British cabinet, alarmed at this aspect of affairs, formed the plan of a triple alliance between Great-Britain, Austria, and Russia; and to promote the negotiation, the king repaired to Hanover, accompanied by the earl of Holderness, secretary of state.

"Sir Charles Hanbury Williams arrived at St. Petersburg in the latter end of June: the negotiation had been already opened by Mr. Guy Dickens, who lately occupied the post of envoy to the court of Russia; but his character and manners were not calculated to ensure success. He was treated with coldness and reserve by the empress, and had rendered himself highly offensive to the great chancellor count Bestucheff.

"On the first appearance of the new ambassador things immediately wore a favourable aspect; at his presence all obstacles were instantly removed, and all difficulties vanished. The votary of wit and pleasure was well received by the gay and voluptuous Elisabeth; he attached to his cause the great duke, afterwards the unfortunate Peter the Third, and his consort the princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who became conspicuous under the name of Catharine the Second. All the ministers vied in loading him with marks of attention and civility;

* "Grantham papers. Dresden, July 10, N. S. 1747."

he broke through the usual forms of etiquette, and united in his favour the discordant views of the Russian cabinet; he conciliated the unbending and suspicious Bestucheff; warmed the phlegmatic temper of the vice-chancellor count Voronzoff; and gained the under agents, who were enabled, by petty intrigues and secret cabals, to thwart the intentions of the principal ministers. He fulfilled literally the tenor of his own expressions, that he would ‘*make use of the honey-moon of his ministry,*’ to conclude the convention as speedily as possible on the best terms which could be obtained; he executed the orders of the king, not to sign any treaty in which an attack on any of his majesty’s allies, or on any part of his electoral dominions, was not made a *casus fœderis*; in six weeks after his arrival at St. Petersburg, he obtained the signature, without using all the full powers entrusted to him by the British cabinet, and instantly transmitted it to Hanover.

“His sanguine imagination exaggerated the merit of his services; and he fondly expected an instantaneous answer filled with expressions of high applause. Some time, however, elapsed before any answer arrived: at length the expected messenger came; he seized the dispatches, and opened them with extreme impatience, in the presence of his confidential friend count Poniatowski, afterwards king of Poland. In a few minutes he threw the letter which he was reading on the floor, struck his forehead with both his hands, and remained for some time absorbed in a deep reverie. Turning at length to count Poniatowski, he exclaimed, ‘Would

you think it possible? Instead of receiving thanks for my zeal and activity in concluding the convention, I am blamed for an informality in the signature, and the king is displeased with my efforts to serve him *.’

“This excessive disappointment threw him into a state of despondency, and was probably one cause of his subsequent derangement. To the ambassador at Petersburg, the conduct of the British cabinet was an enigma, which was soon explained. During the period which elapsed between the arrival of sir Charles Hanbury Williams at Petersburg, and the receipt of the convention at Hanover, an extraordinary and unexpected change had taken place in the politics of the British cabinet: Maria Theresa, apprehensive of an attack from the king of Prussia, refused to protect the electorate of Hanover, if invaded in consequence of a rupture between France and Great-Britain, on account of disputes in America; she eluded sending, in conformity with the articles of the barrier treaty, the stipulated number of troops into the Low Countries, and was suspected of maintaining a secret correspondence with the courts of Versailles; hence the British cabinet was reduced to a state of suspense, and the king was alarmed for the safety of his German dominions. At this critical juncture, private overtures from the king of Prussia, through the channel of the duke of Brunswick, were eagerly received; the earl of Holderness was dispatched to Brunswick, and a secret negotiation opened with the court of Berlin †.

“Hence the efforts of sir Charles

* “This interesting anecdote I received from the late king of Poland himself in 1785.”

† “Dispatches from the earl of Holderness to the duke of Newcastle and sir Benjamin Keene.—Keene’s Papers.”

to prejudice the empress Elisabeth against the king of Prussia, and in favour of Austria, were adverse to the views of the British ministry; hence the signature of the convention, and the profuse expenditure of money which procured its immediate conclusion, were not subjects of applause. An objection was made against two of the articles, as well as against an informality in the signature, and the king expressed his disapprobation in terms of the highest displeasure. The convention was to be re-executed with considerable alterations, and the efforts of the ambassador directed to support the new system of continental politics.

"In promoting these views he was no less indefatigable, though less successful than in his former exertions. He obtained indeed the signature of a new convention, on the conditions prescribed by the king his master, but could not shake the attachment of Elisabeth to Maria Theresa, or allay her personal enmity to Frederic the Second, who had excited her resentment by sarcastic animadversions.

"The French, availing themselves of these circumstances, sent the chevalier Douglas (a gentleman of Scottish extraction, who assumed the name of Mackenzie) to counteract the efforts of the British ambassador. Their interests were espoused by the vice-chancellor Voronzof, but they found a still more powerful advocate in count Ivan Schuvalof, the favourite of Elisabeth, who was flattered with the attentions of the court of Versailles, and laboured to introduce a French ambassador. In this situation of affairs, Douglas, supplied

with large sums of money, and skilled in intrigue, succeeded in rendering the convention ineffectual, and in cementing the alliance between Russia and Austria, by the intervention of France.

"During these transactions, sir Charles was treated by the empress with coldness and reserve; he was avoided by the principal courtiers; and reports were industriously circulated of the king's displeasure, and of his speedy recal. The irksomeness of his situation, and the decline of his health, rendered him desirous to retire from this scene of business in the latter end of 1756.

'Disappointment,' as he afterwards feelingly observed in a letter to the earl of Holderness, 'in every thing I undertook, and vexation at not being able to exert myself in the manner I ought, and wished to do, added to my long illness, made me resolve not to remain here in a situation almost useless to my sovereign, and dangerous to my own health *.

"In consequence of repeated and earnest entreaties, permission was granted for his return, and the letter of recal actually forwarded through the channel of Mr. Mitchel, British minister at Berlin; but the king of Prussia so strongly remonstrated against his recal at this critical juncture, that Mr. Mitchel ventured to send back the letter to the earl of Holderness, accompanied with the warmest eulogium of his character and services.

'Your lordship is informed,' he says, 'that for some months past, sir Charles Hanbury Williams has been much trusted by the king of Prussia in affairs of a very delicate nature. The great duke and

* "Sir Charles Hanbury Williams to the earl of Holderness. March 22, N. S. 1757." duchess

duchess are equally well disposed to the king, and to his Prussian majesty. It is therefore humbly submitted to your lordship, whether the recalling of sir Charles Williams at this time, may not be very prejudicial to their affairs, as they will thereby be deprived of all advice and assistance from a person in whom they have great confidence, and in a conjuncture the most dangerous and critical that can be imagined; nor is it possible to remedy this by sending any other person to succeed sir Charles Hanbury Williams, whose knowledge and connexions with the ministers of that court cannot be easily transferred. Far less can his intimacy and friendship with the successor to the crown, be devolved upon any new minister of what character soever*.

"The earl of Holdernesse accompanied this flattering testimony of the king of Prussia's confidence with a permission to return; but expressed the satisfaction his sovereign would derive from his continuance at Petersburg. Sir Charles could not withstand the earnest entreaties of the Prussian monarch, and the condescending request of his royal master; he continued in his post until all his efforts proved unsuccessful, and the empress coalesced with Austria and France. In the midst of this arduous business his health rapidly declined, his head was occasionally affected, and his mind distracted with vexation; the irregularities of his life irritated his nerves, and a fatiguing journey exhausted his spirits.

"Soon after his arrival at Hamburg, in the autumn of 1757, he was suddenly smitten with a woman

of low intrigue, gave her a note for 2,000*l.* and a contract of marriage, though his wife was still living; he also took large doses of stimulating medicines, which affected his head, and was conveyed to England in a state of insanity. During the passage, he fell from the deck into the hold, and dangerously bruised his side; he was blooded four times on board, and four times immediately after his arrival in England. In a little more than a month, he recovered, and passed the summer at Colebrook-house. From this place, he wrote a letter to his friend Mr. Keith, which proves the calm state of his mind, and breathes the warmth of paternal affection:

'By a letter which I wrote to baron Wolfe some time ago, and which I don't doubt he showed you, you have been informed already of the wretched state of my health, both at Hamburgh and since my return to England. But I am now as perfectly well as ever I was in my life, and improving this charming place, where I hope to see you one day, to talk over things that nobody but you and I in England understand.

'My beloved lady Essex, who I assure you has a true friendship for you, and who I believe esteems you as much as any man in the world, who is not of her own family, will I hope be very soon here to pass away the best part of the summer with me; I leave you to imagine my happiness in seeing her, to behold what I love much the best in the world, endowed with every exterior charm, and an inside that at least equals her beautiful person. Her knowledge of the court and of the world is prodigious.

* "Mr. Mitchel to the earl of Holdernesse, Brunswick, Feb. 8, 1757."

She has many acquaintance among her own sex, and two of the most exemplary women we have in England for her friends, I mean lady Caroline Fox, and the countess of Dalkeith. She is distinguished more than any woman that comes to court by the king; and for good breeding and good sense has hardly her equal in England. But one thing, which perhaps you don't know about her is, that she shines full as much in the character of a good housewife, as she does in that of a fine lady; and that all the accounts of my lord's estates, and the expenses of his house, are neatly kept in books by her own hand. In short, she has exceeded all my hopes, and requited my fondest wishes about her; and I will not imagine this description to be tedious to you, because I am sure the friend will feel and read with pleasure, what the father feels with transport, and writes with truth.'

"Towards the latter end of 1759, he relapsed into a state of insanity, and expired on the 2d of November, aged 50.

"His official dispatches are written with great life and spirit; he delineates characters with truth and facility; and describes his diplomatic transactions with minuteness and accuracy, but without tediousness or formality.

"The verses of sir Charles Hanbury Williams were highly prized

by his contemporaries, and the letters of his friend Mr. Fox abound with extravagant commendations of his poetical talents; but in perusing those which have been given to the public and those which are still in manuscript, the greater part are political effusions, or licentious lampoons, abounding with local wit and temporary satire, eagerly read at the time of their appearance, but little interesting to posterity. Three of his pieces, however, deserve to be exempted from this general character; his poem of *Isabella*, or the Morning, is remarkable for ease of versification, and happy discrimination of character; his epitaph on Mr. Winnington is written with great feeling; and his beautiful ode to Mr. Pointz, in honour of the duke of Cumberland, breathes a spirit of sublimity, which entitles the author to the rank of a poet, and excites our regret that his muse was not always employed on subjects worthy of his talents.

"Sir Charles left by his wife two daughters, Frances, first wife of William Anne late earl of Essex, and Charlotte, who espoused the honourable Robert Boyle Walsingham, youngest son of the earl of Shannon, a commodore in the navy. On his death, without issue male, the estate and mansion of Coldbrook came to his brother George, who died in 1764, and now belongs to his son John Hanbury Williams, esq. the present proprietor."

MEMOIRS of the EARLY LIFE of BONAPARTE.

[From the "LIFE of BONAPARTE," translated from the French.]

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. He was brought early into France, and was placed in the military school of Brienne in Champagne, under the direction of the fathers, called minims; where the education he received developed in him the hidden germs of talents, and genius.

"In his youth, almost in his infancy, he displayed an energy, and a certain degree of pride, that would be a fault in inferior characters, but which appears almost invariably to show itself in those designed for an extraordinary and eccentric career, and to be a marked and distinguishing quality of their minds.

"While a pupil at the college of Brienne, he formed his little garden with his own hands, and fortified it, as well as he was able, against the attacks of his enemies. In this garden he was fond of shutting himself up, to walk and to meditate: and he passed there almost all his hours of recreation, with a book of philosophy or mathematics in his hand, his mind seeming to disdain all lower occupations and less important studies. The youths of the college were unfortunate enough, in letting off some fire-works, to injure his little property; and he made them repent their carelessness. His school-fellows feared, but they esteemed him at the same time, and may be said even to revere him.

"The only sports he was fond of, were those which required thought, or were a type of the military art.

He inspired several of his companions with the same inclination, and taught them the military exercise, in which he conducted himself so well, that they were led to say, *Does he not appear born to command?*

"As it is natural to take pleasure in viewing the first efforts of an heroic mind, and tracing in their dawn those eminent qualities which are one day to command the respect and admiration of the world, we shall here recite a few anecdotes of the childhood and youth of the first consul. The following circumstances are little known, but they are real facts. They come from baron L*****, a school-fellow of the consul's, and the friend of his childhood. Before he had made any figure, or his name had been even mentioned in any political connexion in France, baron L***** said, '*I wish I knew what is become of a school-fellow of mine, of the name of Bonaparte; his whole heart must be in the revolution.*'

"They had been at the military school at Brienne together, had left it at the same time to go to Paris, and were in habits of close intimacy while they continued there.

'Bonaparte,' says he, 'always showed the most lively interest in the success of the patriots of Corsica when in arms; he listened eagerly to all news from his country: Paoli was his god; he never mentioned him, or his native soil, without enthusiasm. Some of the French officers, who had been in Corsica, would now and then repair to the military school, and, talking of the war,

wat, would give the most exaggerated accounts of their success against the Corsicans: Bonaparte quietly suffered them to talk on, asking them occasionally a shrewd question or two; but when he was certain he could prove their having falsified a fact, he would exclaim eagerly—"Are you not ashamed, for a momentary gratification of vanity, to calumniate in this manner a whole nation? You say there were six *hundred* of you only in the engagement: I know you were six *thousand*; and that you were opposed only by a few wretched peasants!" He would then open his journals and maps, and he generally ended his declamation with saying to his friend—"Come, L*****, let us leave these dastards." L***** followed and pacified him.

He was at that time employed on a poem, on the Liberty of Corsica. He imagined that, while slumbering in one of its numerous caverns, the genius of his country appeared to him in a dream, and, putting a poniard in his hand, called on him for vengeance. This was the opening of the poem, and whenever he added any thing to it, he would go and dig up a short, rusty sword, which he called his poniard, send for his friend, and enthusiastically repeat the lines he had just written; after which, he returned to bury his dagger*.

The austerity of his morals and character had raised him some enemies among his school-fellows: he came one day, in consequence, to L*****, and said to him, "My dear L*****, there is a very serious plot forming against me; you are my friend, and are therefore in-

volved in the proscription: we are to be attacked this very night: come then to my chamber; bring your pitcher, water-bottle, &c. with you; we will barricade ourselves with my dressing-table; if they break through this barrier, we will throw our bottles at them; if they force their way further, I have a sword."—L***** went to his room, and the preparations were made for defence, which happily proved useless, no attack being made on them.

They received their first communion together. It was at that time usual for the communion to be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the military school by the archbishop. When he came to Bonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name: Bonaparte answered it with an openness and confidence, that formed a singular contrast with the timid and downcast looks of his comrades. The name of Napoleon being rather uncommon, escaped the archbishop, who desired him to repeat it; which Bonaparte did, with a little appearance of impatience. The assisting minister remarked to the prelate—"Napoleon! I do not know that saint."—"Parbleu, I believe it," replied Bonaparte; "the saint is a Corsican!"

His friendship with L***** was subject to clouds, and a coolness took place occasionally between them. He was not the exclusive associate of the latter, who was intimate with other school-fellows, of rather relaxed morals, and whose principles were displeasing to Bonaparte. One day he said, in a tone of seriousness, to

* "Notwithstanding the authentic source from which this narrative is derived, we may be allowed to have our doubts as to so puerile an anecdote."

L****r, "You have made connexions, sir, which I do not approve: I have hitherto preserved your morals untainted; but your new friends will ruin you: choose, therefore, between them and me: you must be firm; be a man, and form speedily your determination."

"It was in vain L****r assured him he was mistaken, that he was still the same, still his friend. Bonaparte, thinking himself right in his suspicions, again repeated—"Make your choice, sir, make your choice; and consider this as the first warning."

"Some time afterwards, he took a second opportunity of speaking to him: L****r made still the same answer: at last, Bonaparte drily said, "Sir, you have despised the warnings of friendship: you have, therefore, renounced mine, and I wish to have nothing more to do with you."

"These anecdotes of the early days of Bonaparte tend to show what he was one day to prove: he has been seen at all times, and in all circumstances, following the same rigid principles, the same uniform and settled line of conduct, from which he has never, perhaps, once deviated. This it is which essentially distinguishes the man of character, who has the art of uniting extensive acquired knowledge to great natural talents, not only in the military, but legislative department: at once a consummate general, statesman, and politician, we see him alternately great in war and peace; bearing in one hand the sword, and with the other offering the olive.

"Bonaparte was taught the rudiments of mathematics by father Patrault, a minim at Brienne. The pupil still retains the esteem and

respect for his master, which belongs to grateful minds.

"He quitted Brienne, to finish his studies at the military school at Paris; whither he was sent before the expiration of the time allotted to the pupils, who were usually removed to the capital in rotation: but he had outstripped his competitors, and was taken by preference.

"At Paris he displayed the same energy, and followed the same principles as at Brienne. Naturally given to observation, he saw the revolution in prospect, which soon broke out. At the first meeting of the notables he had not entered his nineteenth year; and he then declared at once for liberty, that is to say, against the abuses of power, and the corruptions of a court.

"While he was yet only a volunteer cadet in the artillery, as he was one day conversing on the existing causes, and future progress of the revolution, with some other young officers of his own rank, he maintained singly against them all his own way of thinking so firmly, and so provoked them by his warmth, that they endeavoured to throw him into the ditch which incloses the *Champ-de-Mars*. It was with difficulty he escaped the effects of their resentment.

"The time which elapsed between the commencement of the revolution, and the famous siege of Toulon in December 1793, was wholly employed by Bonaparte in the study of tactics, which he pursued in retirement and obscurity: for, till the siege of Toulon, he might be said to have lived unknown. It was at that remarkable period he first attracted notice, by the display of those great qualities which would no longer be suppressed: he was then but twenty-three years of age, and was

was an officer in a company of artillery.

"Barras and Freron, at that time representatives of the people, were sent to superintend the siege. At the attack of the redoubt of Fort Pharo, they observed a young officer extraordinarily busy in directing the corps of artillery that was under his command. Calm and intrepid amidst a thousand dangers, he was every-where in an instant, displaying at once coolness and activity. At last, his wounded cannoniers scattered round him, and swimming in their blood, he was seen serving, almost by himself, a piece of artillery, charging, loading, ramming, in fact, undauntedly performing the whole business of his men. Upon inquiry, this young officer was found to be Bonaparte.

"The two representatives, witnesses of his extraordinary skill and valour, immediately advanced him to the rank of general of brigade.

"It has been reported also, that at the same siege a representative having blamed the placing of a battery, Bonaparte took upon him to say—'Mind, sir, your business of representative, and leave to me mine in the artillery: the battery shall remain where it is, and I will answer with my life for its success.' If this be a fact, it does equal honour to the firmness of Bonaparte and the moderation of Barras, of whom it is told, and who at that time had the whole power in his hands.

"Become general of brigade, Bonaparte turned all his attention to the comfort of his soldiers, and the perfecting the plan of a campaign, on which he had been long employing his thoughts.

"From Toulon he set off for Nice. It was in this city he was put under arrest as a terrorist, by the counter-royalist Belfroi. On 1801.

this occasion, his papers underwent the most rigorous search; but they were found to consist only of a familiar correspondence on different subjects, plans and remarks on the war, and letters breathing a spirit of patriotism and honour. He was accordingly set at liberty.

"His indefatigable mind was so constantly employed, that he spent many hours of the night in study. During his stay at Nice, one of his friends, being in the most urgent want of his assistance, went to his apartments long before day, and, not doubting but he was in bed, knocked softly at his door, for fear of disturbing him too abruptly; but upon entering his chamber, he found to his surprise Bonaparte dressed as in the day, his police cap on his head, hard at work, plans, maps, and numerous books, lying open around him. 'What!' said his friend, 'not yet in bed?' 'In bed!' replied Bonaparte, 'I am already risen.' 'Indeed!' repeated the former, 'What, so early?' 'Yes, so early: two or three hours are enough for sleep.'

"An attempt being afterwards made to remove him from the corps to which he had done so much honour, and place him in the infantry, he repaired to Paris to remonstrate against this act of injustice. The representative Aubry was then at the head of the military department of the committee of public safety; and Bonaparte, notwithstanding the justice of his cause, gained no redress. Disgusted at the little attention paid to his complaint, he asked leave to retire to Constantinople; but that also was refused him.

"At length the mournful and memorable 13th of Vendémiaire (4th of October) arrived, and Bonaparte, that day second in command under

under Barras, had the charge of the troops of the line. The scene which ensued is too generally known for us to dwell on it: we shall therefore confine our account to a few remarks, which rise naturally from the subject.

"The enemies of Bonaparte have sedulously endeavoured to throw the odium of what happened that day upon him. Before a judgment be pronounced upon this subject, several questions must be solved.

"First. Who were those that guided the sections of Paris?

"Secondly. What was their aim?

"The fair answer to these two questions alone would greatly tend to confound his calumniators; for the character of the times should be borne in mind, and the spirit of the day. But what is more astonishing, and should make men hesitate, at least before they decide, is, that the sections, led on by a cabal of twenty or thirty persons, neither knew why they were called out, nor whether they were going.

"Thirdly. Bonaparte was under the command of Barras, and, as a military subaltern, had no duty but obedience.

"Fourthly. He did what every man of sense would have done in the same situation. Those who acted with him are never mentioned on this occasion: for they have remained in the line they then filled, and their obscurity has secured them from the attacks of envy.

"Fifthly. One thing is certain, that had it not been for Bonaparte, the day would still have been more fatal than it was; for, by keeping up a fire of powder only during the night, the sections, who had in many places rallied, intending to return to the attack, were wholly disheartened, and a torrent of blood was thus prevented from being shed. In

fine, notwithstanding the horrors of the day, it produced, according to the *Publiciste*, more good than evil, by terminating a struggle between the people and the convention, which might have been attended with the most disastrous consequences.

"A general, being afterwards present in a company where the 13th of Vendémiaire was talked of, said, in a manner which struck all who heard him: 'We must not judge without knowing our ground; the Parisians are not aware how much they owe to Bonaparte: had he literally followed the orders he received, no day had ever been more bloody!'

"After the inauguration of the directory, Bonaparte, as general of the armed force, waited on each of the five directors. Carnot, who was the last nominated on the refusal of Sieyes, lived at the top of a house, beneath the ruins of the Luxembourg, the apartments preparing for him not being ready. It was on a Monday that Bonaparte presented himself, which was the day in the week on which a certain author was in the habit of regularly visiting Carnot. When Bonaparte entered, this author was singing a new air, which a young lady accompanied on the piano-forte. The appearance of Bonaparte put a stop to the music. Seeing five or six tall young men (his aid-de-camps) come into the room, followed by a little well-made man, introducing and expressing himself with dignity, and bowing to the company with that air of ease and politeness which, it must be owned, formed a striking contrast with the manners and appearance of most of the generals who had appeared before, such as Rossignol and Santerre: the author in question seeing this, asked Carnot in a whisper who that

that gentleman was. Carnot answered, it was the general of the armed force of Paris. 'What is his name?' said the author. 'His name is Bonaparte.' 'Is he a man of sense?' 'I really do not know.' 'Has he great military skill?' 'So it is said.' 'What has he ever done that is remarkable?' 'He is the officer who commanded the troops of the convention on the 13th of Vendémiaire.' This was enough for the inquirer; the shade deepened in his countenance: he was one of the electors of Vendémiaire, bigottedly attached to his own opinions; and he retired silently to a corner, observing this gentleman, as he had himself called him, whose open countenance, beaming with expression, could not fail to have pleased him, but from what he had just heard from Carnot.

"Bonaparte, seeing the young

lady still at her instrument, and the company attending solely to him, said, in a tone of gentleness, 'I have put a stop to your amusements: somebody was singing, I beg I may not interrupt the party.' The director apologised; the general insisted, and the lady, at last, played and sung two or three patriotic airs: Bonaparte, after amusing himself a few minutes longer, rose, and took his leave.

"As soon as he was gone, the whole conversation turned upon the young general, and Carnot predicted, from this interview, that Bonaparte would not stop short where he was. The prediction is verified; but the other directors had not the same penetration: so true is it, that extraordinary talents and merit can only be appreciated by those who are, at least in some degree, possessed of them themselves."

ANECDOTES respecting BONAPARTE during his first ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS.

[From the same Work.]

"BONAPARTE, when he heard of the death of general Hoche, was extremely affected, and promised a thousand sequins to any one who should write a suitable ode on the restoration of peace in la Vendée. Upon this occasion, a person of the name of Camille presented him with the four following lines.

'Tu veux payer des vers pour Hoche:—
Jeune héros! demande-les pour toi:
On te les fera, sur ma foi,
Sans que tu fouilles dans ta poche.'

'For Hoche thou fain would purchase
rhymes:

Young hero! ask them for thyself,
And—no I much mistake the times—
They'd flow without the aid of self,'

"Some intimate friends of Bonaparte talking freely with him concerning the treaty of Campo Formio, observed, that he had allowed the emperor great advantages in giving up to him the spoils of Venice, and that the destruction of one of the most ancient republics in the world had served only to indemnify the emperor; and what was more, through the success of a republican general. 'I was playing at ringt et an,' said the conqueror, 'and being twenty, I stood.'

"A few days before his departure for the army of Italy, he was at the house of a friend of Courtois's, where he made a short sketch of his intended

intended campaign from memory, in which Millesimo was pointed out as the first theatre of the enemy's defeat. He made a memorandum, that he should drive out the Austrians through the defiles of the Tyrol; and terminated the whole with these words, 'And at the gates of Vienna I shall grant them peace.'

"Bonaparte, when he went to take upon him the chief command of the army of Italy, was only twenty-six years of age. It is said that on his promotion a friend observing to him, 'You are very young to go thus, and take the chief command of an army:' he replied, 'I shall be old when I return.'

"It is a singular coincidence, that Bonaparte should have conquered Italy precisely a thousand years after Charlemagne's second entrance into Lombardy; which he had before subjugated to his arms, and from whence proceeding to Rome, he changed the fate of Europe by founding at the end of the year 800, a new empire, of which all the modern states are but dismembered parts.

"Arnauld, author of the tragedy of Oscar, addressed the following lines to Bonaparte, upon sending him his piece while he was in the midst of his victories at the head of the army of Italy.

'Toi, dont la jeunesse occupée,
Aux yeux d'Apollon et de Mars,
Comme le premier des Césars,
Manie la plume et l'épée;
Qui, peut-être au milieu des champs,
Rédige d'immortels mémoires,
Dérôbe-leur quelques instans,
Et trouve, s'il se peut, le tems
De me lire entre deux victoires.'

'O thou, whose youth, that all things
dare,

Trained both by Phœbus and by Mars,
Like the first Cæsar, that can wield
With equal ease the pen and shield—

And haply, 'mid immortal fights,
E'en now immortal annals write—
O, for a space thy toils resign,
And e'er another field be thine
To Oscar's tale thy ear incline.'

"An old officer, distinguished for his services and his attachment to the republic and Bonaparte, reading a paragraph in a paper which said, that this general was at the head of his troops in the battle of Bronni, observed in a tone of anger— 'If he go on thus, fighting in the advanced guard, let him do what he will, he shall have no thanks from me.'

"Bonaparte was hated by the majority of the directory, who entertained a mean jealousy of his talents and success, and never lost sight of the intention of ruining him: which made him say in the midst of his brilliant career in Italy—

'Where is the soldier of my army who has not repeatedly wished to be released by death from the attacks of envy, calumny, and those other odious passions, which appear too often to direct the actions of mankind.'

"During his first campaign in Italy, the *lucky stars*, or *good fortune*, as it was called, of Bonaparte, was continually the subject of conversation: a man of talents present on an occasion of this kind, pointed out what ought to be understood by these phrases, when applied to that hero, by relating the following instances.

'In a company,' said he, 'where Fontenelle was present, a man of talents made several excellent repartees. When he was gone, the company talked of these sallies, calling them by the name of *lucky hits*.—'You are right,' said Fontenelle, 'but these lucky hits never happen but to men of genius.'

"Success

"Success in a single instance may be the result of fortune; but when it is continued, Fortune can have nothing to do with it; it is above her influence.

"When marshal Villars was appointed to command the army, one of the courtiers of Lewis XIV. observed, 'that Villars was very 'lucky'—'Lucky!' said the monarch; no sir, it is beyond that.'

"Cæsar's expression to the fisherman who conducted him in his bark in a violent storm—'Fear nothing, you carry Cæsar and his 'fortune,' being cited before a general whose success had been as great as Cæsar's, the general thus expressed himself on the occasion: 'There is more prudence than pride 'in this mode of speaking, which is 'calculated to strike the imaginations of men, without offending 'their vanity.'

"This remark is as just and profound as it is happily expressed.

"The achievement of the conquest of Italy in the short space of two years gave rise to the following appropriate stanza:

'Pour asservir le Tibre,
Annibal employa seize ans;
Et pour le rendre libre,
Bonaparte mis deux printems.'

'T'enslave the Tibur, sixteen years,
Claimed Hannibal of yore;
With Bonaparte two spring careers
Suffice to free its shore.'

"It was said of Voltaire by Linguet, that there was stuff enough in him of which to make several philosophers and great literary men: this thought of the author of *Annales Politiques* has been applied by a man of talents to Bonaparte, of whom he said, there was enough in him to make many great generals and consummate statesmen.

"The following little dialogue, the thought of which, however, is

neither very natural, nor very new; Dugazon, the actor, having made use nearly of the same idea long before, is from the pen of Fabien Pillet.—

"*Le Transport Imprudent; Dialogue sur BONAPARTE.*

'De ce héros cher au Français,
Ca, conte-moi tous les hauts faits,
Et buvons un coup par victoire —
—Tu Dieu! modère ce transport;
Tu veux donc rester ivre-mort
A la moitié de son histoire.

"*The Right Intention; a Dialogue on BONAPARTE.*

'Of this young hero, dear to France,
Rome—at his triumphs let us glance,
And o'er the bowl recount—
Hold, hold, my friend, your glass resign;
Hold, or, dead-drunk you'll sink with
wine,
E're half you tell the amount.'

"If all the puns that have been written contained as much wit and delicate turn of expression as the following, I should be almost reconciled to them: but for one that is good, we have more than a hundred that are despicable; *sic fata volunt.*

"*La Question résolue.*

'Je demandais: du héros de la France,
On a crayonné cent portraits,
Et nul encore n'a de ces traits
Bien attrappé la ressemblance.

'Bon! me dit un voisin,
La réponse t'échappe:
C'est, mon ami, qu'on est bien fin
Quand on l'attrape.'

"*The Case resolved.*

'How comes it that, while hundreds
paint
The Gallic chief with gen'rous strife,
Though all present some semblance
faint,
Yet none can catch him to the life.

'How comes it? cries a neighbouring wit,
A child, my friend, the cause may hit:—
He must, indeed, be deeply taught
By whom the Gallic chief is caught.'

'There is something so singular

in the anagram discovered in the two words *Révolution Française*, that it may be excusable perhaps to mention so trifling a circumstance, when Bonaparte is the subject of it. The mode of forming the anagram is this: from the two words *révolution Française* the word *reto* is to be taken away; when, the remaining letters being joined together, this sentence will be produced: *un Corse la finera*—‘a Corsican will end it.’

“Some Italian chronologers have told us that the ancestors of Bonaparte first settled in Corsica about four centuries ago, having been

obliged to quit their native country, Sarzana, on account of the war then existing between the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, in which they had fought for the national independence. We shall not enter into so useless a controversy, from which no additional splendor is to be derived to the hero of Italy. Why should we search into the annals of past times for merit which can in no way belong to him, when the present affords him sufficient glory, and the prospect of the future is too brilliant to render any such inquiries of consequence to his fame?”

PARTICULARS of the LIFE of MILTON.

[From TODD's Edition of the Poetical Works of JOHN MILTON.]

“**H**AVING taken the degree of M. A. in 1632, Milton left the university, and retired to his father's house in the country, who had now quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton, near Colnebrooke, in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided five years: in which time he not only, as he himself informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians, but is also believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, and *Lycidas*. The pleasant retreat in the country excited his most poetic feelings; and he proved himself able, in his pictures of rural life, to rival the works of Nature which he contemplated with delight. In the neighbourhood of Horton, the countess dowager of Derby resided; and the *Arcades* was performed by her grandchildren at this seat, called Harefield

Place. It seems to me that Milton intended a compliment to his fair neighbour (for fair she was) in his *L'Allegro*.

- Towers and battlements it sees
- Bosom'd high in tufted trees,
- Where perhaps some beauty lies,
- The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes.

The woody scenery of Harefield, and the personal accomplishments of the countess, are not unfavourable to this supposition; which, if admitted, tends to confirm the opinion, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were composed at Horton.

“The *Mask of Comus*, and *Lycidas*, were certainly produced under the roof of his father. It may be observed that, after his retirement to private study, he paid great attention, like his master Spenser, to the Italian school of poetry. Dr. Johnson observes, that ‘his acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by the mixture

• mixture of longer and shorter ver-
 • ses in *Lycidas*, according to the
 • rules of Tuscan poetry.' In *Comus* the sweet rhythm and cadence of the Italian language is no less observable. Of these poems, as of his other works, the reader will find critical opinions in their respective places. I must here observe that the house in which Milton drew such enchanting scenes, was about ten years since pulled down; and that, during his residence at Horton, he had occasionally taken lodgings in London, in order to cultivate music and mathematics, to meet his friends from Cambridge, and to indulge his passion for books.

"Milton became acquainted (during his travels in Italy) with the celebrated Galileo, whom many biographers have represented as in prison when the poet visited him. But Mr. Walker* has informed me that Galileo was never a prisoner in the inquisition at Florence, although a prisoner of it. On his arrival at Rome on February 10th, 1632, that illustrious philosopher had surrendered himself to Urban, who ordered him to be confined for his philosophical heresy in the palace of the Trinita de' Monti. Here he remained five months. Having retracted his opinion, he was dismissed from Rome; and the house of Monsignor Piccolomini in Sienna was assigned to him as his prison: About the beginning of December, in 1633, he was liberated, and returned to the village of Belloguardo near Florence, whence he went to Arcetri, where it is probable, he received the visit of the English bard. Milton himself has informed us that he had really seen Galileo; and Rolli, in his *Life of the poet*, considers some ideas in the *Paradise Lost*,

approaching towards the Newtonian philosophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his disciples.

"From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he also stayed two months; feasting, as Dr. Newton well observes, both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city. It has been judiciously conjectured, that several of the immortal works of the finest painters and statuary may be traced in Milton's poetry. They are supposed by Mr. Hayley to have had considerable influence in attaching his imagination to our first parents. 'He had most probably contemplated them,' the elegant writer continues, 'not only in the colours of Michael Angelo, who decorated Rome with his picture of the creation, but in the marble of Bandinelli, who had executed two large statues of Adam and Eve, which, though they were far from satisfying the taste of connoisseurs, might stimulate even by their imperfections the genius of a poet.' The description of the creation in the third book of *Paradise Lost* (line 708, 719), is supposed by Mr. Walker to be copied from the same subject as treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican, called '*La Bibbia di Raffaello*.' There are indeed several interesting pictures relating to Adam and Eve in the Florence collection, together with '*the Fall of Lucifer*,' supposed to be the work of Michael Angelo, which Milton might have also seen. Mr. Dunster ingeniously conjectures the *Paradise Regained* to have been enriched by the suggestions of Salvator Rosa's masterly

* "Author of '*Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*,' 4to. 1799."

painting of The Temptation. The genius of Milton seems to have resembled more particular that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it shows a strong coincidence of taste in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly struck with Dante; and that he is said to have sketched with a pen, on the margin of his copy of the Inferno, every striking scene of the terrible and the pathetic; but this valuable curiosity was unfortunately lost in a shipwreck. The learned author of *'Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homere, et de l'Eneide de Virgile,'* was never more mistaken than in supposing the Paradise Lost incapable of supplying an artist with scenes as graceful and sublime as can be met with in the poems of the Grecian and Roman bards: for, in the words of Mr. Hayley, there is no charm exhibited by painting, which Milton's poetry has failed to equal, as far as analogy between the different arts can extend. Indeed the numerous exercises for the painter's skill, which Milton's works afford, have, in later times, commanded due attention; and Fuseli, by his happy sketches from such originals, has taught us how to admire poetry and painting 'breathing united force.'

"At Whitsuntide, in 1643, and in his thirty-fifth year, he married Mary, the daughter of Richard Powell, a gentleman who resided at Forest Hill, near Shotover, in Oxfordshire, and was a justice of the peace for the county. He brought his bride to London; who, after living only a few weeks with him, obtained his consent to accept the invitation of her friends to spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. He gave her permission to stay till Michael-

mas; but she declined to return at the expiration of that period. The visit to her friends was, in fact, only a pretence for conjugal desertion. This desertion has been imputed, by Philips, to the different principles of the two families. Her relations, he tells us, 'being generally addicted to the cavalier party, and some of them possibly engaged in the king's service (who by this time had his head-quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success), they began to repent them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that court should come to flourish again: however, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again after such a repulse.' The biographer intimates, that she was averse to the philosophic life of Milton, and sighed for the mirth and jovialness to which she had been accustomed in Oxfordshire. And Aubrey relates that she 'was brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment, as dancing, &c; and when she came to live with her husband, she found it solitary, no company came to her, and she often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irksome to her, and so she went to her parents. He sent for her home after some time. As for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicion of that; nor had he of that any jealousy.' He sent for her, however, in vain. As all his letters, desiring her to return, were unanswered; so the messenger, whom he afterwards employed for the same purpose, was dismissed from her father's house with contempt. He resolved there-fore

beauty, the daughter of one Dr. Davis, with a design to marry her! But this desire of carrying his doctrine into practice was not countenanced by the lady. What is more remarkable, the proceeding contributed to effect a reconciliation with the discarded wife.

“ His father having come to live with him, after the surrender of Reading to the earl of Essex in 1643 and his scholars now increasing, he required a larger house; before his removal to which, he was surprised, at one of his usual visits to a relation in the lane of St. Martin’s-le-grand, to see his wife come from another room, and beg forgiveness on her knees. The interview on her part had been concerted. The declining state of the royal cause, and consequently of her father’s family, as well as the intelligence of Milton’s determination to marry again, caused her friends to employ every method to re-unite the insulted husband and disobedient wife. It was contrived that she should be ready, when he came, in another apartment. Fenton, in his elegant sketch of the poet’s life, judiciously remarks, that ‘ It is not to be doubted but an interview of that nature, so little expected, must wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetic scene in *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve addresses herself to Adam for pardon and peace. At the intercession of his friends who were present, after a short reluctance, he generously sacrificed all his resentment to her tears:

———' Soon his heart relented
' Towards her, his life so late, and sole
delight,
' Now at his feet submissive in distress.'

• And after this reunion so far was
• ho

' he from retaining an unkind me-
 ' mory of the provocations which
 ' he had received from her ill con-
 ' duct, that, when the king's cause
 ' was entirely oppressed, and her
 ' father who had been active in his
 ' loyalty was exposed to seques-
 ' tration, Milton received both him
 ' and his family to protection and
 ' free entertainment in his own
 ' house, till their affairs were ac-
 ' commodated by his interest in the
 ' victorious faction.'

" While Milton experienced the
 mortification of conjugal desertion,
 and was immersed in elaborate dis-
 cussions connected with his misfor-
 tune, he was not without mental
 amusement. His leisure hours oft-
 en passed smoothly away in visits to
 a lady of the most engaging talents
 and conversation, the daughter of
 the Earl of Marlborough; to whom,
 as to her husband captain Hobson,
 a very accomplished gentleman, his
 company was peculiarly acceptable.
 His tenth sonnet, inscribed to this
 discerning lady, is a grateful ac-
 knowledgment of his esteem. His
 time also had been employed in col-
 lecting together his early poems, both
 English and Latin, for the press.
 They were first published by Hum-
 phrey Moseley, the general publish-
 er of the poets of this day, in 1645;
 who tells us in his address to the
 reader, that ' the author's more pe-
 ' culiar excellency in these studies
 ' was too well known to conceal his
 ' papers, or to keep me from at-
 ' tempting to solicit them from
 ' him. Let the event guide itself
 ' which way it will, I shall deserve
 ' of the age, by bringing into the
 ' light as true a birth as the Muses
 ' have brought forth since our fa-
 ' mous Spenser wrote; whose

' poems in these English ones are as
 ' rarely imitated as sweetly ex-
 ' celled.' Moseley was not more
 discerning than Milton was modest.
 But modesty was a principal feature
 in Milton's character. He affixed
 only his initials to *Lycidas*: he ac-
 knowledged, with hesitation, *Co-*
mus. It is rather surprising, that
 Mr. Warton should have asserted
 that, for seventy years after their
 first publication, he recollects no
 mention of these poems in the whole
 succession of English literature; and
 that the quantity of an hemistich,
 quoted from them, is not to be found
 in the Collections of those who have
 digested the Beauties or Parases of
 the English Poets from 1655 to
 1738 inclusively. It is my duty po-
 sitively to assert, that in the edition
 of Poole's English Parnassus, or
 Help to English Poesie, published
 in 1677, there are * few pages in
 which quotations may not be found
 from Milton's poetry.

" It was while he lived in Jewen-
 street, that Ellwood the quaker
 was recommended to him as a per-
 son who, for the advantage of his
 conversation, would read to him
 such Latin books as he thought pro-
 per; an employment to which he
 attended every afternoon, except
 on Sundays. ' At my first sitting
 ' to him,' this ingenuous writer
 informs us, in his Life of himself,
 ' observing that I used the English
 ' pronunciation, he told me, if I
 ' would have the benefit of the La-
 ' tin tongue, not only to read and
 ' understand Latin authors, but to
 ' converse with foreigners, either
 ' abroad or at home, I must learn
 ' the foreign pronunciation; to this
 ' I consenting, he instructed me
 ' how to sound the vowels: this

* " And, to the credit of Poole's selection, I may add that the examples are very
 often taken from *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, and the Ode on the Nativity."

• change of pronunciation proved a
 • new difficulty to me; but “labor
 • omnia vincit improbus;” and so
 • did I, which made my reading the
 • more acceptable to my master.
 • He, on the other hand, perceiving
 • with what earnest desire I pur-
 • sued learning, gave me not only
 • all the encouragement, but all the
 • help he could; for, having a cu-
 • rious ear, he understood by my
 • tone when I understood what I
 • read, and when I did not; and
 • accordingly would stop me,
 • examine me, and open the most
 • difficult passages to me.’ The
 kind care bestowed by Milton upon
 the improvement of this young man
 was repaid by every mark of per-
 sonal regard. The courtesy of the
 preceptor, and the gratitude of the
 disciple, are indeed alike conspi-
 cuous. After several adventures,
 which were no slight trials of pa-
 tience, Ellwood found an asylum
 in the house of an affluent quaker
 at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire,
 whose children he was to instruct.
 This situation afforded him an op-
 portunity of being serviceable to
 Milton. For, when the plague be-
 gan to rage in London in 1665, Ell-
 wood took a house for him at Chal-
 font St. Giles, to which the poet
 retired with his family. He had
 not long been removed from Jewen-
 street to a house in the Artillery
 Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields.
 On his arrival at Chalfont he found
 that Ellwood, in consequence of a
 persecution of the quakers, was
 confined in the gaol at Aylesbury.
 But, being soon released, this affec-
 tionate friend made a visit to him,
 to welcome him into the country.
 • After some common discourses,’
 says Ellwood, ‘had passed be-
 • tween us, he called for a manu-
 • script of his, which, being brought,
 • he delivered to me, bidding me

• take it home with me, and read it
 • at my leisure, and, when I had so
 • done, return it to him with my
 • judgment thereupon. When I
 • came home, and set myself to read
 • it, I found it was that excellent
 • poem, which he entitled *Paradise
 • Lost.* From this account it ap-
 pears that *Paradise Lost* was com-
 plete in 1665.

“After the poem had been made
 ready for publication, it is said to
 have been in danger of being sup-
 pressed by the licenser, who ima-
 gined that, in the noble simile of the
 sun in an eclipse, he had discovered
 treason. The licenser’s hesitation
 is a striking example of lord Lyttel-
 ton’s acute remark, that ‘the poli-
 • tics of Milton at that time brought
 • his poetry into disgrace: for it is a
 • rule with the English, *they see no
 • good in a man whose politics they
 • dislike.*’ Licensed, however, the
 poem was; and Milton sold his
 copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel
 Simmons, for an immediate pay-
 ment of five pounds. But the
 agreement with the bookseller en-
 titled him to a conditional payment
 of five pounds more when thirteen
 hundred copies should be sold of the
 first edition; of the like sum after
 the same number of the second
 edition: and of another five pounds
 after the same sale of the third. The
 number of each edition was not to
 exceed fifteen hundred copies. It
 first appeared in 1667, in ten books.
 In the history of *Paradise Lost*, Dr.
 Johnson has observed that a relation
 of minute circumstances will rather
 gratify than fatigue. Countenanced
 by such authority, I proceed to
 state that the poem, in a small quar-
 to form, and plainly but neatly
 bound, was advertised at the price
 of three shillings. The titles were
 varied, in order to circulate the
 edition, in 1667, 1668, and 1669.

Of

Of these there were no less than five. In two years the sale gave the poet a right to his second payment, for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in small octavo; and, by a judicious division of the seventh and tenth, contained twelve books. He lived not to receive the payment stipulated for this impression. The third edition was published in 1678; and his widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, agreed with Simmons, the printer, to receive eight pounds for her right, according to her receipt dated December 21, 1680. Simmons had already covenanted to transfer the right, for twenty-five pounds, to Brabazon Aylmer, the bookseller; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683; and the other half, March 24, 1690; at a price considerably advanced.

“Of the first edition it has been observed by Dr. Johnson, that ‘the call for books was not in Milton’s age what it is at present; ‘the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakspeare, which ‘probably did not together make ‘one thousand copies. The sale ‘of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius.’ This remark will always be read with peculiar gratification, as it exonerates our forefathers from the charge of being inattentive to the glorious blaze of a luminary, before which so many stars ‘dim ‘their ineffectual light.’ The demand, as Dr. Johnson notices, did not immediately increase; because

‘many more readers than were ‘supplied at first, the nation did ‘not afford.’ Only three thousand were sold in eleven years; for it forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception.

“Milton, in his youth, is said to have been extremely handsome. He was called the lady of his college; an appellation which Mr. Hayley says he could not relish; and I may add that he might be less inclined to be pleased with his title, as, at that period, the appearance of effeminacy was attacked from the pulpit: ‘We live in an ‘age,’ says Bishop Lake, ‘where ‘in it is hard to say, whether in ‘clothes men grow more womanish, or women more mannish!’ Milton had a very fine skin and fresh complexion. His hair was of a light brown; and, parted on the foretop, hung down in curls upon his shoulders. His features were regular; and when turned of forty, he has himself told us, he was generally allowed to have had the appearance of being ten years younger. He has also represented himself as a man of moderate stature, neither too lean nor too corpulent; and so far endued with strength and spirit, that, as he always wore a sword, he wanted not, while light revisited his eyes, the skill or the courage to use it. His eyes were of a greyish colour; which, when deprived of sight, did not betray their loss; at first view, and at a small distance, it was difficult to know

know that he was blind. The testimony of Aubrey, respecting the person of Milton, is happily expressed: 'His harmonicall and ingenious soul did lodge in a beautiful and well proportioned body.' Milton's voice was musically sweet, as his ear was musically correct. Wood describes his deportment to have been affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. Of his figure in his declining days, Richardson has left the following sketches. 'An ancient clergyman of Dorsetshire (Dr. Wright) found John Milton in a small chamber hung with rusty green, sitting in an elbow chair, and dressed neatly in black, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk-stones. He used also to sit in a gray coarse cloth coat, at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields; in warm sunny weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality.'

"His domestic habits were those of a sober and temperate student. Of wine, or of any strong liquors, he drank little. In his diet he was rarely influenced by delicacy of choice. He once delighted in walking and using exercise, and appears to have amused himself in botanical pursuits; but, after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In summer he then rested in bed from nine till four, in winter to five. If at these hours he was not disposed to rise, he had a person by his bedside to read to him. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and commonly studied till twelve; then used some exercise for an hour; then dined;

afterwards played on the organ or bass-viol, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who, he said, had a good voice but no ear. It is related, that when educating his nephews, 'he had made them songsters, and sing from the time they were with him.' No poet, it may be observed, has more frequently or more powerfully commended the charms of music than Milton. He wished perhaps to rival, and he has successfully rivalled, the sweetest descriptions of a favourite bard, whom the melting voice appears to have often enchanted the tender Petrarch. After his regular indulgence in musical relaxation, he studied till six; then entertained his visitors till eight; then enjoyed a light supper; and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, retired to bed.

"His literature was immense: Of the Hebrew, with its two dialects, and of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages, he was a master. In Latin, Dr. Johnson observes, his skill was such as places him in the first rank of writers and critics. In the Italian he was also particularly skilled. His sonnets in that language have received the highest commendations from Italian critics, both of his own and of modern times. If he had written generally in Italian, it has been supposed, by the late lord Orford, that he would have been the most perfect poet in modern languages; for his own strength of thought would have condensed and hardened that speech to a proper degree. The academy Della Crusca consulted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of 'The two famous Renowners of Beatrice and Laura.' It has been rightly remarked, that he read almost all authors,

thors, and improved by all: he relates himself, that his 'round of study and reading was ceaseless.'

"The classical books in which he is represented to have most delighted, were Homer, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Euripides. The first he could almost entirely repeat. Of the last he is said to have been a reader, not only with the taste of a poet, but with the minuteness of a Greek critic. His Euripides, in two volumes, Paul Stevens's quarto edition of 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock, of Gumley, in Leicestershire. Of these notes some have been adopted by Joshua Barnes, and some have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. In the first volume, page the first, is the name of John Milton, with the price of the book at 12s. 6d. and the date of the year 1634. I have to notice the existence of another treasure, bearing also the same date, price 3s. and the name of John Milton, written by himself on the blank page opposite the title; his copy of *Lycophron*, with his own marginal observations. Of this remarkable curiosity, hitherto unknown to the public, I received my information from Mr. Walker, by whom it had been inspected in the library of lord Charlemont, the present fortunate possessor of it. From Milton himself we learn, that 'the divine volumes of Plato and his equall Xenophon' were principal objects of his regard; and that he preferred Sallust to all the Roman historians. Demosthenes has been supposed, by lord Monboddo

and Mr. Hayley, to have been studied by him minutely and successfully. On contemporary authors Milton has bestowed little praise. Dr. Newton notices that he has condescended, more than once, to applaud Selden; but that he seems disposed to censure, rather than commend the rest. He has extolled, however, in his *Areopagitica*, the merits of lord Brooke, who had lately fallen in the service of the parliament, and had written a treatise against the English episcopacy, and against the Danger of Sects and Schisms, in terms of superabundant eulogy.

"His political principles were those of a thorough republican; which have been ascribed, by Dr. Johnson, to a native violence of temper, and to a hatred of all whom he was required to obey. The frequent asperity of this eminent biographer towards Milton has been repeatedly noticed by Mr. Hayley with reprehension and regret; and, in the following instance, with all the eloquence and dignity of sublime instruction. 'There can hardly be any contemplation more painful, than to dwell on the virulent excesses of eminent and good men; yet the utility of such contemplation may be equal to its pain. What mildness and candour should it not instil into ordinary mortals to observe, that even genius and virtue weaken their title to respect, in proportion as they recede from that evangelical charity, which should influence every man in his judgment of another.'

ACCOUNT of the late DUKE GORDON, M. A.
Including ANECDOTES of the UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH.

[Communicated by Professor DALZEL.]

DUKE GORDON, M.A. the late well-known sub-librarian of the University of Edinburgh, was a man of a singular character. The obscurity of his parentage, as that of many others who have distinguished themselves in life, far from casting any reproach on him, served, on the contrary, to enhance the merit of his own exertions. He was the son of William Gordon, weaver in Potterrow of Edinburgh, and born there on the 20th of May, 1739. There is a tradition that William gave his son the Christian name of Duke, in commemoration of some attention which his own father, while in the king's service, and at a period when clanship was still in high repute, had once met with from the Duke of Gordon; a whimsical and ill-judged distinction, for which his son, when he grew up, never seemed to be grateful; and accordingly in writing this part of his name, he usually set down no more of it than the initial.

"An ambition of a different sort, with which the father was actuated, deserves greater praise. He felt a desire to bestow upon his son a learned education; and by great industry and economy, he was enabled to accomplish this object. Having got him instructed in the reading of English and in writing, he was advised to remove him to a private Latin school, kept in the Cowgate by Mr. Andrew Waddel, then a teacher of considerable reputation, but now known only as the translator of Buchanan's paraphrase of the Psalms. Here our young scholar

applied with such diligence and success, that he was generally found at the head of his class; and at the annual examination of the school, he had the good fortune to be approved of by the celebrated Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, who honoured Waddel with his countenance and presence on those occasions. At this school young Gordon profited so much, that in a few years he was deemed qualified for entering the university, where we find him matriculated as a student of Greek, under professor Robert Hunter, the 13th of March, 1753.

"In the Scottish universities, all that is deemed necessary as a preparation for academical instruction, is a previous course of Latin for four, five, or at most six, years, either at a grammar school, or under a sufficient private teacher; during which time, if a young man has either in reality made remarkable proficiency, or is supposed to have done so, he is sometimes advised, on entering to the university, to pass over the Latin, or, as it is commonly called, the Humanity Class, and to proceed immediately to the Greek. But this is chiefly the case with those whose circumstances are so narrow as to render it an object for them to save as much time and expense as possible. Unless from a necessity of this kind, the advantages to be derived from attending a professor of humanity ought never to be neglected; as it is to be supposed that the instructions of such a teacher will not only greatly promote any previous knowledge of

of the Latin tongue, which a young man may have received at a grammar school or elsewhere, but will give him a more profound and accurate knowledge of grammar, Roman antiquities, and Roman learning; and initiate him, at an early period, into the principles of taste, and of polite literature in general. Even the reading of the Latin poets with emphasis, propriety and gracefulness, from an academical chair, and commenting upon them with feeling and with taste, never fail to captivate the ingenuous youth, and to make such an impression upon their minds, as at no period of their future life is ever in any of them completely effaced; but which to many proves ever after a source of exquisite enjoyment.

“ Besides the public Humanity Class, which used to meet several hours in the day, the professor had another, which was called his Private Class; and, which assembling only one hour daily, was calculated for those who might wish still to prosecute the Latin along with their other studies; it was particularly calculated for the students of Greek, who had attended the public Humanity Class the preceding year, or for those whose circumstances had obliged them to commence their academical course in the public Greek class. Of this last description was young Gordon; and while he learned the elements of Greek under professor Hunter, he was improving himself in Latin, and in the knowledge of Roman antiquities, in the private class of professor George Stuart.

“ The Greek professor too used to spend about six weeks at the commencement of his public course in reading Latin with his students, previous to their entering upon the elements of the Greek. The books

which professor Hunter generally chose for this purpose were Livy's Roman History, and Lucan's *Pharsalia*; and thus Mr. Gordon had the benefit of observing this learned instructor's method of teaching Latin as well as Greek.

“ In the public Greek class, the plan of education in Scotland obliges the professor to teach the mere elements of the language; as very few have any knowledge of Greek previous to their entering the university. But Mr. Hunter also had a private class for those who wished to prosecute that knowledge during the time of their philosophical studies; and which enabled them, in addition to what they had learned of the Testament, of *Æsop's Fables*, of *Lucian's Dialogues*, and of *Homer's Iliad*, in the public course, to obtain some acquaintance also with the *Odyssey*; with one or two of the Greek tragedies, and with some passages from *Xenophon* or *Herodian*. Of these two contemporary professors, it was remarked, that the Latinist had a more bold, vigorous, and striking way of communication; but that the Greek professor, with a familiar and less dignified manner, discovered a much more accurate and profound skill, even of Latin grammar, and of all the niceties of that language. The former might have been characterised in the words which *Scaliger* applied to *Juvenal*, *Ardet, iustat, jugulat*; the manner of the latter rather resembled that of *Nestor*,

Τὸν καὶ ἀπὸ γλαφρῆς μολίτες χλυσίον ἦν αὐδῆ.

“ But though the gentle and familiar manner of the latter rendered him a great favourite with the students, it must be owned that the bold and commanding tone of the former made a more lasting impression

pression on his hearers. Many of these who survive will still remember with what congenial enthusiasm they have heard him pronounce the verses of Horace, of Virgil, and of Juvenal; and with what powerful effect he conveyed to them a knowledge of Roman antiquities, in commenting upon Livy or Suetonius.

“Such were the professors under whom Duke Gordon studied the Latin and Greek languages. At the Greek class he particularly distinguished himself; for as he was possessed of great industry, and of a tenacious memory, he acquired and retained the principles of the Greek more successfully than most of his fellow students; and as he had been well grounded in the Latin prosody, and the knowledge of the quantity of syllables, by Mr. Waddel, he was a great admirer of professor Hunter’s attention to those particulars, and indeed of his great accuracy as a teacher in every respect.

“Men of letters in Scotland have of late been reproached with want of attention to the proper quantity in Latin and Greek words; and it must be owned not without reason; although the reproach is often expressed too indiscriminately; and by none more than by some of their own countrymen, who being themselves void of this absolute necessary ingredient in the composition of an accomplished classical scholar, would wish to have it believed that others are as ignorant as themselves. It is well known that there was a time when Latin poetry flourished, and was understood in Scotland to as great an extent as in any other European nation. What scholar has not heard of George Buchanan, Andrew Melvin, Robert Boyd, Andrew Ramsay, and of the *Delitizæ* 1801.

Poetarum Scotorum? of which Dr. Johnson has been liberal enough to confess, that the Latin poetry there contained would have done honour to any nation; and Dr. Parr, with still greater liberality, and what many may think partiality to the Scots, at least in as far as the Greek is concerned, ascribes to them, at one period, superior excellence in classic learning in general. It is certain, that from the time of Buchanan, who died in 1592, till the latter period of the reign of Charles I. both Latin prose and poetry were cultivated in Scotland with the greatest success. Almost all the professors in the universities, and many other scholars, not only spoke Latin fluently, but wrote verses in Latin, and sometimes in Greek: nor do those contained in *The Muse’s Welcome to King James*, in 1617, and those in *ΕΙΣΟΔΙΑ Musarum Edinenstium in Caroli regis ingressu in Scotiam*, in 1633, yield in any respect to similar productions in any other country. From that time polite literature in Scotland, and particularly the making of Latin verses, very rapidly declined. This was owing entirely to the agitated state of the nation; and not to any aversion which either party had to the cultivation of learning; for both after the restoration and after the revolution, while the nation enjoyed any repose, the former elegant studies were resumed; even Latin verses were written, though not in so great numbers. The union, and after that the rebellion in 1715, produced new subjects of discussion, which engaged the attention of men. After the second rebellion in 1745, while a taste for philosophy and English composition began to prevail, classical learning was not neglected; and many scholars, though they did not practise the writing of

D

Latin

Latin verses, paid due attention to the quantity of syllables, and to the correct reading of Latin poetry. This is still the case; though perhaps it is to be regretted that the writing of Latin verses is now so little attended to; for most certainly that exercise practised to a certain extent, at an early period of life, inures the mind to habits both of elegance and accuracy.

“Though Mr. Gordon never attempted the composition of Latin verse, he had a very accurate knowledge of the quantity of syllables, and could never hear without great indignation and contempt, such blunders as

‘Eupolis, atque Cratæus, Aristophanesque’
poëta;—

‘Scribëris Vario fortis et hostium.’—

‘Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina,
patientia, nostra?’

And when he was afterwards on duty in the library, as deputy keeper, when any student, and far more when any person who had pretensions to the appellation of learned, required him to produce the ‘Encyclopædia Britannica,’ the ‘Icones virorum illustrium,’ &c., or when any one spoke of the ‘Nosocomium Regium Edinense,’ if he did not directly reprove them, he was sure to take an opportunity, in their hearing, to repeat the words, accompanied with a keen and significant look, and to let them understand that he had a way of uttering them different from theirs.

“When yet very young, he was employed to officiate in teaching the school of Tranent, instead of the master, who happened to be indisposed. This was perhaps immediately after he had finished the first term or session at the university, and also during the time of the ensuing session; for his name does not again appear in the album of the

university till the 4th of March 1755, when he was attending the logic class under professor John Stevenson. What figure he made as the teacher of a country school is not known. His great youth must have rendered it difficult for him to maintain any degree of authority, where probably some of his pupils were older than himself. Nothing, however, can contribute more to the formation of an accurate scholar than to be employed, when very young, in the practice of teaching others; and it is not unlikely, that, in this view, Mr. Gordon had been occupied very advantageously for himself when, at the age of 16, he was teaching the school of Tranent. On returning to college he studied, under Mr. Stevenson, not only the elements of philosophy, but had an opportunity of prosecuting the knowledge of Greek, while that most laborious and useful professor gave lectures on Aristotle’s Poetics, and Longinus’s Treatise on the Sublime: for Mr. Stevenson did not content himself with giving lectures on Logic and Metaphysics on the plan of the celebrated lord Bacon, from the text book of Heineccius, and the abridgment of Locke’s Essay on the Human Understanding; he gave a short idea also of the old logic of the schools, and a brief history of philosophy, taken chiefly from Diogenes Laërtius, and from Stanley, and arranged according to the text book of Heineccius; and in order to form the taste of his students, he caused them to read and translate in his hearing the Greek text of Aristotle’s Poetics and of Longinus’s Essay, and commented critically on what they read, so copiously, from the critical works then known, such as the prose discourses and prefaces of Dryden, Addison’s papers in the Spectator, Bossu, Dacier, and Pope’s
Notes

Notes on Homer, as greatly to delight and instruct his hearers, whom he thus initiated into those pleasing studies, which, at that period of life, were quite new to them. He did not indeed attempt to give new systems of his own invention; but it was remarked, that he collected, with the greatest diligence, whatever he could find valuable in the writings of other men; and, under a new arrangement, made use of it for the instruction of his pupils. His diligence in this respect continued to the latest period of his useful life; and when any new work appeared which was connected with his subject, he never failed to give his hearers a distinct account of it. Though he was upwards of 70 years of age when Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind was published, yet he took an early opportunity of delivering to his students an analysis of that work. He did not live long enough to peruse the Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers of Man, published by the same eminent writer.

“ Mr. Stevenson was among the first public teachers in this country who ascribed its due importance and its due praise to the philosophy of Locke and lord Bacon, without entirely exploding the system which had so long maintained its power in the schools; for he employed some part of his course in teaching his students the syllogistic method of impugning and defending theses, and caused them actually to engage in this sort of exercise in his presence, and before the public class. He used to meet with his class two hours one day and three another, alternately, and at the same time with the public Humanity and Greek classes. It was acknowledged by those who had studied under him, that they derived the greatest ad-

vantage from his instructions. Many of those who have lately distinguished themselves as first rate writers have been forward in owning their obligations to Mr. Stevenson, and none more than the late Dr. Robertson. This illustrious historian, when, in the exercise of his academical duty, he visited the logic class; for the first time, to hear the students deliver certain exercises which had been prescribed to them, and that in the very same place where he himself had formerly been employed in a similar manner, and under the same instructor, laid hold of such an interesting occasion to acknowledge his obligations to his venerable master. In addressing the students as principal, he expressed himself in the following terms:—
‘ Multa a præceptore vestro, adolescentes generosi, audivistis, quæ scientiæ amorem in animis ingenuis accendere possunt; et exemplo suo, haud minus quam præceptis, viam vobis monstravit, et ratiocinandi recte, et judicandi rite. Expertus loquor. Nam, eodem, quem vos nunc sequimini, professore præconante, hic philosophiæ fontes primum accessi; hic multarum rerum notitiam hausi, quæ manent adhuc alta mente repositæ, quæ sæpe revoco summa cum voluptate, nec minore fructu; et si vos vobismetipsis non defueritis, multa nunc etiam discere possitis, quæ olim meminisse juvabit. Non enim ab illo imbuti estis scientiæ cujusdam futilis et contentiosæ rudimentis, sed institutis sanæ illius philosophiæ, quæ est vitæ dux, virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum, in cujus præceptis unus dies bene actus peccanti immortalitati est anteposendus.’—
 Immediately after the dismissal of the class the aged professor, unable any longer to suppress his emotion, dissolved in tears of grateful affection,

and fell on the neck of his favourite scholar, now his principal.

“ Though Mr. Stevenson published no work of his own, it cannot be doubted that his instructions promoted the success of many of those who have since so highly exalted the celebrity of Scottish literature. His critical lectures, it must be owned, contributed a large share towards the production of the more polished and refined, but not more useful, academical discourses of the late Dr. Blair: and it was not without reason that the institution of a separate chair for a professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres was complained of by the respectable veteran, as an encroachment upon his province.

“ It is usual for young men of narrow circumstances at the Scottish universities to embrace the earliest opportunity of being employed either as private tutors in families, or in giving private assistance to other students younger than themselves: and the professors have great pleasure in recommending to such situations young men of that description who have distinguished themselves in the classes. Accordingly, we find that Mr. Gordon lived for some time, as a private tutor, successively in several families, particularly those of captain Dalrymple, afterwards earl of Stair, and of the late lord Auchinleck, father of the well-known Mr. James Boswell. How long he remained in these, or in what years he first attended the lectures on natural and moral philosophy, is not ascertained. But, having found an introduction to Dr. James Robertson, professor of oriental languages, distinguished for his learning and benevolent disposition, and for his kind attention to indigent young men of letters, in him he found a steady and zealous patron. By his interest chiefly he

had obtained the situations already mentioned; and when professor Robertson was appointed librarian to the university in the year 1763, such was the favourable opinion he entertained of Mr. Gordon, that he immediately pitched upon him as his assistant in that office; and he could not have been more fortunate in his choice.

“ The library of the university of Edinburgh, from a small beginning, has gradually increased into a very valuable collection. In the year 1580, Mr. Clement Little, advocate, and one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, bequeathed his books, consisting of about 300 volumes, to the citizens and ministers of Edinburgh. They were committed to the care of Mr. James Lawson, first minister of the city, and deposited in a gallery belonging to the lodgings appropriated to the ministers of Edinburgh, which were situated on the ground now occupied by the parliament house. The university being afterwards instituted in the year 1582, it was agreed, about two years after, by the town council and the ministers, that those books should be removed to an apartment in the college, and delivered to the care of Mr. Robert Rollock, who was the first professor, and afterwards the first principal, of that society.

“ Such was the commencement of the college library, which continued to increase rapidly, not only by donations from those who annually matriculated, and those who received the degree of M.A., but by the munificence of many well-disposed citizens and others, who contributed sums of money, or valuable books, for that purpose.

“ This library remained for many years in the particular custody of the principals of the college, till at length

length it was thought, that the books would be of more general benefit, if, instead of the principal, a librarian were appointed, who might attend regularly, at certain stated hours, for the accommodation of such as should be admitted to the use of them, agreeably to certain laws and regulations. Accordingly Mr. Kenneth Logie, son to Mr. James Logie, advocate, was chosen keeper of the library, with a small annual salary; and the addition of some incidental perquisites. He was recommended to this employment from the assistance he had given to principal John Adamson, in arranging the books, and in making a catalogue of them. As no book was, at that time, and for many years after, lent out of the library to any of the students, the regulations then framed, respected chiefly the conduct of those who had the privilege of reading in it, upon paying a small sum, and subscribing their names to the regulations. For which purpose it was kept open six hours in the day in summer, and four in winter; during which time the librarian gave regular attendance, produced the books which were called for, and took care that the proper use should be made of them, according to the regulations. Mr. Logie continued librarian till the year 1641, when he accepted of a call to be minister of Skirling, in the presbytery of Biggar. The office after this time passed rapidly through a great number of hands; for, as the salary and the annexed emoluments were very small, and by no means a proper provision for life to any man of talents and learning, the possessors immediately resigned whenever a more lucrative situation presented itself. This proved a great source of perplexity to the town council, patrons and guardians of the uni-

versity; for the receiving of the books so often from one librarian, and delivering them to the charge of a successor, was attended with much trouble.

“ Such was the state of this library till the year 1667, when Mr. William Henderson was chosen keeper, who discharged the office with diligence and fidelity. He was at great pains in arranging the books, and in making catalogues of them; and, in particular, he kept an exact account of the books and other donations presented to the college, with the names of the donors, during the time of his holding the office. This register, which is still preserved, is preceded by a very distinct catalogue of the benefactors of the college, from its foundation till the year 1679.

“ Mr. William Henderson continued to discharge the duties of librarian till the year 1685, when he resigned in favour of his son Robert, who had received an academical education, and taken the degree of M. A. That this young man might be the better qualified for the office, he was permitted to travel into different countries, with a view to learn the best method of arranging and keeping great libraries; and, during his absence, his father continued to officiate in his stead. On his return, he set himself, with great assiduity, to improve the plan of keeping the books; and his first object was to arrange them in the presses, according to the sciences, and to make a catalogue of them in that order. This he accordingly effected; and the catalogue still remains, very distinctly executed, in his own hand-writing, with a Latin dedication to the lord provost, magistrates, and council, and to Dr. Gilbert Rule, principal of the college. His next attempt was to

frame a complete alphabetical catalogue, which was absolutely necessary to facilitate the finding of the particular books. But although he remained in office till the year 1747, a period of sixty-two years, much longer than any of his predecessors, or than any professor had ever continued in the college of Edinburgh, he did not live to accomplish this favourite object. At one period he suffered ambition to interfere; and in the year 1690, when Mr. John Drummond, professor of humanity, was deprived of that office by the parliamentary visitors, Mr. Henderson appeared as one of the candidates to succeed him, at the comparative trial held the same year. But there were four other candidates, one of whom, Mr. Laurence Dundas, afterwards so much celebrated, proved successful. After that time, Mr. Robert Henderson seems to have contented himself with his librarianship, and remained in that office till the infirmities of extreme old age obliged him to resign. He was a man of very moderate ability, with a considerable degree of self-conceit. His emaciated and grotesque figure is still remembered by persons yet surviving, and who were at college in his latter days. He was fond of showing his talent for speaking Latin; and used to avow his fear of approaching a certain ruinous part of the old college wall, of which it had been predicted, that it was to fall on the most learned man in the university.

“ On the resignation of Mr. Robert Henderson, who was permitted to retain the salary, professor George Stuart was elected librarian in 1747. He, with the assistance of his brother, Mr. Alexander Stuart, afterwards minister of the West church, at first took some pains in inspecting

and arranging the books, and in making a new press catalogue, which he had engaged to produce to the town-council in 15 months after his accepting of the office; but this stipulation he was not able to fulfil; and it was not till the year 1750, in consequence of an injunction from the patrons, that he at last presented it to them. His performance, however, was not a complete catalogue, but rather an abbreviation of a catalogue; for it did not exhibit a full detail of the titles of the books. Indeed, it was observed that the library was kept in a very slovenly manner during the incumbency of professor Stuart, who was eminent as a professor of humanity, but, as a librarian, obtained no praise. It is worthy of remark, that during the latter years in which he held the office, his son, the late celebrated Dr. Gilbert Stuart, had some share in the discharge of its duties; and that the acquaintance with books, which he then obtained at a very early period of his life, paved the way for the reputation which he afterwards acquired.

“ An event at last happened, which rendered the former labours of professor Stuart and his assistants, and those of his predecessors, as keepers of the library, of very little value. The room which had been built for the library (now the Musæum for natural history) was, in the year 1753, found too small for the proper accommodation of the books. It was therefore proposed, that the great room over the common hall, upwards of 100 feet in length, but low in the roof, and where the professors used to hold their meetings on many public occasions, should be raised by the addition of an attic story for a gallery, and accommodated with a new roof, new windows, and a new floor; and converted

verted into a repository for the books. This important work was accomplished about the year 1762, at which time the books were removed into it.

“ Fortunately, that very year, Dr. William Robertson was elected principal of the college, who, with his usual sagacity, immediately foresaw of what immense use this valuable collection might be made, under proper regulations, both to professors and students; especially if any method could be devised of increasing its funds, and rendering it more generally accessible. But as it could be of little use without a set of proper catalogues; and as, for want of these, the books, since their removal had got into great disorder, professor Stuart the librarian was required by the patrons to set about this work without delay. But whether he found that his genius revolted from this Herculean task, and foresaw that much additional trouble would afterwards be required, or from whatever motive, he thought proper to resign the office into the hands of the patrons on the 12th of January 1763; and, on the same day, they elected in his stead, Dr. James Robertson, professor of oriental languages; who being yet in the prime of life, and of great industry, had no objections to undergo the necessary labour. But as it was thought proper that he should have a stated assistant in the exercise of the various duties that would now be incident to the office, he immediately pitched upon Mr. Duke Gordon for that purpose, who engaged to serve him on very moderate terms. The propriety of this choice soon appeared in the effectual aid which Mr. Gordon contributed, in drawing up a new press catalogue—the first work which exercised the diligence of the new li-

brarians, and which was superintended also by the principal, who took a very active part in all the business concerning the library. In order to increase its funds, he had prevailed on the professors to contribute each an handsome donation, himself setting the example; and whereas it had been the practice, during many years, for the students only of literature and philosophy to enter their names in the college register, and to pay, on that occasion, a small sum for the benefit of the library, Dr. Robertson prevailed with the law and the medical professors to cause their students also to matriculate annually, and to furnish their contribution; in which scheme he was warmly supported by the first Dr. Monro. To induce the students to accede readily to this proposal, it was agreed, that all the contributors should not only be allowed to frequent the library, on certain days of the week, and there to call for whatever books they pleased, and read or consult them on the spot, but that they should be allowed to borrow them, upon giving a receipt, and depositing the value, with the exception of rare and splendid books, which were not to be carried out of the library, but by a particular order of the curators, who consisted of the principal himself, with five or six of the professors in rotation. Certain regulations to this purpose having been agreed upon, and having passed the *Senatus Academicus* on the 10th of March 1763; and certain days having been appointed for matriculation, the students of all descriptions (those of divinity being exempted as having a separate library of their own) came forward, in presence of the principal and their respective professors, attended by the librarians, and subscribed

their names; and contributed with the greatest alacrity, according to their several circumstances. These meetings were opened with prayer by the principal, who, in a short speech, explained the purpose of them; stating that the university had two objects in view in thus calling the students together; one of which was to give them access to a valuable collection of books, and the other to enable them, at any future period of their lives, to ascertain, by a certificate under the hand of the librarian, that they had obtained an academical education. The *Sponsio Academica* was then read to them, which they subscribed, as their names were called over from lists previously made up by the librarians; and as each subscribed, he received a ticket entitling him to the privilege of the library for one year. A separate book, containing all the names, with the sums contributed, annexed to each, was also kept; and the money collected was delivered to the principal, who acted as cashier, superintended the purchase of books, disbursed the money, and submitted his accounts to be audited by the curators, previous to their being reported to the *Senatus Academicus*.

“ This plan, which has now been adhered to for near forty years, has been attended with the utmost advantage to the university. During that time more than 6,000*l.* worth of books have been added to the library, besides those received by act of parliament from Stationers’ Hall, and occasional donations from authors and others; and it is supposed that the library of no university has ever been rendered so easily accessible to students, or has contributed so much to their improvement in knowledge, as that of the university of Edinburgh. As it was found de-

ficient in medical books when the new regulations were made, it was agreed that all the money contributed by medical students should be expended on books in that department; by which means the medical collection is now considered as one of the most complete which is any where to be found; a circumstance which has been of the utmost use to the medical students, many of whom come from a great distance, and cannot be supposed to be well furnished with books. The certificates too, which many of these students obtained from the album, or register, on their leaving the university, by ascertaining their having received a regular medical education, are found greatly to promote their success in life. So that this library may be considered, as having contributed a large share to the celebrity of the medical college in the university of Edinburgh.

“ Before the end of the year 1794, the librarian and his deputy, with the assistance of several students, employed also by professor Robertson, had completed two copies of a press catalogue; but the alphabetical one, a more difficult work, still remained to be constructed, which the librarians immediately undertook with equal alacrity, assisted in the same manner. After more than three years’ strenuous labour, this task was at last accomplished. Nor were the patrons of the university wanting in a laudable zeal for the success of this work. On the first of August 1764, the town council had voted 60*l.* extraordinary to professor Robertson ‘for his great and indefatigable trouble in putting the library in order;’ and, on the completing of the alphabetical catalogue, they not only, on the 20th of July 1768, ordered an account of expenses incurred by him, amounting

mounting to upwards of 85*l.* to be paid; but authorised the lord provost to thank him in their name, and to present him with 70 guineas for his own particular trouble; which, however inadequate it might be supposed, was certainly, considering the scanty revenue of the university, very liberal on the part of the patrons.

“ Besides the press and alphabetical catalogues, into which the books annually acquired for the library are regularly entered, it was thought proper to keep separate lists of the books purchased for the general and for the medical branches; also of those received from Stationers’ Hall, and of those acquired by donation. This accordingly has been regularly done; all which catalogues lie ready for the inspection of the curators, and of the patrons of the university; so that the state of the library may now be seen and understood with the greatest ease.

“ But it is evident that the carrying on all this complicated work properly, must produce great and incessant trouble to the librarians; one of the most laborious parts of which, the lending and receiving of the books, devolved on Mr. Gordon the assistant; who soon showed himself in every respect admirably calculated for this department of the duty. Respectful and obliging behaviour to the professors; conduct to the students not too familiar but strictly impartial; firmness bordering on austerity when petulance was to be repressed; distance and reserve when ignorance and conceit provoked contempt; readiness to assist where modesty seemed to require assistance; were qualities which he possessed in a high degree. These were attended with such diligence, precision, accuracy, fidelity, punctuality, as could not be exceeded.

By principal Robertson, who had frequent occasion to observe him particularly, he was considered as a person of the utmost utility, and frequently mentioned by him as the perfect model of a deputy librarian. Indeed, he was of the utmost service to the principal individually; sparing no sort of pains in facilitating his search of books, and often suggesting to him hints, which that distinguished author, and prudent man, did not think himself too wise to despise or reject. To professor Robertson, the head librarian, his value was inestimable; who soon discerned that he not only might safely entrust to him the whole charge of lending and receiving the books; but committed to him likewise the greatest share of the trouble of entering the newly acquired books into the different catalogues. The occasional general inspection of the library; the giving of certificates to the students; the management of the diplomas, when degrees were conferred; the preparing the lists of the students for the matriculations; and the keeping of a written record of the proceedings of the university, were other parts of the duty which could not so well be discharged by a deputy; and therefore professor Robertson reserved the greatest part of this sort of labour to himself: still Mr. Gordon was ever ready to assist at the matriculations, and constantly contributed, to the utmost of his power, to the relief of his worthy patron and benefactor.

“ Professor Robertson having held the office of chief librarian for 20 years, began at length, notwithstanding the exertions of his excellent assistant, to feel the charge very burdensome; and, wishing to resign, he expressed a desire to Mr. Dalzel, professor of Greek, that he should be

he his successor, providing that such an arrangement should prove agreeable to the patrons of the university. Principal Robertson, having highly approved of the proposal, recommended the adopting of it to sir James Hunter Blair, then lord provost; and he and the other members of the town-council finding it agreeable to the university, they, in October 1785, upon the resignation of professor Robertson, elected him, with professor Dalzel, joint librarians; the sole office to be possessed by the survivor; the former, in the mean time, being permitted to retain the salary, and to have a great share also of the incidental emoluments; after deducting an allowance for the assistant.

“ This change seemed at first to disconcert Mr. Gordon, who was probably afraid that the mode to which he had been so long accustomed might be somehow altered or embarrassed: but soon finding himself treated by Mr. Dalzel with great delicacy and attention, his allowance somewhat increased, and at the same time, every means used for his agreeable accommodation, he soon came to a proper understanding with the new librarian; who, while he was sensible of Mr. Gordon's inestimable value, comprehended perfectly the particular humour of his character. For a considerable number of years they acted together with the greatest cordiality, each endeavouring to accommodate himself to the convenience of the other. By their united exertions, order has been restored to some parts of the library, which had gone into confusion; a great number of new books which had been suffered to lie on the floor for several years, have been placed in new shelves; and the catalogues, which had been made in too great

a hurry, have been corrected in many particulars. Further amendment still is requisite, and a new catalogue, with the titles of the books, arranged under certain heads, according to the sciences, would be an improvement of great importance. But as hopes have long been entertained, that the new buildings for the college, so auspiciously begun more than ten years ago, may be accomplished at no very distant period; and as accommodation of the amplest kind will then be provided for the books, and a new arrangement of them must take place, any further material improvement upon the library is naturally postponed till that much-wished for time shall arrive.

“ That a work of such evident utility, as the re-building of the college of Edinburgh, and so intimately connected with the character of the nation, should have been so long retarded, has furnished a subject of general regret. There is not, however, the smallest reason to doubt that when the minister for Scottish affairs patronised that most important undertaking, he was extremely anxious to have it accomplished: but the immense load of business, occasioned by the French revolution, obliged ministers to suspend their attention to the interests of learning, which they may have meant to resume at a less bustling, and more favourable period. In the mean time, a sum of money lately bestowed by royal munificence, for the purpose of preserving the unfinished part of the building from going to ruin, and the appearance of the workmen again on the walls, are still flattering proofs to the citizens of Edinburgh, and to strangers who resort to that ancient capital, that the cause of learning is not yet abandoned; and renew the pleasing prospect

prospect that the youth, attracted thither from so many quarters of the world, will at last receive the expected instruction, in apartments properly adapted for the purpose. Then a commodious receptacle will also be provided for the books, and a new arrangement of them be devised, which may render them of still greater utility than they are at present; and still better calculated to promote the renown of the university, of which they form so important a part.

“ Mr. Gordon continued to perform his duty in the library faithfully and punctually, till within these few years, when his health began to decline; which obliged him to be sometimes absent on the public days. On those occasions Mr. Dalzel supplied his place, and endeavoured to alleviate his situation as much as possible in every respect. But he could not suffer to see a professor whom he so much respected, in addition to his own duty, submitting to do also every part of the drudgery incident to the keeping of the library; and he was evidently dejected and unhappy. They therefore agreed to unite their endeavours in training a young assistant, who might in a great measure relieve them both. But the circulation of books had of late increased so much, that they were convinced that two active persons of that description, instead of one, would soon become necessary for performing the duty well. In the mean time, when they had succeeded in the initiation of one deserving young man into the business, who was soon able to perform a considerable part of the duty, Mr. Gordon, feeling his health still on the decline, confined himself for some months to his chamber, and too much indulged a disposition

for solitude; refusing the advice of a physician, though all the medical professors in the university would, upon an hint given, have attended him with the greatest readiness: but on this subject he was obstinate to the last, and insisted that no physician could be of the smallest benefit to him. The regimen he observed, and the habit of retirement he continued to indulge, were not calculated to promote the restoration of his health. He died on the last day but one of the year 1800, in the 62d year of his age.

“ He was a man of the strictest probity; and practised frugality as the only mode of arriving at a situation of independence, by which he might be enabled to live in his own way, and according to his own peculiar humour. After his decease, his private affairs were found to be arranged with the same accuracy and distinctness, which had marked his transactions in the library. The emolument which could be afforded for all the toil he underwent there was so extremely small, that unless he had taken pleasure in the exercise of the duty, it could not be supposed that he would have continued long to perform it. But he evidently took delight in that, which, to most other men, would have been intolerable drudgery; he seemed fond of spending much of his time among books, and of possessing the power of obliging men of letters, as well as students, in the prosecution of their several studies; and, being entirely free from ambition, he would have willingly contented himself with the humble but useful station of assistant librarian, as a sole and ultimate object. But as what he earned in this way was quite inadequate to his decent maintenance, he found it necessary to seek

seek for an addition to his income, by teaching, privately, the Latin and Greek languages.

“ For some years after he undertook his charge in the library, he resided in the family of the late worthy Mr. Alexander Tait, clerk of session, as private tutor to his sons; and had a chief hand in the education of the late Mr. William Tait, advocate and member of parliament. Mr. Tait the father, always treated him with great liberality and kindness; and Mr. Gordon in his turn, was much attached to the family, and took a great interest in Mr. William Tait's success in life. This young gentleman possessed excellent abilities for the bar, and became a very fluent and eloquent pleader; and Mr. Gordon was, for some time, much gratified in observing his pupil's success. On one occasion, he even contributed considerable assistance in enabling him to make a most brilliant appearance at the bar, in a cause respecting literary property, in which the pleader surprised the court, by a great display of etymological erudition. At last a suspicion of a want of attention on the part of Mr. Tait, and afterwards his premature death, proved a great source of affliction to Mr. Gordon. So severe a trial, seemed at times to affect his intellectual faculties; and, it was observed, that his constitution never completely recovered from the shock.

“ After he quitted the family of Mr. Tait's father, he had devoted many of his spare hours to the private instruction of young gentlemen attending the high school, or the university; and he found much employment in bringing forward students of physic, whose previous education had been neglected, in a knowledge of Latin and Greek,

with a view to their taking the doctor's degree. Some of these he used to assist in composing their Latin inaugural dissertations; though he did not set up for a professed adept in this line, a character well known among the medical students, by the cant appellation of *Grinder*.

“ He had a familiar acquaintance with the Latin classics; and, in particular, he had studied with great care the writings of Celsus, which enabled him to be of singular use to his medical scholars. To many students he taught also the principles of Greek, and assisted them privately in preparing their tasks for the Greek classes in the university. As a private teacher, he showed the same diligence, accuracy and fidelity, which distinguished him as keeper of the library.

“ Augmented thus, as his income was, from the rewards of private teaching, still it could not be great; but having no family, and choosing to remain a bachelor, his household expense must have been extremely small. His emoluments as assistant-librarian never exceeded 35*l.* per annum; for near twenty years they were not more than 15*l.* The *Senatus Academicus*, sensible of his great merit, allowed him 10*l.* in addition; and on professor Dalziel's becoming librarian he began to receive in all 35*l.* annually. It was chiefly then from his earnings as a teacher, that he raised himself to a state of independence, and indeed opulence, to a man who had so few wants as Mr. Gordon. Having once secured a competency, and to spare, his habits of frugality did not restrain him from the exercise of generosity; and he has been frequently known to relieve, with the utmost readiness, the wants of the indigent.

“ A taste

"A taste for books was his chief indulgence; and of those he had gradually provided a select collection, chiefly classical. His reading was very extensive; but he has left no specimens of original composition, an exercise at which he seldom seems to have aimed. What he wrote down, consisted of striking passages, selected from various authors, which he transcribed into volumes, without any attention to arrangement; and therefore the title he gave them was *Chaos*. The blank leaves of most of his books he filled with such anecdotes concerning their authors, some of them extremely curious, as he had gleaned in the course of his reading. In the Glasgow *Horace*, commonly stiled *immaculate*, he detected three errors; a discovery by which he was much amused, and which furnished him with one topic for a vein of sarcastic humour, which, in the hours of festivity, he sometimes used to indulge. But his *Gesner's Thesaurus* remains the most conspicuous proof of his industry, its blank leaves being completely covered with an account of the tenses of the Latin verb from Schellerus; and the margins of almost every page of the book crowded with additional examples and illustrations.

"To three of his particular friends, professor Dalzel, for whom he entertained a great respect and esteem; the reverend Andrew Johnston, minister of Salton, in whose education, and fortune in life, he had taken an early interest; and Mr. William Whyte, writer in Edinburgh, to whom he considered

himself as under great obligations; he disposed or conveyed, by his will, all the effects which he possessed at the time of his death, burdened with a life-annuity to his only sister, Aitken, and her husband, Nicol Munro, a reputable shoemaker; together with several other private legacies, of which the detail cannot excite any interest. His public bequests were 500*l.* to the royal infirmary of Edinburgh; the reversion of a tenement of houses of nearly the same value, to the poor of the parish of St. Cuthbert's; and such of his books, to the library of the university of Edinburgh, as the librarian should think proper to be added to that collection.

"The minuteness of this narrative may to some require an apology. No more was at first intended, than a very brief memorial of a man, whose singular merit in a most useful, though humble sphere, entitled him to an honourable remembrance. But as his character could not be well described, detached from a particular account of that sort of duty which he had to perform, it was found necessary to introduce a variety of literary detail, not uninteresting, it is hoped, to those who have received their education in the university of Edinburgh; and who will be soothed with the recollection of those happy days, when they used to be furnished with the instruments of knowledge by the hands of Mr. Duke Gordon.

"The following is an inscription written by Mr. Dalzel, for a monument to be erected to his memory, in the church-yard of St. Cuthbert's.

"Hic jacet DUKE GORDON, A. M.
Qui pro præfecturam bibliothecæ academiciæ Edinburgensæ,
Per annos fere quadraginta, feliciter gessit :
Vir in suo genere plane eximius :
Eruditus indefessus, fidelis,

Accuratus,

Accuratus, officiosus,—interdum austerus;
 Sed, in munere difficillimo fungendo,
 Austeritatem comitate tam prudenter temperans,
 Ut omnium academicorum laudem et gratiam adipisceretur.
 Cælebs, ambitionis expers, contentus parvo,
 Ex horis subsecivis, quas ingenuæ juventuti privatim erudiendæ sacravit,
 Modicam rem præcipue quærebat;
 Unde, summa adhibita frugalitate,
 Extra nutum alienum positus,
 Vivendi rationem suo arbitrio sibi instituendam decrevit:
 Atque, vita parum splendida, at utilissima tamen,
 Ad finem vergente,
 De facultatibus, quas honesto labore acquisitas pepercerat,
 Partem aliquam testamento legavit
 Unicæ suæ sorori ejusque marito,
 Aliam Nosocomio Regio Edinensi,
 Aliam Sancti Cuthberti pauperibus:
 Earumque residuum
 (Almæ suæ matris academiciæ non immemor)
 Tribus ex amicis suis, quos præ cæteris dilexit,
 Quique hoc marmor, memoriæ ejus sacrum, ponendum curarunt.
 Natus est xiii. Kal. Jun. A. D. M.DCC.XXXIX.
 Obiit ipso die penult. sæculi xviii."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

INTERVIEW with the KAFFER KING ; and MANNERS of the KAFFERS.

[FROM BARROW'S TRAVELS into the INTERIOR of SOUTHERN AFRICA, in the Years 1797 and 1798.]

“ **O**N arriving at his place of residence, we found that the king, not having expected us until the following day, had gone to his grazing-village ten or twelve miles to the northward, in consequence of some intelligence he had received of the wolves having committed great depredations among his young cattle on the preceding night. A messenger was therefore immediately dispatched after him; and in the mean time the king's mother, a well-looking woman, apparently about five-and-thirty, and his queen, a very pretty Kaffer girl, about fifteen, with their female attendants, to the number of fifty or sixty, formed a circle round us, and endeavoured to entertain us with their good-humored and lively conversation. It was not long before Gaika, the king, made his appearance riding on an ox in full gallop, attended by five or six of his people. Our business commenced with little ceremony under the shade of a spreading mimosa. He requested that we might all be seated in a circle on the ground, not as any mark of civility, but that it might the more distinctly be heard what each party had to say. The manner, however, in which he received us sufficiently marked the pleasure he derived from the visit: of the nature of this he was already aware, and entered immediately upon the subject, by expressing the satisfaction he felt in having an opportunity of explaining to us that none of the Kaffers who had passed the boundary established between the two nations were to be considered as his subjects: he said they were chiefs as well as himself, and entirely independent of him; but that his ancestors had always held the first rank, and their supremacy had been acknowledged on all occasion by the colonists: that all those Kaffers and their chiefs, who had at any time been desirous to enter under the protection of his family, had been kindly received; and that those who chose rather to remain independent had been permitted to do so, without being considered in the light of enemies. He then informed us, that his father died, and left him, when very young, under the guardianship of Zambie, one of his first chiefs and own brother, who had acted as regent during his minority; but that having refused to resign to him his right on coming at years of discretion, his

his father's friends had showed themselves in his favor, and that by their assistance he had obliged his uncle to fly: that this man had then joined *K'houta*, a powerful chief to the northward, and with their united forces had made war against him: that he had been victorious, and had taken *Zambie* prisoner: that he had never been at war with, nor to his knowledge had ever given the slightest offence to, the chiefs of the other side of the *Keiskamma*, but, on the contrary, had always endeavoured to conciliate their goodwill: that since his friends and subjects had supported him in the assumption and maintenance of his right, he had observed a disposition in those chiefs to withdraw themselves from his friendship: that the people of *Malloo* and *Tooley* particularly had committed great depredations on the cattle of his subjects; and that, when he sent to them a civil message to inquire if any had by chance strayed into their territories, to his great surprise he was informed they had quitted the country: that he had more than once, since that period, sent to them his proffers of friendship, but that they had detained, and, as he supposed, put to death his messengers: that still to avoid giving them any pretext for commencing hostilities, he had strictly forbid any of his subjects to molest their habitations, or even to pass the *Keiskamma*.

" Astonished to find so much good sense and prudence in a very young man and a Kaffer, we explained the nature of our visit to him, and submitted for his consideration the six following articles:

- " 1. That he should send a messenger of peace and friendship along with one of our interpreters to the Kaffer chiefs now residing in the colony:
- " 2. That none of his subjects, on any pretence whatever, unless sent expressly by him, should pass the boundary established between the colonists and Kaffers:
- " 3. That none of his subjects should have any intercourse whatever with the colonists; and that, if any of the latter should be found in any part of his territories, he would send them under a strong guard to *Graaff Reynet*:
- " 4. That should any ship be stranded on the Kaffer coast, he would afford to the unfortunate passengers and crew hospitality and protection, and that he would conduct them in safety to *Graaff Reynet*:
- " 5. That any blacks, hottentots, or *bastaards*, found in his territories, should be taken and sent to *Graaff Reynet*:
- " 6. And that he should keep up a friendly intercourse with the landrost, by sending annually, or oftener, if necessary, one of his captains, bearing a brass gorget with the arms of his Britannic majesty engraven upon it.

" To all these he readily agreed, except to the latter part of the third article; observing that he did not think it right for Kaffers to make prisoners of men so superior to themselves as Christians were; but he promised to give intelligence to the landrost, should any be met with in his territories. It is a common idea, industriously kept up in the colony, that the Kaffers are a savage, treacherous, and cruel people;

ple; a character as false as it is unmerited. Their moderation towards the colonists, and all white people, has shown itself on many occasions; and if the inhabitants of the bordering parts of the colony had any sense of honour or feelings of gratitude, instead of assisting to propagate, they would endeavour to suppress, such an idea. They know very well that in the height of a war into which this people was iniquitously driven; the lives of all their women and children that fell into the hands of the Kaffers were spared by them, whilst their own fell promiscuously by the hands of the colonists. Another instance of the different manner in which the Dutch and the Kaffers conducted themselves, under the same circumstances, will serve to show which of the two nations most deserves the character thrown upon the latter.

“ In the month of February 1796, a vessel from India under Genoese colours was wrecked on the coast of the colony between the Bosjesman and Sunday rivers. The peasantry from various parts of the coast, from Langé-kloof to Kafferland, flocked down to the wreck, not for the humane purpose of giving assistance to the unfortunate sufferers, but to plunder them of every thing that could be got on shore; and it is a notorious fact, that the only man who was anxious to secure some property for the captain and officers had his brains dashed out with an iron bolt by one of his neighbours.

“ In June 1797, the *Hercules*, an American ship, was stranded between the mouths of the Keiskamma and the Beeka. By the time that the crew, consisting of about sixty persons, had got on shore, they found themselves sur-

rounded by Kaffers, and expected immediately to have been put to death by these savages. Instead of which, to their no small degree of joy and surprise, a chief gave orders for an ox to be instantly killed, and the flesh distributed among the unfortunate sufferers. There is, however, one temptation which a Kaffer cannot resist—the sight of metal buttons; and those who suffered shipwreck, and who happened to have any of these articles about their persons, had them cut off without much ceremony. They were deprived of no other part of their property; and they were conducted in safety to the residence of some of the colonists, from whom a demand was made of five rix-dollars for the captain, and an equal sum for the whole of the crew, as a full compensation for their trouble—a very moderate and just demand; and it were to be wished that the example of the Kaffers was observed on some more civilised coasts.

“ Having arranged the business that brought us into Kafferland with the king, we made him a present consisting of sheets of copper, brass-wire, glass-beads, knives for skinning animals, looking-glasses, flints, steels, and tinder-boxes, and a quantity of tobacco. His mother also received a present of the same nature. Except this lady, all the other women kept in the background during the conversation, as did also *Zambie*, the uncle and usurper, who was then a prisoner at large in the village. The young king's treatment of this man did him great honour. All his former attendants, his cattle, and his six wives, were restored to him, with as much liberty as the rest of his subjects, except that he was al-

ways obliged to be in the same village with the king.

“Gaika was a young man, at this time under twenty years of age, of an elegant form, and a graceful and manly deportment; his height about five feet ten inches; his face of a deep bronze colour, approaching nearly to black; his skin soft and smooth; his eyes dark brown, and full of animation; his teeth regular, well-set, and white as the purest ivory: his countenance open, but more marked with the habit of reflexion than is usually observed in that of a Kaffer: he had the appearance, indeed, of possessing in an eminent degree a solid understanding and a clear head: to every question that related to their manners, customs, laws, and various other points, he gave, without embarrassment or reserve, direct and unequivocal answers; and it is to him I am principally indebted for the little information I am enabled to give concerning the Kaffer nation: his understanding was not more strong than his disposition appeared to be amiable: he seemed to be the adored object of his subjects; the name of Gaika was in every mouth, and it was seldom pronounced without symptoms of joy. He had one wife only, very young, and, setting aside the prejudice against colour, very pretty, by whom he had a little girl called *Jasa*. Like the chiefs in the colony he wore a brass chain suspended, on the left side, from a wreath of copper beads that encircled his head: on his arm he had five large rings cut out of the solid tusks of elephants, and round his neck was a chain of beads: his cloak was faced with skins of leopards; but he threw this dress aside, and, like the rest

of his people, appeared entirely naked.

“The queen had nothing to distinguish her from the other women, except that her cloak seemed to have had more pains bestowed upon it in the dressing, and had three rows behind of brass buttons extending from the hood to the bottom of the skirts, and so close that they touched each other. The rest of the women were contented with a few of these straggling over different parts of the cloak. This weighty covering is never laid aside in the hottest weather; but they wear nothing whatsoever under it, except the little apron that the Hottentot women take such pains to decorate. The Kaffer ladies are not less anxious to appear smart about the head. Their skin-caps were ornamented with buttons, buckles, beads, or shells, according as fancy might suggest or their wardrobe could supply.

“Though the country between the Keiskamma and the residence of the king had been rugged, poor, and mountainous, it here began to assume a very different appearance. The knolls of grass were thickly covered, and the hanging woods on the steep sides of the high mountains to the northward were extremely beautiful. The village, it seemed, at which he now lived, was but a temporary residence. It was situated upon the Kooquanie, a small stream that fell into the Keiskamma; it consisted of about forty or fifty huts of the form of bee-hives. That which seemed to be destined for the use of the queen stood at the head of the village; was somewhat larger than the rest, and finished in a neater manner: it was about ten feet in diameter, and eight feet high. They are first shaped by frames of wood, and afterwards daubed over with a kind

a kind of mortar composed of clay and the dung of cattle; and, when this is sufficiently dry, a neat covering of matting is worked over the whole. Such huts are completely water-tight, and very warm.

“The Kaffers having always been represented as agriculturists, we were a little disappointed in not meeting with gardens and cultivated grounds about their habitations, not a vestige of which had any where appeared. On putting the question to *Gaika*, he replied, that having been engaged in war for the two or three years last past, during which he had not been able to fix at any one place above a month or two at a time, they had consequently been under the necessity of suspending their pursuits of agriculture: that in time of peace they always planted millet, and several kinds of vegetables; and that nothing could give him an equal degree of pleasure to that of seeing the *keerie*, now an instrument of war, converted into an utensil of husbandry; but that at present, he was just on the eve of another campaign. He seemed much pleased when the landrost told him, that if, on his return from his expedition, he would send to Graaff Reynet, he should be supplied with corn and different garden seeds; and he appeared to anticipate the happiness that his people would experience, after the fatigues and horrors of war, in returning to their ancient habits of peaceful industry.

“The country inhabited by the people whom the colonists distinguish by the name of Kaffers, is bounded on the south by the sea-coast; on the east by a tribe of the same kind of people who call themselves *Tambookies*; on the north, by the savage *Bosjesmans*; and on the west, by the colony of the Cape.

With the *Tambookies* they live on friendly terms; but, like the Dutch peasantry, they have declared perpetual war against the *Bosjesmans*. Their expeditions, however, against these savages are not attended with the same success as those of the colonists. The *Bosjesmans* care as little for a *hassagai* as they dread a musquet. The principal weapon used by the Kaffers is an iron spear from nine inches to a foot in length, fixed at the end of a tapering shaft about four feet long. Such an instrument is called by the Hottentots a *hassagai*, but the Kaffer name is *omkontoo*. In throwing this spear they grasp it with the palm of the hand, and raising the arm above the head, and giving the shaft a quivering motion to find the proper point of equilibrium, it is delivered with the fore-finger and the thumb. At the distance of fifty or sixty paces they can throw at a mark with a tolerable degree of exactness; but beyond that distance they have no kind of certainty. It appears to be a very indifferent sort of weapon, and easily to be avoided. In battle they receive the point of the *hassagai* upon an oval shield about four feet in depth, made from the hide of a bullock. Their other weapon, the *keerie*, is less formidable than the *hassagai*; this is a stick about two feet and a half long, with a round knob at the end about two inches in diameter, and very weighty, being the root of some shrub. They throw it in the same manner as the *hassagai*, and are very expert in killing birds and the smaller sort of antelopes, particularly the little *pygmæa*. The small end of the *keerie* serves, in time of peace, in their agriculture, as an instrument for dibbling, for which purpose it seems to be much better

adapted than for a hostile weapon. The government on the east side of the Keiskamma is not exactly the same as on the west. Gaika is the acknowledged sovereign over that part of the country which lies to the eastward of the river. The few chiefs who live among his people are obedient to his commands, and consider themselves as his captains. Among the emigrant Kaffers, each chief is independent, though the inferior ones look up, in some measure, to those who are more powerful than themselves. These detached hordes seem in their government to resemble the ancient clans of the highlands of Scotland.

“ Every Kaffer is a soldier and a tradesman. The first is not a profession, but taken up occasionally as the state, of which he is a member, may demand his services. War is not made by them for extension of territory or individual aggrandisement, but for some direct insult or act of injustice against the whole, or some member of the community. His habits and way of life are better suited for the herd-man than for the warrior. From the nature of his food, which is chiefly milk, his manners are mild and gentle, at the same time that the exercise of the chase, which from pleasure he follows as well as for profit, gives him an erect deportment, and a boldness and openness of expression that indicate nothing like fear. This in fact is a passion of the mind which can hardly be said to exist in that of a Kaffer. In time of peace he leads the true pastoral life: his cattle is his only care: he rarely kills one for his own consumption, except on some particular occasion. When a stranger of distinction visits a Kaffer chief, he selects from his herd the fattest ox, and divides it with his

visitors. The evening that we departed from the village of the king, curiosity had brought together about a thousand people to see the strangers. Before they returned to their houses the king ordered four oxen to be slain, and the flesh to be distributed among them. For our party he intended a present of three oxen; but these he observed must be selected from his herd with his own hands. The whole management of the cattle is left to the men, and they easily render them uncommonly expert in comprehending their meaning. The horns of their greatest favourites are twisted in their nascent state into very whimsical forms. These are effected by grasping the young horn with hot irons till it becomes soft, in which state the direction wished for is given to it. Those of the ox on which the king rode were laid along each side of the neck with the points just touching the shoulders.

“ Among their cattle was a particular breed different from any I had seen in the colony. They were short-legged, short-necked, generally of a black and white colour, and their horns were only from four to eight inches in length, curved inwards; and their extremities, which were nearly of the same thickness at the roots, pointed to the ears. These horns had no connexion with the skull, but were attached merely to the skin, and so loose that they might be turned round in any direction. Extended to their greatest length they strike against the animal's face when walking. They were considered as excellent beasts for riding or for bearing burthens. This variety of the common ox had not the dorsal tuft which the loose-horned ox of Abyssinia is described to possess.

“ While the men are employed in rearing

rearing and attending the cattle, the women are engaged in the affairs of the house, and in cultivating the ground. These, with the manufacture of baskets with the *Cyperus* grass, and of earthen pots for boiling their meat or corn, which are the chief part of their household utensils, the making their skin-cloaks, and nursing their children, furnish sufficient employment for the women. They are said to be exceedingly prolific; that twins are almost as frequent as single births, and that it is no uncommon thing for a woman to have three at a time. Their children, soon after birth, are suffered to crawl about perfectly naked; and at six or seven months they are able to run. A cripple or deformed person is never seen. The Dutch have an idea that if a Kaffer child should be born imperfect, the parents immediately strangle it. Gaika's mother seemed shocked at such a question being put to her; and assured me that a woman who could suffer such an unnatural crime to be committed, would be chased out of society. A high degree of civilisation may indeed dull the feelings of nature, and policy may sometimes silently approve of crimes committed against it; but a savage feels the full force of parental affection.

"There is perhaps no nation on earth, taken collectively, that can produce so fine a race of men as the Kaffers: they are tall, stout, muscular, well-made, elegant figures. They are exempt, indeed, from many of those causes that, in more civilised societies, contribute to impede the growth of the body. Their diet is simple; their exercise of a salutary nature; their body is neither cramped nor encumbered by clothing; the air they breathe is pure; their rest is not disturbed

by violent love, nor their minds ruffled by jealousy; they are free from those licentious appetites which proceed frequently more from a depraved imagination than a real natural want: their frame is neither shaken nor enervated by the use of intoxicating liquors, which they are not acquainted with; they eat when hungry, and sleep when nature demands it. With such a kind of life, languor and melancholy have little to do. The countenance of a Kaffer is always cheerful; and the whole of his demeanour bespeaks content and peace of mind.

"Though black, or very nearly so, they have not one line of the African negro in the composition of their persons. The comparative anatomist might be a little perplexed in placing the skull of a Kaffer in the chain, so ingeniously put together by him, comprehending all the links from the most perfect European to the ourang-outang, and thence through all the monkey-tribe. The head of a Kaffer is not elongated: the frontal and the occipital bones form nearly a semicircle; and a line from the forehead to the chin drawn over the nose is convex like that of most Europeans. In short, had not nature bestowed upon him the dark-colouring principle that anatomists have discovered to be owing to a certain gelatinous fluid lying between the epidermis and the cuticle, he might have ranked among the first of Europeans.

"Among other things that may have contributed to have kept up the tall athletic stature of these people, is their frequent intermarriages with strangers. The principal article of their trade with the Tambookie nation is the exchange of cattle for their young women. Almost every chief has Tambookie

wives, though they pay much dearer for them than for those of their own people. Polygamy is allowed, without any inconvenience resulting from the practice, as it is confined almost to the chiefs. The circumstances of the common people will rarely allow them the indulgence of more than one wife, as no woman is to be obtained without purchase. The females being considered as the property of their parents, are always disposed of by sale. The common price of a wife is an ox or a couple of cows. Love with them is a very confined passion, taking but little hold on the mind. When an offer is made for the purchase of a daughter, she feels little inclination to refuse; she considers herself as an article at market, and is neither surprised, nor unhappy, nor interested, on being told that she is about to be disposed of. There is no previous courtship, no exchange of fine sentiments, no nice feelings, nor attentions to catch the affections, and to attach the heart. It would be unjust at the same time to tax them with sensuality. A Kaffer woman is chaste and extremely modest; yet, in many points of conduct, in which she differs from females of more polished nations, the latter part of her character might be called in question. If, for instance, a young woman be asked whether she be married, not content with giving the simple negative, she throws open her cloak and displays her bosom; and as most frequently she has no other covering beneath, she perhaps may discover at the same time, though unintentionally, more of her charms.

“ Instances of infidelity are very rare; and when they do occur, are accidental rather than premeditated. The punishment is a fine, and, if the man chooses it,

dismissal of his wife; but should a husband surprise his wife in the act of adultery, the law would justify him in putting the parties to death. Their laws in general appear to be very simple, and grounded less on policy than on natural principles. If a murder should appear to be premeditated, the perpetrator is instantly put to death. If a man should kill another in his own defence, in a quarrel, or by accident, he must pay to the relations of the deceased, as a compensation for their loss, a certain fine, which is either agreed to among themselves, or settled by the chief and elders of the horde. In doing this, the value that the deceased bore in the society is taken only into consideration. A chief has no power over the lives of his subjects: should he by design, or in the heat of passion, put a man to death, he would incur the hazard of being expelled by the community. For theft there is no other punishment than that of restitution. They know nothing of the practice of imprisonment for any crime.

“ The ancients were of opinion that the face was always the index of the mind. Modern physiognomists have gone a step further, and say, that a fine form, perfect in all its parts, cannot contain a crooked or an imperfect mind. Judging the mind of a Kaffer by such a rule, it could not be pronounced deficient in talent. The experiment of giving him a suitable education has not yet been made; but there are perhaps no unlettered people on the face of the earth whose manners and opinions have more the appearance of civilisation than those of the Kaffers: they are no contemptible artisans. Though they have no knowledge of smelting iron from the ore, yet when it comes

comes to their hands in a malleable state, they can shape it to their purpose with wonderful dexterity. Every man is his own artist. A piece of stone serves for his hammer, and another for the anvil, and with these alone he will finish a spear, or a chain, or a metallic bead, that would not disgrace the town of Birmingham. The shafts of their spears are also neatly made. Many of the ornaments of copper and iron, with which they adorn their heads, are far from being void of taste. The article that furnishes their dress is prepared and put together with some degree of ingenuity. Calves' skins only are used for this purpose: when taken from the animal they are fixed to the ground with wooden pegs, extended as far as they will bear, and well scraped, so that no part of the flesh remains upon them. As soon as they are sufficiently dry to have lost the power of contraction, they are beaten with stones till they become soft and pliant. In this state the interior side is scraped with sharp stones, and smeared with red ochre, till a nap, like that on cloth, is raised over the whole surface: they are then cut into proper shapes, and sewed together exactly in the same manner that the shoemakers of Europe stitch together two pieces of leather. Their bodkin is a piece of polished iron, and the thread is the fibres of the tendons of the long dorsal muscle taken from various animals; those in a wild state are preferred, as furnishing a much stronger thread than such as are domesticated. The Hottentots sew together their sheep-skins with the same material; and the colonists, following the example of the natives, have recourse to the same article as a substitute for flaxen thread,

which, when the English took possession of the settlement, bore an advance in price of a thousand *per cent*.

“ The progress of their agriculture, as observed by the king, has lately been checked by internal dissensions, and the encroachments of a rival power. They seem however to be much more inclined to the pastoral than the agricultural life,—a circumstance which will retard their advancement in civilisation. The one finds leisure to sit down and reflect; the other is never stationary, but wandering from place to place in search of food for the cattle. The chase employs the greatest portion of the time they have to spare. In the Kaffer country the larger sort of game, particularly the elephant and the buffalo, are become very scarce; and not an ostrich nor a springbok is now to be found there. These two animals, keeping generally upon the plains, and avoiding the woods, were easily inclosed by the numerous hunting parties, and destroyed. The elephant and the buffalo fell also in the woods by the *hassagai*, but more frequently by deep pits made in the ground across the paths that led to their usual haunts. In this manner they sometimes took the hippopotamus; but the usual gait of this animal, when not disturbed, is so cautious and slow that he generally smelt the snare that was laid for him, and avoided it. The more certain method of destroying him was to watch at night behind a bush close to his path; and, as he passed, to wound him in the tendons of the knee-joint, by which he was immediately rendered lame and unable to escape from the numerous *hassagais* that afterwards assailed him. Numbers of this huge animal still

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remain in all their large rivers ; indeed they seem not very solicitous about destroying it. The tusks, though of the finest ivory, are too small for the usual purposes to which they apply this article ; and they seem to have less relish for grease than either the Hottentots or the colonists. The spoils of the chase are always bestowed upon their persons. The tusks of the elephant furnish them with ivory rings for the arm ; the leopard supplies his skin to ornament the front of the cloak ; and the skin of the tyger-cat is used by the women as pocket-handkerchiefs.

“ Besides the illicit trade that the Dutch farmers have carried on with this people, consisting of pieces of iron, copper, glass beads, and a few other trifling articles, given to them in exchange for their cattle, the Kaffers have no kind of commerce with any other nation except their eastern neighbours the Tambookies. In addition to the young girls which they purchase from these people, they are supplied by them with a small quantity of iron in exchange for cattle. It has been supposed that the Tambookies, and other nations farther to the eastward, possessed the art of obtaining iron from the ore ; but it is much more probable that they are supplied with it by the Portuguese settlers of Rio de la Goa, not far from which their country is situated. The only metals known to the Kaffers are iron and copper ; and their only medium of exchange, and the only article of commerce they possess, is their cattle.

“ There are perhaps few nations, besides the Kaffers, that have not contrived to draw some advantages from the possession of a sea-coast. They have no kind of fishery

whatsoever, either with nets or boats. Whether they retain any remains of superstition attached to some of the various modifications through which the Mahometan, as well as the Christian, religion has undergone in its progress through different countries, that forbids them the use of fish ; or whether their way of life has hitherto prevented them from thinking on the means of obtaining a livelihood from the waters, I cannot pretend to say ; but they scarcely know what kind of a creature a fish is. The whole extent of their coast, that is washed by the sea and intersected by the mouths of several large rivers, does not produce a single boat, nor canoe, nor any thing that resembles a floating vessel. The short space of time, perhaps, which they have occupied that part of Africa they now inhabit, has not yet sufficiently familiarised them to the nature of deep waters, to entrust themselves upon a frail bark :

‘ Illi robur et æs triplex’

‘ Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci

‘ Commisit pelago ratem

‘ Primus’ —————

“ The Kaffers most certainly are not the aborigines of the southern angle of Africa. Surrounded on all sides by people that differ from them in every point, in colour, in features, in form, in disposition, in manners, and in language, it would be absurd to consider them as indigenous to the small spot they now possess. To speculate upon their origin, it might not perhaps be far from the mark to suppose them to have sprung from some of the tribes of those wandering Arabs known by the name of *Bedouins*. These people are known to have penetrated into almost every part

of Africa. Much of the Arab features are visible in the countenance of a Kaffer; and there is a strong resemblance in his way of life, his pastoral habits, his character, and treatment of strangers that may want his protection. Colonies of these people have found their way even to the islands of South Africa, where more difficulties would occur than in a journey over land to the Cape of Good Hope. By skirting the Red Sea, and turning to the southward along the sea-coast, the great desert of sand that divides Africa into two parts is entirely avoided, and the passage lies over a country habitable as far as is known in every part.

“Circumcision of male children, that grand feature of Islamism, is universally practised among the Kaffers, and is the only exterior mark that seems to remain of a religious or sacred institution. He considers it, however, in the limited point of view of a duty owing to the memory of his ancestors, a prescriptive custom handed down to him as an example he is bound to follow. He neither ascribes the practice of it to a principle of cleanliness, nor to any other cause or motive, but contents himself by pleading ancient usage. A circumcisor is a profession, and I believe the only one that exists among the Kaffers. The time of performing the operation is generally at the age of eight or nine years. The people who follow the profession travel from village to village, cutting all the male children who may be of a proper age. During the time he remains in a village, which may be eight or ten days, to see that his patients are doing well, he is feasted from house to house.

“To perform the operation

of circumcision nothing more is necessary than a sharp piece of iron in the form of the blade of a knife. The point of this is inserted between the glans and the prepuce on the upper part, and the skin laid open to the root where they unite; from thence the instrument is passed down each side to the frænum, close along the edge of which the whole prepuce is removed in two parts. After the operation the boy adopts a small bag of leather which extends a little beyond the glans penis, and fits sufficiently tight to remain on without binding, though some wear a belt to which the covering is attached by a string. The projecting end of the purse has a small shank about an inch in length by which it may more conveniently be drawn off: this, with the rings, and beads, and other ornaments, constitutes the whole of a Kaffer's summer dress. He wears nothing on his head, which is naturally covered with the same kind of curling hair as that of the Hottentot. This circumstance of short hair should seem to operate against the supposition of their Arabic origin; but their intermixture with the Hottentots and other neighbouring nations along the coast, would very speedily have produced it; and when a twist is once got into the hair, in a warm climate, it seems to increase with every generation. The *Bastaards* here produced between an European and a Hottentot have strong curling hair, and are, except in colour, very like the Kaffers.

“So different are the opinions and the feelings of different nations concerning religion, and so difficult do the most civilised people find it to express their notions clearly and consistently of the
‘unknown

‘ unknown God,’ that little satisfactory information can be collected on those points without a very familiar and extensive knowledge of the language of the people among whom the inquiry is made, which was far from being the case in the present instance. The king being asked if they had any belief in a supernatural power, and, if so, what were their notions concerning it? replied, that they believed in the existence of some invisible power that sometimes brought good and sometimes evil upon them; it was this power that caused men to die suddenly, or before they arrived at years of maturity; that raised the wind, and made thunder and lightning to frighten, and sometimes, kill them; that led the sun across the world in the day, and the moon by night; and that made all those things which they could not understand nor imitate. I then showed him my watch; and from his great surprise it was clear he had never seen one before. On examining attentively the movements, and observing that the motion was continued in his own hands, he looked at the surrounding spectators, and pronounced the word *fregas*, which was echoed back with a nod of the head from the whole crowd. Concerning this word the Hottentot interpreter could get no other information than that it was some influence of the dead over the living in instigating and directing the actions of the latter. He called it a ghost or spirit, and said it was the Kaffer way of swearing. It appeared that if a Kaffer swore by a deceased relation, his oath was considered as inviolable. A promise was always held sacred when a piece of metal was broken between the parties; a practice not unlike the breaking

of a sixpence between two parting lovers, still kept up in some country places of England. That these people have not bewildered their imaginations so far with metaphysical ideas of the immortality of the soul, as the more civilised part of mankind have given into, and that their notions have been little directed towards a future state of existence, was clear from his replies to various questions put to him on that subject. As little information was likely to be gained on such abstruse points through the medium of a Hottentot interpreter, the conversation was turned to other subjects less embarrassing, and such as came more immediately before the senses.

“ Their skill in music is not above the level of that of the Hottentots. They have in fact no other instruments except the two in use among the latter, and a small whistle made of the bone of some animal, and used sometimes for giving orders to their cattle when at a distance. They seldom attempt to sing or to dance, and their performances of both are miserably bad. A Kaffer woman is only serious when she dances, and at such times her eyes are constantly fixed on the ground, and her whole body seems to be thrown into convulsive motions.

“ A greater degree of amusement seems to be derived by the women from the practice of *tattooing*, or marking the body by raising the epidermis from the cuticle; a custom that has been found to exist among most of the uncivilised nations inhabiting warm countries, and which probably owes its origin to a total want of mental resources, and of the employment of time. By slightly irritating, it conveys to the body plea-

pleasurable sensations. In Kafferland it has passed into a general fashion. No woman is without a tattooed skin; and their ingenuity is chiefly exercised between the breasts and on the arms.

“The temperate manner of living among these people, their simple diet and their duly proportioned quantity of exercise, subject them to few complaints. A limited number of simples compose the dispensary of all nations where physic is not a profession. The Kaffers make use of very few plants, and these chiefly in embrocations for sprains and bruises. The mother of Gaika was so solicitous to procure from us a quantity of common salt, to be applied as a purgative, that she sent a person to our waggon, fifteen miles distant, for it. They are not subject to any cutaneous diseases. The small-pox was once brought among them by a vessel that was stranded on their coast, and carried off great numbers. The marks of this disorder were apparent on the faces of many of the elder people. They have no fermented nor distilled liquors to impair the constitution. The only two intoxicating articles of which they have any knowledge are tobacco and hemp. The effects produced from smoking the latter are said to be fully as narcotic as those of opium. In the use of this and of tobacco, the oriental custom of drawing the smoke through water by means of the hookah, though in a rude manner, is still retained. The bowl of their earthen-ware pipe is attached to the end of a thick reed which stands obliquely fixed into the side of an eland's horn. This horn being filled with water, the mouth is applied to the opposite end to that near which the reed is fixed. The Hottentot dif-

fers very materially from the Kaffer in the construction of *his* pipe. He reduces the stem to the length of two inches, that two senses may at the same time receive the benefit and the gratification resulting from the practice of smoking.

“Few are the dietetic plants cultivated by the Kaffers. The millet, called by botanists the *holcus sorghum*, and a very large species of water-melon, seem to be their principal culinary plants. The *zamia cycadis*, a species of palm, grows wild in almost every part of the country, and is sometimes used, as a substitute for millet, to mix with milk as a kind of frumenty. For this purpose the pith of the thick stem is buried in the ground for a month or five weeks, till it becomes soft and short, so as easily to be reduced to a pulpy consistence. They eat also the roots of the *iris edulis*, and several kinds of wild berries, and leguminous plants.

“Had the Kaffers been more generally employed in tilling the ground, they had probably before this arrived at a more competent knowledge of the general causes by which the vicissitudes of the seasons are produced. At present they know little more of astronomy than that in about thirty days the moon will have gone through all its different phases; and that in about twelve moons the same seasons will return. Their only chronology is kept by the moon, and is registered by notches in pieces of wood. It seldom extends beyond one generation till the old series is cancelled, and some great event, as the death of a favourite chief, or the gaining of a victory, serves for a new æra.

“Not the smallest vestige of a written character is to be traced among them; but their language appears

appears to be the remains of something far beyond that of any savage nation. In the enunciation it is soft, fluent, and harmonious; has neither the monotonous mouth-ing of the savage, nor the nasal nor guttural sounds that prevail in almost all the European tongues. It is as different from that of the Hottentots as the latter is from the English. In a very few words, and these are generally proper names, they have adopted the palatial clacking of the tongue used by the Hottentots. The mountains and rivers in the country, for instance, still retain their Hottentot names; a presumptive proof that the Kaffers were intruders upon this nation. It is singular enough that the Kaffers, as well as the Hottentots, should have obtained a name that never belonged to them. The word Kaffer could not be pronounced by one of that nation. They have no sound of the letter *r* in their language. A *Koffray*,

among the Indians, is an infidel, a pagan, and was a general name applied by the early voyagers to those people, in whom they did not perceive any traits of a religious nature; but the origin of the name of Hottentot seems not yet to have been ascertained. The Kaffers call themselves *Koussie*, which word is pronounced by the Hottentots with a strong palatial stroke of the tongue on the first syllable. I know not if the Kaffer language bears any analogy to the Arabic; but their word *eliang* for the sun has an oriental sound for expressing the same idea. The following brief specimen of the Kaffer language, with the synonymous words in that of the Hottentots, may serve to show how little resemblance they bear to each other. The hyphen, in the latter, expresses the dental, and the circumflex the palatial, action of the tongue on those syllables over which they are placed.

	KAFFER.	HOTTENTOT.
The sun,	Eliang,	Surrie.
The moon,	Inyango,	kā.
The stars,	Imquemqueis,	Kōro.
The earth,	Umclabo,	Kōo.
Air or light,	Amaphoo,	Kōm,
Fire,	Leaw,	fi.
Water,	Amaansee,	Kām.
Thunder,	Ezoolo,	hōōnoo.
Lightning,	Leaw Ezoolo,	hōōnoo-ei.
Wind,	Oomoi,	qūa.
Rain,	Imphoola,	Tōōkai.
The sea,	Ooloanje,	hurroo.
A man,	Abaantoo,	Quaina.
A woman,	Omfaas,	Quaisha.
An ox,	Incahai,	Mnoo.
A dog,	Eenja,	Toona.
To-day,	Emenie,	Hasai.
To-morrow,	Gamtzo,	Quātrie.
One,	Eenyé,	Qūa.
Two,	Zimbeenie,	Kām.
Three,	Zintaté,	gōna.

	KAFFER.	HOTTENTOT.
Four,	Zeené,	haka.
Five,	Zincano,	gosé.
Six,	Zintantaat.	
Seven,	Zinnoné.	
Eight,	Zintoamnayené.	
Nine,	Tuamnumyé.	
Ten,	Leeshung.	
Eleven,	Leefang-gay-yé.	
Twelve,	Leefangbeenie.	
Twenty,	Amashoomomabeenie.	
Thirty,	Amashoomomataté.	
Forty,	Amashoomomazeené.	
A hundred,	Ecoloo.	

“The Kaffers differ also very materially from all the neighbouring nations in their manner of disposing of the dead. Funeral rites are bestowed only on the bodies of their chiefs, and on their children. The first are generally interred very deep in the kraals or places where their own oxen used to stand at nights; and the bodies of infants are most commonly deposited in the ant-hills that have been excavated by the myrmecophagæ or ant-eaters. The rest are exposed to be devoured by wolves. As these animals drag them away immediately into their dens, the relations of the deceased are in no danger of being shocked or disgusted with the sight of the mangled carcase. A Kaffer, in consideration of this piece of service, holds the life of a wolf sacred, at least, he never en-

deavours to destroy it; the consequence of which is, that the country swarms with them. Some author has asserted, that the custom of burning the dead was universal, till the practice of it, adopted as the most prudent and convenient disposal of an unpleasant object, became a subject of ostentatious parade; and the funeral pile having at length exhausted the forests, necessity obliged them to have recourse to other means, some to interment, others to exposure in high places to be devoured by crows and vultures. Had the Kaffers ever burned their dead in the country they now inhabit, they were under no necessity of discontinuing the practice for want of fuel, being in the midst of inexhaustible forests.”

SOME PARTICULARS of the MANNERS of the INHABITANTS of TCHINKITANAY BAY, the BAYA DE GUADALUPE of the SPANIARDS, but called by the NATIVES TCHINKITANAY.

[From a VOYAGE round the WORLD by ETIENNE MARCHAND.]

THE natives who occupy the environs of Tchinkitanay Bay are of a stature below the middle size; none of five feet four inches (French) are to be seen: their body is thick, but tolerably well proportioned; their round and flat face is not set off by their snub but sharp nose, little watery eyes, sunk in the head, and prominent cheek-bones. It is no easy matter to determine the colour of their complexion; it might be imagined to be red or light brown, but a coat of natural dirt, thickened by a foreign mixture of red and black substances, with which they smear their visage, suffers no remnant of their primitive skin to be discovered. The coloured strokes which they trace on their face, present not all the same design; but all equally add to their natural ugliness. Their coarse, thick hair, covered with ochre, down of birds, and all the filth which neglect and time have accumulated in it, contributes to render their aspect still more hideous. They wear their beard only at a certain age; the youths carefully eradicate it: adults suffer it to grow: and it is at this day well proved, by the unanimous account of the different voyagers who have visited the north-west coast of America, that all the Americans have a beard, in contradiction to the opinion of some of the learned, who have refused it to the men of the New World, and wished to make of this want of hair a variety in the human species. It is pro-

bable that the face of those at Tchinkitanay Bay would be less disgusting, if they preserved that which nature has given them; for the young boys have an agreeable, and even an interesting countenance; but age, and still more the trouble which they take to make themselves ugly by wishing to embellish themselves, end in giving them hard, coarse, and even ferocious features. Surgeon Roblet attributes their air of ferocity to the frequent expression of the passions by which they are agitated. Tattooing is little in use among the Tchinkitanayans; a few men only are tattooed on the hands, and on the legs below the knee; almost all the women are tattooed on the same parts of the body.

“The women, more fair, or less dark than the men, are still more ugly: a big and clumsy head; a circular face; a nose squeezed in about the middle of its length; eyes small and inanimate; cheek-bones very prominent; hair, or rather a mane, thick, bushy, and coarse, tied behind with strips of leather, either in the form of a cue or a club; the shoulders strong and broad; the neck low, tolerably firm and well rounded in those who are not sixteen, but extremely flabby and pendent in those who have suckled; a waist short and thick; knees and feet turned in, subject to strike against each other in walking; and, to complete the whole, a filthiness truly disgusting. Most assuredly, if we place this
portrait

portrait by the side of one of those women whom nature has appeared to take a delight in forming on the islands scattered in the middle of the Great Ocean, that of a female Taheitean or Mendoçan, we shall stand in need of reflexion, not to believe that these two individuals belong to two different species :

‘ L’un ressemble à la nuit, comme l’autre au beau jour*.’ VOLTAIRE.

“ The women of Tchinkitânay have thought proper to add to their natural ugliness, by the use of a lip-ornament, no less whimsical than inconvenient. The people, belonging to Cook’s ship, who first perceived females decked with this ornament, reported to their captain that they had seen women with two mouths: and, in fact, they have very much that appearance. In order to procure them a charm from which, no doubt, they expect complete success, since, to obtain it, they submit to suffer for a long time, a longitudinal slit, parallel to the mouth, is made about six lines below their under-lip. In this is first inserted a skewer of iron or wood; and the bulk of this foreign substance is increased gradually, and from time to time, according to the progress

of age. At length means are found to introduce into it a piece of wood, neatly wrought, the shape and size of which are nearly those of the bowl of a table-spoon. The effect of this ornament is to depress, by the weight of its projecting part, the under-lip on the chin, to develop the charms of a large gaping mouth, which assumes the shape of that of an oven, and to expose to full view a set of yellow and dirty teeth. As this machine is removed and replaced at pleasure, when it is taken away, the transversal slit of the lip presents a second mouth; which, from its aperture, is not inferior in size to the natural mouth: and, in some women, it is upwards of three inches in length†. The men do not allow themselves to make use of this ornament; it is the exclusive attribute of the fair sex. According to the editor of Dixon’s Journal, ‘ this curious operation of cutting the under-lip of the females, never takes place during their infancy; but,’ says this writer, ‘ from every observation I was able to make, seems confined to a peculiar period of life. When the girls arrive at the age of fourteen or fifteen,’ continues he, ‘ the centre of the under-lip, in the thick part near the mouth, is

* “ One like the night, the other like the day.”

† “ This ornament, as whimsical as it must be inconvenient, is however not peculiar to the north-west coast of America; it was found in use among the Brazilians when the discovery was made of their country. They pierced their under-lip from their infancy; and, at that tender age, they contented themselves with inserting there a little bone, as white as ivory; but at the age of puberty they introduced into it a stone of the length of a finger, which they incrustated in such a manner that it held of its own accord. Some enchased these even into their cheeks. It is astonishing that so extraordinary a decoration as the lip-ornament should have presented itself to the mind of two different nations, one of which could not have served as a model to the other, to judge from their distant position, which scarcely allow us to suppose that they can have had a communication with each other. It is not known whether it have been introduced into other parts of the continent. The tribes of the north-west coast, as is seen, improve considerably on the Brazilians: it may be said that they exaggerate the fashion.

“ This fashion appears general on the coast between the fiftieth and sixtieth parallels, with this difference, that in the most northern parts the men alone wear the lip-ornament, and that in the southern parts it is reserved for the women.”

‘ simply

‘ simply perforated, and a piece of
‘ copper wire introduced, to pre-
‘ vent the aperture from closing;
‘ the aperture afterwards is length-
‘ ened, from time to time, in a line
‘ parallel with the mouth; and the
‘ wooden ornaments are enlarged
‘ in proportion, till they are fre-
‘ quently increased to three, or even
‘ four inches in length, and nearly
‘ as wide; but this generally hap-
‘ pens, when the matron is advanced
‘ in years, and consequently the
‘ muscles are relaxed; so that, pos-
‘ sibly, old age may obtain greater
‘ respect from this very singular
‘ ornament *.’ Captain Chanal
and surgeon Roblet do not agree
with the editor of Dixon’s voyage
as to the period at which the wo-
men can aspire to the privilege of
wearing the lip-ornament: they
say that the operation is begun
from the most tender infancy; and
they saw girls at the breast who
already had their lip slit, and
adorned with a wooden skewer.
But it is possible that these voyagers
may not be at variance: the ac-
quaintance which the women of
Tchinkitânay have made with Eu-
ropeans, must have improved among
them the art of pleasing; and, per-
haps, since Dixon quitted them,
they have decided that they could
not, too early in life, cause all their
sex to enjoy an ornament that em-
bellishes the attractions which na-
ture has so prodigally dealt out to
them.

“ As youth always inspires in-
terest and indulgence, the French
voyagers assert that the young
girls are neither so ugly nor so
disgusting as the women; yet they
acknowledge, that they saw not a
single one who was tolerably pretty.
We must believe seamen, without

hesitation, when they say that the
women whom they have met with
in their excursions deserved not
their homage.

“ The individuals of both sexes,
children, whether young or old,
are covered with vermin. They
assiduquely hunt those devouring
animals, but in order to devour
them themselves. The furs which
they sell to strangers are so in-
fested with them, that whatever
pains be taken to rid the skins of
those insects, they soon increase to
such an excess, that it becomes
impossible for the crew of a ship to
escape their pursuit and voracity.
It may be said, that, in taking a
cargo of furs, a vessel takes a cargo
of lice.

“ It cannot be doubted that the
small-pox has been introduced into
the countries which border on
Tchinkitânay Bay; for several
individuals of both sexes bear
unequivocal marks of it; and they
explained very clearly to surgeon
Roblet, who questioned them con-
cerning the cause of these marks,
that they proceeded from a disorder
which made the face swell, and
covered the body with virulent
pustules that occasioned violent
itchings. They even remarked
that the French must be well ac-
quainted with it, since some of
them also bore the marks of it. In
1787, captain Portlock was witness
of the ravages which it had made
some years before, and of the depo-
pulation that had been the conse-
quence of it, in the harbour to
which he has given his name, and
which is situated at no great di-
stance to the north-west of Tchinkitânay, towards the latitude of
57° 50’. From the information that
he was able to procure, he thinks,

* “ Dixon’s Voyage, p. 187.”

and this opinion appears to be well founded, that the Spaniards who, in 1775, pushed their discoveries on this coast as far as the fifty-eighth parallel, left there this indelible trace of their unexpected appearance and visit *. It was then reserved for them to spread contagion on the two shores of the New World, as if their arms ought not to have sufficed for its depopulation; for it is well known that the small-pox was carried to Mexico by a negro slave belonging to the suit of Narvaez, when the latter was sent with a body of troops, by Velasquez, commandant at Cuba, to deprive Cortes of his commission, and arrest him in the midst of his conquests. Quetlavaca, who occupied the throne of Mexico, after the tragical end of the unfortunate Montezuma, his brother, which was disgraceful to the conqueror, fell a victim to that frightful disorder, one of the scourges of Europe, which ravaged and depopulated the two Americas †. The Spaniards think to justify themselves by saying, that, if they gave the small-pox to the Americans, this was only exchanging one disorder for another: ah! if in fact it be true, that the disease which they brought back from their conquests, and which has infected the Old Continent, took birth in the New; if it were inevitable that the two worlds, by opening a communication, should reciprocally bestow on each other so fatal a present, it may be said, that, in this respect as well as in many others, it would have been better, for the happiness of the human species, that they had continued eternally unknown to each other.

“ The dress of the men and

women of Tchinkitanay consists of a sort of shirt of tanned skin, sewed at the sides, the wide sleeves of which reach only a little below the shoulder, and a fur cloak, which is worn with the hair on the outside. Over this the women wear, besides an apron of the same skin, which comes no higher than the waist, and another otter cloak over the former. The editor of Dixon's Journal says, that, ‘ besides their ‘ ordinary dress, the natives at this ‘ place have a peculiar kind of ‘ cloaks, made purposely to defend ‘ them from the inclemency of the ‘ weather. I had no opportunity,’ adds he, ‘ of examining them minutely, but they appear to be made ‘ of reeds, sewed very closely together; and I was told by one of ‘ our gentlemen, who was with captain Cook during his last voyage, ‘ that they are exactly the same ‘ with those worn by the inhabitants of New Zealand †.’ When the cold is not sharp, the men throw off the skin shirt, and content themselves with the skin cloak, which admits of part of their body being seen naked. Most of them are adorned with a necklace, composed of copper wire interwoven; and this ornament appears not to be of European manufacture; it might be taken for a work of their own hands. They therefore possess mines, whence they extract this metal; and nothing contradicts this first supposition: but it would be necessary to suppose, too, that they possess the art of melting metal, of drawing it into wire, of working it; and what we have been able to learn of their industry does not favour the idea that we can grant them this knowledge.

* “ Portlock's Voyage, p. 270 and following.”

† “ See Robertson's History of America, book VII. note LXVIII.”

‡ “ Dixon's Voyage, p. 191.”

What seems most probable is, that these necklaces, fabricated in some of the European settlements of the interior, come to them ready made, from tribe to tribe, through the channel of the intermediate nations. Both sexes make use of a small hat, made of bark, plaited, and in the form of a cone, truncated at a fourth or a third of its height: but most frequently the men have the head bare; their thick hair, mixed with ochre and down of birds, forms a natural head-dress, which, in ordinary weather, must be sufficient to protect their head from the injury of the air. It might be imagined, from the preference which they at this day give to jackets and trousers, that they find the use of them more convenient than that of their former clothes; yet I should rather think that, not being able to acquire, but by the sacrifice of their furs, the European utensils, the utility of which they have discovered, and which have made them know wants, eager to procure themselves to new commodities, new enjoyments, they have accommodated themselves to our dress: for it must be admitted that a Frenchman who should be condemned to pass a winter amid the frozen forests of the north-west coast of America, in 57° north latitude, would prefer to our woollen cloths those thick furs which nature seems to have, designedly, lavished on the countries where the severity of the cold demands the use of them.

"Independently of their everyday clothing, the men have another, which may be called their holiday suit, or habit of ceremony. As this dress differs from the masquerade, or war dresses, in which the natives

of Nootka sometimes muffle themselves up, and which captain Cook, who has described them with the greatest minuteness, calls their monstrous decorations*, it may not be useless to make known that of the Tchinkitánayans. To add a chapter to the history of dresses is to add one to that of the extravagancies of the privileged animal, so proud of his reason, who styles himself the King of Nature.

"As far as we are able to judge, the dress of which captain Chanal gives us the description is reserved by the natives of Tchinkitánay for particular ceremonies or functions, for characters of buffoons or jugglers: to the object of war it appears to be quite foreign. It is remarked, however, that the use of this dress is not confined to old men; for the American to whom the French addressed themselves to see one of these dresses of character appeared not to be more than twenty-five years of age. It was not without some difficulty that they prevailed on him to display part of his wardrobe, which he kept carefully put by in a little box; and in which, through great condescension towards strangers, he was pleased to muffle himself up in their presence. The first piece of this whimsical attire is a sort of grenadier's cap, or rather the fore part of a mitre, which is placed on the forehead, and fastened by strings tied behind the head. The sides of it are bordered with long hair of men and beasts. On the exterior part of this head-dress are represented figures of men, quadrupeds, and birds, painted in a grotesque manner; and braids, composed of hair of beasts, and filaments of tree or shrub-bark, like

* "See Cook's Third Voyage, vol. ii. p. 306."

flax, hang down behind as a long trailing tail. The breast is covered with a sort of plastron or cuirass, made of a tissue of spun-hair, and trimmed with slips of skin, which are shaped like the skirts of a corset, the lower extremities of which are cut out into little fringes, which are suspended, in infinite numbers, small shells, spurs and bills of birds. On the middle of this plastron are painted various irregular figures. On each thigh and knee are placed pieces nearly similar; with this difference, that that of the knee presents a grotesque head with a wooden nose, moveable and hooked, three or four inches in length. These last-mentioned pieces are, like the cuirass, garnished with shells and dried extremities of birds; which, by striking against each other in the motions of the body, imitate, though very imperfectly, the sound of our little bells. The Tchinkitanayan, muffled up in this garb, holds in one hand a hoop of platted osier, eight or nine inches in diameter, the radii and circumference of which are decorated with the same gew-gaws as the other parts of the dress. In the other hand he carries the representation, made with osier or bark, of a human head, terminated in a point, and fixed at the end of a stick about eight inches in length. This head is filled with dried and sonorous seeds, and may be compared, though on a large scale, to those wicker-rattles which the village-nurses shake in the ears of their nursling. As soon as the actor had finished his toilet, the piece began. It neither was long nor overcharged with incidents: in it the three unities were perfectly observed; he confined himself to agitating his body in every way, and to endeavouring, by a

universal contortion of his limbs, to find motions that might multiply the shocks of the sonorous gew-gaws with which his dress was loaded, in order to increase and diversify their sounds. At the same time he made horrible grimaces, which Callot might have employed with success in his Temptation of Saint Anthony. It cannot be said that he was the more ugly on that account; but he produced varieties in his ugliness. It may well be supposed that it was impossible for the spectators to divine the subject of the piece; they were obliged to content themselves with admiring the elegance of the costume, and the suppleness of the actor of the pantomime.

“ This character-dress was not the only one that he possessed; his wardrobe contained a great number, no doubt for different parts, and was remarked above all for a varied collection of caps. It may be imagined that national vanity had induced him to display, to the eyes of strangers, the dress to which he attached the most importance, and which seemed to him the best calculated to excite their admiration; they were, however, very desirous to see the others, but he would not permit them to be examined; and whatever entreaty they made, whatever price they offered, they could never prevail on him to part with any articles of his wardrobe.

“ The population of Tchinkitanay Bay, like that of all the north-west coast of America, is not numerous. We may suppose that the greater part, and almost the whole of the natives who occupy the skirts of the bay, with the exception of the old men and the infirm, presented themselves round the ship; and our voyagers could

never reckon more than two hundred individuals, including women and children: but, as the number of the men always exceeded that of the women, we may suppose that some of the latter had remained in the habitations, in order to give their attention to the family concerns, and to the children at the breast. In Dixon's Journal, we find that the greatest number ever seen about his ship, at one time, was a hundred and seventy-five, including women and children. The editor of his Voyage says, 'Were I to estimate these at half the number who live here, it would perhaps be not far from the truth; but supposing an allowance to be made for the aged and infirm, and for those who were absent, engaged in hunting, fishing, &c. I think four hundred and fifty people will be the whole of the natives found here, taking the computation in its utmost extent, and including men, women, and children.'

"We must not be astonished to find a feeble population on lands whose forests, perhaps as ancient as the soil that nourishes them, cover all the surface which is not reached by the tempests of the ocean. The man, who, to secure his subsistence, has only the chances of hunting and fishing, can scarcely provide for himself: culture alone can call forth population; and a few cultivated acres of one of those islands placed between the tropics, must afford a living to a greater number of men, than whole countries where the land exhausts its fecundity in re-producing incessantly useless forests.

"The principal food of the natives of Tchinkitanay is fish, fresh or smoked; the dried spawn of fish, of which they make a sort of cake;

and the flesh of the animals that they kill: to these they add, in the intervals of their meals and in their excursions, the use of a farinaceous legume, the taste of which may be compared to that of the sweet potatoe, and which surgeon Roblet believes to be the *saranne*. Wild fruits, and berries which are found in abundance in the woods, with the tender root of the fern, likewise afford them an occasional supply. We know not what was their peculiar manner of preparing their aliments: at this day, they dress fish and meat in the pots and kettles which they have obtained by trade; but, taught by experience, they no longer expose to the fire the tin and pewter vessels which they have received from the Europeans; they gave the French to understand that the former were unsoldered, and the latter melted: they make use of both for serving up their food when dressed; and they employ them jointly with the wooden dishes and bowls which they manufacture themselves. Their travelling utensils are become much more cumbersome than they were before their intercourse with strangers: they begin to experience the embarrassment of riches.

"They always mix train-oil with their broth. This oil, the strong and tart smell of which makes us reject it from our cookery, excites not the same repugnance among the North Americans and the other nations that occupy the regions bordering on the poles: the Greenlanders swallow a glass of train-oil as the European would swallow a glass of tokay. Fish-oil, in general, is a liquor of which the inhabitant of the frozen climates, settled on the borders of the sea, and living on its productions, makes a habitual and necessary use: it de-velopes

velopes the heat concentrated in the stomach; and, by driving it towards the circumference, by carrying it to the extremities, it maintains throughout the whole habit of the body the circulation of the fluids; it protects the members from a numbedness which would end by causing their action to cease, and occasion their loss. It is not known that the Tchinkitânayans make use of any fermented drink, or any strong liquor; and the brandy of which they were prevailed on to make a trial appeared not to be to their liking. It were to be wished, for their tranquillity and happiness, that their communications with Europeans may not introduce into their forests this fatal liquor, which has carried confusion into those of the savages of the east part of North America, and which, on the coast of Africa, is paid for by the freedom of men. Their custom, like that of almost all the nations of America and Asia, is to chew habitually a species of herb; and as soon as they were acquainted with the tobacco leaf, they gave it the preference to that which they before employed to satisfy the same want.

“The first navigators who visited the north-west coast of America, in ascending from the forty-second degree of latitude to the sixtieth parallel, found that the knowledge and the use of iron had long since arrived there; and they saw in the hands of the natives various instruments and tools of that metal. It is probable that the latter received it from the interior, by communicating, from tribe to tribe, with the nations which receive it immediately through the medium of the

Europeans, either from the English settlements of Hudson’s Bay, or from the Spanish *presidios*. The trade of the Americans of the north-west coast with the Russians must, for upwards of half a century past, have made them acquainted with iron and copper; for, as far back as the year 1741, Beering and Tschiricow, having sailed from the coast of Kamtschatka, discovered that of America on the opposite side, and led the way to the important discoveries which the Russians have made within these seventy years, and which have given to the empire of Russia new tributaries and a new branch of commerce*.

“The Tchinkitânayans are all armed with a metal dagger, fifteen or sixteen inches long, from two and a half to three broad, terminated in a point, and sharp on both sides. This is the weapon which they are the most careful to preserve, and which they take a pleasure in keeping polished and bright. A grenadier is not more proud of his sabre, than a Tchinkitânayan is of his dagger: he wears it in a shoulder-belt, in a leather scabbard, and is never without it; either day or night. It is with this weapon, which never ought to have been turned against our fellow-creatures, that sometimes he engages the bear in close combat, and rips open its belly when the furious animal is ready to stifle him in its paws. It is not known how long this dagger, which originally must have been of hard wood, has been made of a metal the use of which man has not limited to his wants and conveniences; but which, in his hands, is become for his species the instrument of destruction†.

* “See in the Introduction the Voyages of the Russians from 1728 to 1769.”

† “*At curvæ rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.*” VIRG. Georg. lib. i.

‘The sickles into barbarous swords are beat.’ WARTON.”

Their pikes, which no doubt were at first tipped with a hard stone tapering to a point, or with a fish-bone, are at this day armed with an iron head of European manufacture. Their lances, the ancient shape of which is not known, are at present composed of two pieces; of the staff, about fifteen or eighteen feet long, and of the iron, no-wise inferior to that of the halbert of parade with which our parish headles used to be equipped. To the stone hatchet they have substituted the *tok*, a sort of thick plane-iron, which they adjust firmly on the extremity of a crooked handle; and this instrument, in their hands, performs the office of a carpenter's adze. They have, however, preserved the bow and arrow of their forefathers: the place of this weapon, which carries far, can be supplied with advantage by fire-arms only; and we must hope, for the safety of their European friends, that they will never learn to make use of them. It appears that the English, in their visits, distributed a few muskets on the part of the coast which borders on Tchinkitâ-nay Bay; and I know not whether a well-conceived policy can approve of such presents: the interest of the Europeans ought, methinks, to induce them to maintain the American in the opinion that fire-arms are a species of thunder which it is not allowable for him to touch without risking his life: I am well aware of the danger of suffering him to grow familiar with the instrument of our power. Yet it seems that the English, in giving them muskets, have not furnished the mover and the *primum mobile* which render them formidable; for a native of Tchinkitâ-nay who had possessed one, gave the French to understand that he had broken

it in a passion, because, said he, the musket always went *crik*, and would never go *pouhou*.

“ They have not changed the instrument with which they arm themselves for whale-fishing: this instrument is a harpoon of bone, bearded, and mounted on a long pole. Relying on this weapon, which they handle with uncommon dexterity, two Tchinkitânayans boldly attack the whale. When they are arrived near the place where they have seen him dive for the last time, they slacken the progress of their canoe; play, as it were, with their paddles on the surface of the water; and, as soon as he re-appears, the harpooner seizes his harpoon, and drives at the monster. According to their account, the dart thrown never fails to make its way, through one of the eyes, into the inside of the head; and the animal is soon lifeless. The fat of the whale furnishes the Americans with an oil, which they preserve in guts of a large capacity, and which, as I have said, is a great dainty among them: the beard is converted into combs, of which, however, they make little use, and likewise into spoons and other household utensils.

“ The Tchinkitânayan is industrious, active, laborious, and skillful. Different works in wicker, platted with a sort of elegance; cloaks of spun hair, woven in a workman-like manner, intermixed with pieces of otter-skin, and extremely well calculated as a preservative from the cold; the dressing and tanning of skins; various works of sculpture and painting—every thing announces a long employment of the useful arts, and a knowledge of those which are merely agreeable.

“ The taste of ornament prevails in

in all the works of their hands: their canoes, their chests, and different little articles of furniture in use among them, are covered with figures which might be taken for a species of hieroglyphics: fishes and other animals, heads of men, and various whimsical designs, are mingled and confounded in order to compose a subject. It undoubtedly will not be expected that these figures should be perfectly regular, and the proportions in them exactly observed—for here every man is a painter and sculptor—yet they are not deficient in a sort of elegance and perfection. But these paintings, these carvings, such as they are, are seen on all their furniture. Is this general taste simply produced and kept alive by the want of occupying the leisure of a long winter, if, however, winter leaves them leisure? Or rather does not its principle arise from the ancient state of their society, which is lost to us in the obscurity of their origin?

“ Their genius and industry are displayed principally in the construction of their canoes. Those which are intended for the use of a single family, composed in general of seven or eight individuals, are fifteen or sixteen feet in length, by two and a half or three feet in width: others have much larger dimensions, and carry from fifteen to twenty persons. They are all cut out of a single trunk of a tree, and have a similar form: their two extremities do not differ from each other, which must give these canoes the advantage of being never obliged to put about: they are very sharp, and terminate in a cut-water, projecting fifteen or eighteen inches, which is not more than an inch in thickness: these

two extremities, raised by planks neatly fitted, are higher than the rest of the canoe: seats fixed very near the bottom, are so disposed as to receive the rowers, who, when they are seated, serve, in some measure, as ballast: the provisions, the clothes, and all the baggage, are arranged in the middle part, where they are covered with skins of beasts and strips of bark, which serve also for covering the temporary settlements that are formed on the sea-shore, when the fishing-season is arrived, for drying fish, and furnishing the supply that is to make part of their subsistence during the winter months. Although the lading of the canoes is considerable, since, independently of the men, they carry women, children, provisions, all the household utensils, all the fishing implements, all the moveables belonging to the family (for it appears, that according to the example of the sage, the Americans take all their property with them), these boats are so thin and so light, that they preserve a surprising velocity. We are not less astonished at their stability: notwithstanding the lightness and the small breadth of their hull, they have no need of being supported by outriggers, and they are never coupled together. The Tchinkitanayans have not the use of the sail; but we doubt not that, having learned, from the example of the Europeans, how useful a help this is for gaining time and saving trouble, they will shortly attempt to apply it to their canoes: they are already versed in the art of weaving; one step more is sufficient for them to add to their canoes a mast and a yard, and to adapt a sail to them.

“ Although the natives of Tchinkitanay have long been in possession

sion of European hatchets, they do not yet make use of this instrument for felling the tree which they intend for the construction of a canoe; they have preserved their ancient method of undermining its foot by means of fire: it is by the assistance of this same agent that they contrive to hollow it out; it is also with this instrument, which is docile in their hands, and the action of which they know how to direct and regulate, that they fashion the tree on the outside, so as to give it the form the best calculated for being supported by the water, and for dividing the fluid by either of its extremities indifferently. We shall cease to be surprised that, since they are acquainted with the hatchet, which seems to afford both facility and dispatch, they have not preferred the use of it to the laborious and long proceeding which they continue to employ, if we do not forget that fire has the property of hardening the wood to which it has been applied, consequently of procuring its greater density, and of rendering it more impervious to the water. It cannot be doubted that they have discovered in fire this property of rendering wood more compact, and of prolonging its duration, when it is to be exposed to moisture, since, when they make a point to a stake which they intend to be driven into the ground, they take great care to harden, by means of fire, all the part that is to be buried*.

"The temporary settlements which the Tchinkitânayans form on the coast, such as they have been described, would give us rea-

son to believe that their progress in civil architecture is not so rapid as in naval; but, from what the French could learn from them, they have, up the country, some well-built, spacious, and convenient habitations. If their account be faithful, and if our voyagers understood them rightly, we must conclude that these Americans, from what they said, are not a wandering tribe, but abandon their homes only when the hunting or fishing season, or trade with strangers, compels them, for a time, to make a few excursions to a distance, and proceed to the borders of the sea. We may, without impeaching their industry, imagine that these habitations of the interior, of which they speak with a sort of emphasis, greatly resemble, in point of architecture, size, and convenience, those of the natives of Nootka, a description and a drawing of which are to be found in Cook's third voyage. It must be admitted that these are indeed palaces, if we compare them to those miserable huts which were seen on the coast, and which, under their covering of skins and bark, receive a whole family, heaped up pell-mell on a few toises of moist ground, and exposed to all the inclemencies of the lateral air, in a climate where Reaumur's thermometer, during the day, rises no higher than twelve degrees in the dog-days†.

"The Tchinkitânayans have a decided taste for singing, and it appears to be among them a sort of social institution: at fixed periods of the day, in the morning and evening, they sing in chorus; every person present takes a part

* "Observations of Roblet."

† "According to Dixon's Journal (page 185), the mean heat during his stay in Norfolk Sound, towards the end of June, was 48 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, or 7½ degrees of Reaumur's."

in the concert; and they all exhibit a composure which might suggest the idea that the words of their songs carry with them an interest that fixes their attention. The editor of Dixon's Journal has inserted, in his narrative, a Tchinkitânanayan song, which he frequently heard repeated during the stay of the English in the bay: it is written in notes with bars. It appears that the chief of the family begins by singing alone the first two measures; the men and women then join their voices to his in chorus, the women to the upper octave; and all beat time with much exactness, sometimes with their hands; at others, with paddles; meanwhile the chief shakes his rattle and makes a thousand ridiculous gesticulations, singing at intervals in different notes from the rest. They have, adds that journalist, a great variety of tunes, but their method of performing them is universally the same*. The French observe, in like manner, that all the singers beat time, and that they have so true an ear, that never more than a single stroke is heard. Our voyagers, taking a pleasure in their singing, which is melodious, frequently requested them to sing, and they did so without suffering themselves to be pressed; nor did they endeavour to make a favour of showing their talent by a resistance which is not always a proof of modesty or diffidence. In their turn, they requested the French to sing, and appeared particularly to enjoy the slow tunes, the movement of which comes near to that of their songs; an opera of Lully would be heard with rapture at Tchinkitânanay; and, no doubt, its success would be complete, if it were ter-

minated by a ballet of devils, in which the natives might recognise themselves.

"A rapid inspection may suffice for an observing traveller, to learn the physical constitution of the people whom he visits, and enable him to describe their dress, weapons, arts, food, and every thing that strikes the senses: but if a nation be not assembled in great numbers on the same spot; if he see only portions of it distant from their homes; if he cannot penetrate to their fixed habitations, it is scarcely possible for him to acquire a knowledge of its government, its religion when it has one, its manners, and its customs: then, he is reduced to conjectures; he endeavours to divine, and he thinks he knows: it is but too common that from an insulated fact, from a single observation, he forms his conclusions of the community from the individual; and the picture which he presents as drawn from nature is no more than a picture of imagination. He experiences still greater difficulties, if he wish to form and give an idea of the character of this same nation of which he sees only a few individuals, for a moment, and merely for the object of trade. In order to know the character and seize its shades, it is necessary to have studied it for a long time, to have examined man in circumstances where the mind is agitated by the passions, and in those when, restored to tranquillity, it pours itself into the bosom of friendship, or peaceably enjoys itself in the intimacy of a well-matched union: and can a traveller see in every moral attitude, if I may use the expression, the man whom he wishes to draw?

* "See Dixon's Voyage, page 243."

The trait which the observation of the day makes him note down as characteristic, the observation of the morrow will make him efface: in short, he is forced to paint the subject in profile, in order that the moveability of the features may not make him miss the likeness; and a profile has no countenance. It will not therefore be expected that what concerns the religious and political institutions, the customs, the moral qualities, and the character of the Tchinkitânayans should be presented with detail: I can produce no more than a shapeless sketch; report some facts, with less order than accuracy; and compare what voyagers have said, in order to confirm or invalidate their accounts, the one by the other, and sometimes to supply the deficiency of proofs by probabilities.

"It was not possible for the French to ascertain whether the Tchinkitânayans acknowledge a Supreme Being, whether they pay him any sort of worship, and whether they have an idea of a future life, which implies the principle of the immortality of the soul. The editor of Dixon's Journal mentions, however, that he was one day endeavouring to get the meaning of some words in their language from one of the chiefs, and, says he, 'the American, pointing to the sun, took great pains to make me understand, that notwithstanding our apparent superiority in possessing various useful articles, which they did not, yet that our origin was the same with theirs, that they came from above as well as we, and that the sun animated and kept alive every creature in the universe *.' The Tchinkitânayans therefore

acknowledge, under the emblem of the sun, a Supreme Divinity. This idea is the first that presents itself to the man who has no other guide than the light of reason; beyond that, every thing is supernatural. Perhaps those songs which precede and conclude their commercial dealings are invocations and thanksgivings to the Universal Being; perhaps those regulated songs, at the rising and setting of the luminary of the day, are acts of adoration; perhaps, in short, those whimsical dresses which have been mentioned, are intended to be employed in religious ceremonies, in festivals which are not celebrated in their temporary settlements on the coast, but are reserved for their fixed dwellings in the interior of the country. It is very rare for men to be formed into society, without their having priests, superstitions, and ceremonies; they must have shows, errors, and consolations.

"No opportunity occurred of observing the funeral ceremonies practised by the Tchinkitânayans: when death takes off the chief of a family or one of its members, no doubt they do not give them up with indifference to the destructive elements, like the remains of the animal of the woods whose skin they have stripped off; and their reason is too far advanced not to have dictated to them the last duties which are to be paid to the dead by conjugal affection, filial piety, and sweet friendship: perhaps it was reserved for the most civilised people of the Old World to abandon to unfeeling hirelings the mortal part of what was the most dear to us, and not to indulge themselves in dropping a tear on the earth

* "See Dixon's Voyage, pages 189 and 190."

which is on the point of consuming it. But, if we know not what honours the Tchinkitânayans pay to the dead, at least we know that they are extremely careful and intent to adorn their abode, and to rescue from destruction the most noble part of the being, that which appears to be the seat of thought. The editor of Dixon's Journal reports that ' Mr. Turner, one of ' captain Dixon's officers, while ' he was making an excursion in ' the boat on the west coast of the ' bay, about four miles to the north- ' ward of their first anchoring- ' birth, saw a large cave, formed ' by nature in the side of a moun- ' tain; curiosity prompted him to ' go on shore, in order to examine ' it, as there appeared something, ' which, at a distance, looked ' bright and sparkling. On get- ' ting into the cave, he found the ' object which attracted his atten- ' tion to be a square box, with a ' human head in it; the box was ' very beautifully ornamented with ' small shells, polished, and shin- ' ing, composing various designs, ' and seemed to have been left ' there very recently, being the ' only one in the place*.' Cap- tain Dixon, who had discovered Port Mulgrave, situated two de- grees and a half to the northward of Tchinkitânay, there met, in his excursions, with several of this sort of burying-places. If we can con- trive not to suffer our opinion to be governed by appearances; if, in stripping objects of their matter, we are willing, in order to appre- ciate them, to consider the motive, the box in which the American preserves the desiccated head which was dear to him, and the urn in which Cornelia preserves

the ashes of Pompey, will not differ in our eyes: the same sentiment renders them equally sacred. When we see the pains, the de- gree of refinement, which these people, whom we dare to call sa- vages, vie with each other in em- ploying, to adorn that portion of the remains of their relations or of their friends, which they can dis- pense with restoring to the ele- ments, we must believe that, if, like the Egyptians, they possessed the art of embalming, or if Nature had dug in their solitudes asylums inaccessible to corruption, such as those preservative caverns in the island of Teneriffe, where, for so many centuries past, the desic- cated bodies of the ancient Guan- ches repose entire, we should see them, at fixed periods, on the re- turn of the seasons, pay religiously to their ancestors, respected both by men and by time, the perpe- tuated homage of filial piety and of gratitude. Feeling people, may you ever preserve this sentiment, sometimes impaired, but indelible, which endeavours to prolong, by illusion, the existence of our fore- fathers or of our models! And never may one of those political revolutions which overthrow great empires, by bringing you back to the insensibility of the wandering animals with which you share your forests, make you forget what the present owes to the past, what the living owe to the dead!

" The French were unable to as- certain whether the total number of the natives whom they saw assem- bled in Tchinkitânay Bay, and who all belonged to the surrounding coast, form one and the same tribe, and whether they acknowledge a supreme chief: only, the first day

* " See Dixon's Voyage, page 131."

that the Solide anchored in the bay, a personage better dressed than the rest seemed to affect an air of superiority; but, as his companions showed him no respect, and appeared not to pay any attention to him, the French thought that they ought not to pay him any more. The following day, they saw this same man, without any distinctive mark, confounded in the crowd: he had forgotten his dignity of the preceding day; or they had been mistaken in regard to this dignity. The government of the Tchinkitânayans would appear then to approach the patriarchal government, where every one acknowledges as a superior the chief only of the family; but they want flocks and herds, the place of which cannot be supplied by otters and bears. Dixon's editor, however, seems to admit tribes or chiefs of tribes; for he says that 'the chief of the tribe has always the entire management of all the trade belonging to his people, and takes infinite pains to dispose of their furs advantageously*.' This passage of Dixon should not therefore persuade me that he thought the Tchinkitânayans are divided into tribes; and what he says may be explained by what captain Chanal says, when he speaks of their intelligence and cunning in trade; he remarks that the greater part of the natives intrusted the business of trading for them, to those among them whom they knew to be the most skilful in this kind of traffic. This seems to me to indicate merely the mistrust of their own talent, and a sort of homage paid to that of another; it is an act of deference dictated by interest; but it is not an act of submission; and it seems

to me that the independence of each family, observed by captain Chanal, is not contradicted by the observation of Dixon's editor.

"The conduct of these Americans in traffic announces both judgment and distrust. Different from the people who inhabit the islands of the Great Ocean, they never prefer the agreeable to the useful; what is not to them an object of utility is accepted only as a present, as *stat*, according to their expression. It was observed, that when they accept, by way of closing a bargain, any of our nick-nacks which have no value but from fancy, and can serve only for dress, it is solely for the purpose of pleasing their women: they yield to importunity; but it is evidently with regret†. Dealings with them are not to be terminated quickly: they do not conclude their bargains till after a long and minute examination of the commodities which are offered. The smallest defect escapes not the first glance of their eye, but makes them lessen the price of the article, or determines them to reject it entirely. The regulation which they established among them for their traffic with the strangers was admirable: each canoe was seen to approach the ship in its turn, without confusion, without dispute, and according to the order in which they had all presented themselves on their arrival near her; and those who were in them were neither eager, urgent, noisy, nor importunate. 'The moment a chief has concluded a bargain,' says Dixon's editor, 'he repeats the words *coocoo* thrice, with quickness, and is immediately answered by all the people in his canoe with the word *whoah*,

* "See Dixon's Voyage, page 187."

† "Observations of Roblet."

'pronounced

‘ pronounced in a tone of exclamation, but with greater or less energy in proportion as the bargain he has made is approved of*.’ Captain Chanal says only, that when a bargain is concluded they express their satisfaction by exclaiming *ouoh*. This is Dixon’s *whoah*, written for the French pronunciation. The editor of his Journal, struck, like the French, by the good order which the Americans of the bay observed in their trade with strangers, and by the honesty with which they seem to deal, appears to doubt that confidence and harmony reign among themselves. After mentioning ‘ that the chief of the tribe has always the entire management of all the trade belonging to his people,’ he says that, ‘ should a different tribe come alongside to trade, whilst he is trading, they wait with patience till he has done; and if, in their opinion, he has made a good market, they frequently employ him to sell their skins. Sometimes, indeed, they seem extremely jealous of each other.’ This is a very probable conjecture; for he adds, that ‘ they use every precaution to prevent their neighbours from observing what articles they obtain in exchange for their commodities †.’

“ The mode of life of the Tchinkitanayans is very regular: they quitted the ship sufficiently early to be on shore before noon. This is the hour fixed for their first meal; and they take their second a little before night. This order is inviolable.

“ The men appear to have for the women the regard and attention

which their weakness claims. They are not seen here, as among most of the savage nations of America, charged with the rudest labours, and frequently treated no better than our beasts of burden. The men have reserved for themselves every laborious occupation—hunting, fishing, and the preparation and cooking of meat and fish. The employments of the women consist in cleaning the skins from their last grease, and sewing them and making them into dresses. Their difficulty in walking, and their *embonpoint*, announce that their life is very sedentary. They were seen sometimes to handle a paddle; but in cases only when they were alone in the canoe, or when the men were not in sufficient numbers to manage it. They appear very subordinate to their husbands; but the latter have for them the greatest respect; and they seldom take the liberty of concluding a bargain without consulting them. The women eat in common with the husband and the children; and it is well known, that, among the greater part of the tribes which occupy the islands of the Great Ocean, and among some of those of the continent of America, the men never admit the women to their table.

“ The good understanding which reigns in their families is manifested, in an affecting manner, by the general expression of their fondness for their children: and the cares which nature seems to have allotted exclusively to the mother, the father is often seen to take a delight in sharing. The situation of the children at the breast is, however, deplorable ‡. They are packed

* “ Dixon’s Voyage, p. 189.”

† “ Ibid. pp. 187, 188.”

‡ “ The Journal of Captain Chanal and the Observations of Surgeon Roblet are blended in the following description.”

up in a sort of wicker cradle, somewhat like one of our chairs, the back of which has been cut at a small height above the seat. This cradle is covered outwardly with dry leather, and lined with furs in the place where the child is to rest. There it is that the little sufferer experiences a sort of continual torture, and all the evils that can be produced by filthiness and confinement. Placed in a sitting posture, with its legs extended, and stuck one against the other, it is covered to the chin by an otter-skin, and tied down, in order to fix it on its bed of pain, by leather straps, which leave it no liberty except for the motions of its head; and most frequently it moves that only to express its suffering. The care which is taken to cover with dry moss the seat on which it sits, and to place some between its thighs, also turns against it: its urine and excrements soon convert this moss into dung; and the fermentation which there takes place produces, in those delicate parts of the body, excoriations, the scars of which it preserves for life. When the unfortunate little creature is taken from its case, in order to be cleaned, an idea may be formed of what it must have suffered: all its limbs appear furrowed, by the deep marks imprinted on them by the strong pressure of the straps which bind it, of the folds of the skin which envelops it, and even of the wood of the cradle in which it is carried.

“The effects of this state of continual restraint are manifested in all the children at the breast: their leanness and weakness sufficiently indicate that, although their mothers are in general excellent nurses, the good quality of the milk which they suck is unable to give to their

fettered members the spring and the strength which motion and exercise can alone maintain and increase. But as soon as, released from the bonds of the fatal cradle, they can crawl on the ground and walk on all-fours, there takes place throughout every part of their body a sudden and rapid expansion: gaiety, that charming gaiety of childhood, soon succeeds to cries and tears; and health, which diffuses over their plump cheeks a brilliant carnation, announces that Nature has again laid hold of her work, in order to bring it to perfection.

“Let us not, however, judge too severely; let us not without inquiry condemn the method, baneful in its effects, which the mothers of Tchinkitanay employ in the rearing of their nurslings; it has its principle in maternal solicitude, and in the fear of exposing them to dangers. If among the people, not yet civilised, who inhabit the burning climates, instinct has suggested to mothers the idea of not swaddling their children, in order to suffer them to enjoy a little coolness, it has in like manner taught those of the frozen climates, that heat can be preserved only inasmuch as it is concentrated in a small space; and has pointed out to them to make small cradles; which, by fulfilling this first object, also answers the precautions required by the obligation of carrying their children on journeys through the woods, and on excursions in their canoes. They have perceived that for convenience, and still more to prevent, in these frequent removals, accidents which cannot be foreseen, it was necessary that the child and its cradle should form as it were but one body. They have sacrificed its welfare to its safety and preservation.

preservation. But have we not seen, at a time which is not very remote from ours, have we not seen in a great nation, civilised for so many centuries past, which cannot plead the same motive of safety, and do we not still see at this day, the rearing of children, abandoned to mercenary women, who cannot have the feelings of a mother; and who, to evade the obligation of being incessantly taken up with their nurslings, and to attend more freely to their family concerns, bind from head to foot these innocent beings, and condemn them to the punishment of restraint during the whole time of their being suckled? Perhaps in ages to come the north-west part of America will have its Tronchin and its Rousseau. The former, supported by experience and physic, will advise; while the latter, more powerful through his eloquence alone, will direct to be restored to the child that liberty which it cannot itself claim but by unavailing cries and tears, that frequently injustice or barbarity dares impute to the perverseness of a being which is yet neither good nor wicked. The American physician and the philosopher will at least find nature in the enjoyment of part of her rights; they will not have to command mothers to suckle their children.

"But if the Tchinkitánayans have thought proper to restrict Nature in the attentions which they pay to infants, they preserve to her full liberty in the education of adults; and, by daily exercise, hasten the progress and development of their physical faculties. Male children share the fatigues of the father. Trained from their youngest days to hunting and fishing, it is they who go and harpoon fish in the

river, and there seek, with basins, kettles, and the other vessels which they have obtained from the Europeans, all the water necessary for the consumption of the family. They also go and cut wood for fuel and cooking; and, since the Europeans have made them acquainted with the use and convenience of the flint and steel, they avail themselves of them for obtaining fire*; but it is probable that, before this period, they knew how to procure it by some of those methods practised by savage nations. Here are no little boys even, who, though scarcely yet able to walk, do not begin to exercise themselves with a piece of wood fashioned like a lance, and try the strength of their young arm against the trunk of the trees that are within their reach. The education of the girls allows them not to go far from the habitation: sedentary like the mother, they share her peaceful labours and occupations; and, in sharing equally with her the attentions which young infants require, they are betimes instructed in the duties that will one day be imposed on them by conjugal union and maternity.

"Our voyagers were not able to learn on what principles the union of both sexes is formed; what ceremonies precede, accompany, and follow it; what contract binds the parties; and whether this bond be indissoluble: but their common affection for the fruit of their loves, the great number of individuals of which each family is composed, the harmony which reigns among its members—every thing seems to indicate that conjugal union has no other period than that of life: and, if we are not certain that its ties are indissoluble, at least we have reason to believe that, in general, they are respected."

* "Observations of Roblet."

STATE OF SOCIETY IN ST. PETERSBURG.

[FROM STORCH'S PICTURES OF PETERSBURG.]

"IT is extremely interesting to hear the accounts given by old people of the sudden alteration that has taken place in the style and manner of living among the middle ranks. But those days are past; the good golden times when the prime minister of the Russian empire dwelt in a small wooden house, which at present is tenanted by a merchant as his rural cot! when a placeman thought himself happy if his salary amounted to five-hundred rubles, and when this was quite sufficient for maintaining a family! when the richest banker drove to change in his one-horse cabriole, and our ladies paid their visits on foot! — Nowhere, perhaps, has luxury kept so equal a pace with refinement of manners; never did a people so rapidly pass on from the utmost simplicity to the highest pitch of polished life.

"Enjoyment is the grand concern, the main object of all activity, the great spur to competition, the pivot on which our daily course of life turns round. One part of the public indeed must work, that they may enjoy; but likewise a very great proportion enjoy without working. Even the labouring Petersburgher would be startled if he could compare his day's work with the burden that in other countries bows the backs of the labouring part of the community.

"The day begins with the polite world at different periods. It is still early, says the merchant, stretching himself on his downy couch at nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon; whereas the dangler at court, or the client, has been wait-

ing ever since six in the guard-room of the palace or the anti-chamber of his patron. The bustle in the streets, the business of the common people, is regulated in winter by the break of day; in summer the fine mornings, and the scarcely setting sun, draw many a lazy citizen from his bed at an early hour, and the smoke is rising from the chimnies; whereas in winter, at the same time, all are still buried in profound repose. When the breakfast and the affairs of the toilet are over, the forenoon begins, the time usually devoted to business. All transactions of this nature must be done in the space between that and dinner. The tumult of the streets, and the stillness of the house, are never greater than during these hours. While the male part of the inhabitants are engaged in their affairs, and the wives of the citizens are looking after household concerns and preparing for the table, the higher classes of ladies are lolling in their carriages through the streets to the confectioners and milleners, or to make their morning visits. The fop, that heteroclit being, not excluded from either sex and belonging to none, promenades in the mean time through the book-shops, and warehouses for all sorts of goods, to pick up new-fashioned toys, and sentiments for the company of the day. In summer the quays and the public gardens are the places of general resort for people of the higher stations.

"Amid these various occupations the hour of noon comes on; and

and then every aim and every interest is absorbed in the cosmopolitan sentiment of feasting and being feasted. Now the numerous tribe of *dineurs en ville* are all in motion, and the company-rooms fill apace. In most houses it is the custom to sit down to dinner at about two o'clock. Some merchants dine before 'change, but the generality after; that is, between three and four o'clock. The English, and such as would pass for English, take their principal meal about five; so that a man might very commodiously dine at three several houses in one day.—The length of the meal is naturally regulated by the number of courses, the fertility of the conversation, and occasional usage: it seldom terminates, however, under three or four hours, as the conversation is continued for some time over the coffee.—The afternoon, or, which is here the same thing, the evening, is seldom, except on urgent occasions, devoted to business. Where the company stays, the card-tables are immediately set out, at which they are engaged till the late supper. It is customary, however, for the dinner-guests to depart presently after rising from table, and afterwards a fresh company comes in to tea and supper. During these hours at least nine-tenths of all the people above the lowest vulgar are employed at cards. About midnight, or, in families where greater regularity prevails, at ten o'clock, supper is served up, consisting of such a profusion of dishes as would sufficiently compensate for having gone without a dinner. The instant that supper is over is the signal for the company to break up. About this time the carriages are heard rolling through the streets, disturbing the profound silence in which,

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particularly in the dark evenings of winter, the town had been for some hours buried.

“Such is the diurnal round of life with those who reckon themselves of the more polished and superior stations. Many houses are daily open to visits: in others, certain days of the week are allotted to company. In these a select circle of friends and acquaintance meet together, where every guest is welcomed that is introduced by one of the former. The person who had company at home yesterday goes to company abroad to-day; one continued vortex of dissipation attracts every one into its eddy that can and is inclined to submit to it: life passes on in a perpetual intoxication, from which if a person wakes for a moment it is only to seize the enchanted cup afresh; and none but he who is contented to pass for an oddity, or the man of severe morals, keeps without the magic circle, and views the general giddiness with pity or surprise.

“Much having been already said in this book concerning the hospitality that here prevails, it will be proper now to add somewhat of the manner in which it is practised, and the source whence it originates. It may be boldly affirmed, that this noble virtue of the days of yore is not carried to such an unlimited extent in any capital of Europe as here; an assertion to which the concurrent voices of all travellers who have staid here a longer or a shorter time bear grateful testimony. The origin of this beneficent custom is doubtless national: but the Petersburgers have emancipated themselves from so many of their native customs and usages, that we may reasonably admit some stronger motive than a reverence for anti-

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quity for their having retained so expensive a national virtue. This motive is no other than a disposition to society, which prevails in every Petersburger almost without exception; a characteristic which likewise redounds very much to their honour, it being frequently the source of humane sentiments and generous actions. It would, however, be requiring too much, that this motive should subsist in all its purity in the great multitude as well as in the politer and more refined part of the community. Emptiness of head and heart, unacquaintance with silent mental recreations, thirst of amusement, the pleasure of seeing and being seen, the desire of forming connexions, the propensity to play, and a hundred other views of various kinds, here, as in other places, impel mankind together, because in all places human nature is the same. Strong and cogent however as the call to sociability may be, without the means of corresponding with it, the internal impulse and the outward conduct would operate in vain to its advantage. An affluence generally diffused, at least among most of the classes, facilitates to the Petersburgers the ultimate aim of their existence and exertions, social enjoyment. Without this fortunate circumstance, the virtue of sociability would be like an inanimate beauty, whose charms might excite admiration without inspiring sensibility and participation. Favoured as we are, she is elevated to a deity, on whose altar every one sacrifices, and who in return, with a liberal hand, imparts enjoyment to every mortal. The rich and poor have equal shares; the former give, the latter receive, and all enjoy.

“ Sociability is here of a quite

different character from that of the other countries of Europe with the manners and usages whereof we are acquainted. It insinuates itself not merely among friends and intimate acquaintances, as in England, where there is properly no general sociability at all, though friendship seems to be far more common. It is not merely confined to conversation, as in Germany, where it is the custom to part about dinner-time, with satiated minds and hungry stomachs, or where a whole company meets for taking a cup of coffee. Our sociability consists in the social enjoyment of all the comforts of life. A man reserves nothing but his business and his cares to himself and his confidants: all the rest is common property, which seems to belong less to the principal than to his companions. Not only some of those vacant hours which a man would otherwise pass between sleeping and waking; not some few particular holidays, on which avarice decorates herself with the mantle of decent profusion; not the remains of selfish epicurism, are here the offerings made to social enjoyment: no; every moment of exemption from business and care, every festive day, and every dainty morsel, are devoted to liberal participation.

“ The particular time when the affluent Petersburger wishes most to be visited is exactly that which in Germany, for instance, is most sedulously avoided: dinner-time and supper-time. Every man here is then easy in mind and open of heart, freed from all business, and disposed to conversation. Whoever has been once introduced to a family has ever after free access, if he be found agreeable. This is usually determined at the first visit; for, if at taking leave no further invitation

invitation ensues, it is then advisable not to think of cultivating that acquaintance. If the guest be agreeable to the host, the latter informs him, at the end of the first visit, of his day for receiving company, if he has one, or presses him to frequent his house as often as he shall find it convenient. A young man possessing any tolerable talents for society, at Petersburg is entirely relieved from the trouble of housekeeping: when once he is acquainted with six or eight good families, he may every day eat and drink with his friends in very agreeable company. This manner of life, which is extremely common with single men of all ranks, has nothing disreputable in it. The expense in cloaths that it renders necessary, and the play in which it involves them, counter-balance to the purse any advantage that this parasitical life may occasion. To this must be added the want of company which the generality of Petersburgers so sensibly feel. If all single men were to keep their own kitchens, or to dine at the taverns, the majority of the good houses would be deserted and empty. No situation could be more dreadful for our elegant circles than solitude.

“Whatever ease and hospitality prevail in regard to the above-mentioned class of people, yet they are under great limitations among family-acquaintances and married persons, every house having its peculiar circle meeting at it: but few families have time or necessity for going in quest of company abroad. The difference in the way of living and expense raises as it were a party-wall, which frequently separates persons who have long been living in the most intimate familiarity. Many, who while

bachelors were daily guests in great and opulent families, find themselves obliged, on marrying, to drop these acquaintances, from not being able to keep pace in expense with them. These little particulars may seem trifling in the relation, but they have a marked influence on the style of society, giving it a characteristic stamp peculiar to itself. The major part of all circles naturally consist of men, as unmarried ladies never visit, and the married company expect visits at home: the mistress of the house is frequently the only lady at a table of ten or twenty persons. This great superiority in numbers occasions the conversation to take a graver turn in most companies. Politics and business being the grand subjects of all table-talk, the ladies are reduced to the alternative either of taking part in this discourse or of being totally silent. The little attentions that the men vouchsafe to pay the ladies in other countries are here often entirely neglected; the natural consequence of which is, that the ladies, wherever they are not absolutely sequestered, seek their revenge by an oppressive opposition to the majority. At table they sit close together, and in company they divide off. If they happen to be involved in a conversation, or in a party at cards, they are dryness itself, and deter by their cold answers, and their repulsive manners, even those whom they might gain over to them by some little encouragement.—None will be so unreasonable as to generalise this description too much, as though it admitted of no exceptions. Such exceptions however are rare; and they are in no peculiar credit among the sex to which they belong.

“Abating for this defect, the style of the Petersburg companies

has little to dread from the animadversions of the severest man of the world. That amiable ease, which is just as remote from the stiff formal etiquette of the Germans as the excessive liberties of the French, is here the soul of all fashionable society. The little ceremonial laws observed elsewhere with such unremitted strictness are here entirely unknown; in the stead whereof is substituted a tacit agreement to appear as pleasing and affable, and to sacrifice to the company as much of their due, as they possibly can. These engaging endeavours to be to others what they could wish them to be, smoothen the ordinary character in proportion as they render that of the individual more prominent; but it would be difficult to point out the method of making, in a numerous and mixed company, the social manners harmonise with the particular humour of each individual. The sacrifice that every one makes to society is no less voluntary than the resolution by which the duration of it is fixed. Here no entreaties, no pressing solicitations are used; whoever is agreeable to the family goes thither as often as he finds it convenient, without having to apprehend in one case any cross looks for repeating his visits too often, or, in the other, those country-town reproaches for his long absence, unless in either case he exceed the proportion settled by prevailing custom, or by particular considerations which are easy to be perceived. No rule of etiquette prescribes the duration of the visit or the mode of taking leave. The person comes as an uninvited, but as an expected guest; he stays as long as he pleases, and usually retires in silence, without disturbing the company by a noisy and verbose ceremonial.

“It may naturally be asked here, how this people, so fond of society, employ themselves in company. Certainly the usual means of entertainment would here be insufficient, if they had not the art of giving them a superior charm which renders them attractive, even to cold and phlegmatic tempers, and prevents the irksomeness of perpetual uniformity. The pleasures of the table, cards, and conversation, here as elsewhere, supply the materials from which every one spins out his amusement, according to the diversity of gifts, of susceptibility and communication; but the manner in which these sources of social pleasure are employed is so peculiar as to afford some striking features characteristic of the Petersburgers.

“Though it is the custom all over the world to sit down to table for the purpose of satisfying a natural appetite, and of indulging more or less in sensuality, yet in few places is the latter so much the object of all companies as here. The most agreeable circle, and a frugal table, will be sure to find fewer amateurs than a well-furnished exquisite table, and a dearth of conversation. —Card-play is the most ordinary kind of pastime in all the cities of Europe; but here people play not so much for passing away the time as to set the passions in motion by a powerful interest. A small game, the event whereof in the most unfortunate case would be attended with no considerable loss, would seem to the Petersburgers time entirely thrown away. Games of forfeits, riddles, charades, *bout-rimés*, and other trifling amusements, under whatever other names they pass, which in the family parties of Germany produce such sallies of mirth and wit, here find no admittance,

admittance, as they neither tickle the palate, nor gratify the mind, nor give scope to the passions. Those games at cards where luck or chance has greatest share in the decision are the most esteemed. In families where games of hazard are not permitted, they pitch on those that come nearest to them. For this reason whist was forced to give way to boston, because in the latter chance had a freer scope, and because the Petersburgers had found out the method, by a refinement of luxury, to multiply the combinations of this adventurous game.

“Conversation is generally the last resource, a means for filling up vacant moments left by play and the pleasures of the table. This branch of the entertainment, however, has such interesting and characteristic sides as to render it well worth while to examine it a little nearer. One peculiar advantage of our circles, since few great cities have it in so great a proportion, is the mixture of persons of all ranks and countries, of all religious denominations, and of the most diversified manners, habits, and humours. No where is this confluence so great, and no where does mutual toleration extend to such lengths as here. It is by no means unusual to see generals, chief officers of state, decorated personages, merchants, scholars, and artists, together in one company, at the same table; or to meet in a company of ten or twelve persons, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Swedes. The first great benefit arising from this amalgamation of mankind is—toleration. The reciprocal necessity of bearing in order to be borne with; the sentiment of propriety, by which those of the stronger party

are moved to lay aside their superiority, that they may not render those of the weaker shy of their company; in short, custom, which familiarises us to the strangest objects, and deprives manners and opinions of all that at first seemed alarming; all these causes together have effected such a harmony in the style of good company, that we should think ourselves in a meeting of intimate acquaintances, where in fact they are all people of the greatest difference in national habits and professional notions. The primary requisites in a good companion is naturally this: not to touch on any topic which might excite an unpleasant sensation in the mind of any person present in regard to himself or his particular situation; but it requires, we must own, a great degree of circumspection, and a certain nice tact, in order not to offend, in very mixt and unknown companies, against this rule of refined accommodation. Great pretensions, a decisive tone, dictatorial judgments, are therefore just as absurd and ridiculous as an inconsiderate choice of subject may be dangerous and detrimental.

“No where perhaps is it more difficult to excite attention by extraordinary occurrences, distant travels, marvellous adventures, and great acquaintances, than here. Most young Russians of rank and education have made the grand tour; many of them are as well and better acquainted with the customs and curiosities of Paris, Rome, and London, than with those of their own country; a great number of persons, by embassies and deputations, are familiar with remote nations; adventurers, who have tried their luck in more than one quarter of the world, flock hither in considerable numbers. Each

brings his share of experiences into company ; the stock of knowledge thus brought into circulation among the more polished circles renders them the more interesting. The horizon of each individual being enlarged, we lose sight of the ordinary and microscopic point of view in which objects are usually contemplated among those of a more confined knowledge of the world and of mankind. The great play of the passions and of intrigues which is generally excited, on so brilliant and extensive a stage, by stronger impulses, gives us a knowledge of mankind very different from that which is acquired merely from books and the observations made in an uniform course of life. The motives of remarkable transactions, the true concatenation of apparently remote causes and effects, are here more easily unrivalled to the eye of the attentive observer. If, on the one hand, mistrust and a belief in the deceitfulness of the human heart be the result of these experiences, on the other hand they teach us caution and the practice of the little golden sentence:—*nil admirari*.

“ From these preliminaries it may naturally be expected, that, in the higher circles and among polished people, it is not likely there should be any want of matter for interesting discourse. The history of the day, indeed, as usual, forms the ground-plot of the conversation ; but even this is here more productive than it can possibly be in smaller towns and on a narrower stage of human action. In the order of the day stand foremost the political news and the transactions at court, which, trifling as they may be sometimes thought, are, however, much less tiresome than the dull com-

mentaries on the weather that generally form the prelude to conversation. The spacious theatre of a great and powerful court, playing its brilliant part with such a decided influence on the political relations of Europe and Asia, daily affords matter more than sufficient for a variety of discussion. Even the petty events of the moment, the scandalous chronicle and the anti-chamber anecdotes, have here on the spot a certain interest that even relaxes the brow of the grave philosopher and charms his attention. The court and city compose a grand living picture in which the slight strokes and shades are incessantly changing ; one concurrence presses on the other ; the hero of to-day is in obscurity to-morrow ; no sooner discernible to our view, than he disappears among the undistinguished crowd, and we ourselves are astonished at being wafted by the stream of time and the vicissitude of things into new spheres and unknown relations. A retirement of a few days reduces to solitude the man of the world accustomed to live in public ; and he seems a stranger in the place where he thought himself at home.

“ When the grand subjects of conversation fail, recourse is had to literature. In the mixture of ranks that here prevails in all companies, it is natural to imagine that men of letters no where preponderate ; but persons of practical knowledge of the world and reading, intelligent and well-informed people of all conditions, are seen dispersed in creditable families, and here and there give the colour to the conversation. The benefit arising hence is of no small consequence ; one disputatious voice is seldom or never heard much louder than the rest to engross the whole discourse ;

course; that assuming tone which generally infects the learned by profession, is softened down into a reciprocal deference; and instead of that vociferous disquisition of a controverted point of science, friendly debates proceed in the usual style of conversation, in which good humour strives to mingle entertainment with solidity. Societies of this nature, which it must be confessed are rare, afford a truly gratifying relaxation to the man of sense and discernment; who, weary of the serious business of the day, seeks his recreation in gaining something for his mind.

“ Having said thus much on the matter of our conversation, we will add a word or two on the form of it. If the former be various from the mixture of ranks and characters, the latter appears not less checkered by the diversity of languages that are heard in companies. In all great cities foreigners are found; but no where so many in proportion as here; elsewhere the strangers are generally foreign travellers; here the greater part of them are settlers. Accordingly, nobody in other places finds it necessary to impose on himself that restraint on their account which is here submitted to, because otherwise a great part of the social gratification would be lost. Add to this, that the Russian language is little understood abroad, and the learning of it is attended with numerous difficulties; whereas foreign languages are very current among the politer classes of society, even in ordinary conversation. At the same time the Russ is most usual in the companies of the natives, and it is only out of complaisance to foreigners that they exchange it for the generally

known French, which is the point of union in mixed assemblies.

“ The Petersburgers are reproached with corrupting the national language by foreign idioms and constructions, and as being far behind the Moscovites in delicacy of expression. This reproach, as far as one that is not a Russian may be allowed to judge, seems in general to be well founded. The constant mixture in which the Russians live with foreigners, and the circumstance that the children commonly hear and learn two or three languages at once, are the grounds of this corruption, which has extended itself so far, that in certain circles it is become the fashion to carry on the conversation partly in one language and partly in another, or to shove in some French words between every three or four words of Russ. Whether this accusation be just or not, there can be no doubt of the truth of the testimony of all mankind in behalf of the perfection with which the Petersburgers speak the French tongue. It is universally allowed by all that are competent judges, that not every where in France, and no where out of it, is that language spoken with such fluency, propriety, delicacy, and elegance, as here among the superior classes. The German language, on the other hand, stands rather in the back ground; the difficulties attending the learning of it, the preference given to the French at court, in public companies, and in the politer circles, put great obstacles in the way of its general introduction; nevertheless it is in greater estimation with the nation at large than any other language, the French excepted: people of the highest rank apply to the

the study of it: and that it is not more frequently spoken is owing chiefly to the difficulty of its pronunciation, which costs the Russians particularly great labour to acquire. It is rare to meet with a Petersburger of any tolerable cultivation who is not acquainted, more or less, with these three languages: the English is considered rather as an elegant accomplishment, and is learnt by particular persons as such.

"The general custom of speaking French enables the people of that republic easily to dispense with learning the language of the country; but it is absolutely necessary to the Germans, unless they speak French with some degree of fluency. Some of these attain to such proficiency in the latter tongue, that they might be thought to have passed a considerable portion of their lives in France; others, and indeed by far the major part, apply themselves to the study of the national language with all the patience and perseverance peculiar to the Germans, and at length master it to such a degree as to excite the admiration even of the natives. It were to be wished that this laudable exertion did not lead to that affectation, sometimes manifest in German families, of generally and without occasion mingling scraps of Russ in their discourse. One part of this censure indeed loses its force, as it is frequently impossible to express

particular Russian denominations with the same accuracy in a foreign language, without being misunderstood or falling into a ridiculous pedantry. Instances of such cases may be observed in abundance, and even in this book. Who, for instance, would ever think of putting into English or German the terms: *isvoschtschick*, *podriad-schik*, *droshka*, *artel*, &c.? A number of domestic directions that must daily be given, and names of things that come in ordinary use, are likewise not to be translated: yet it cannot be denied that the German language* by this means acquires in the mouths of our ladies and gentlemen a very motley appearance. We every moment hear the phrases: 'Is the *lejanka* † heated? The *kalitka* ‡ is open. 'The *plotnik* § is come. Has the ' *pogrebschik* || been paid?' with numberless others, which must be tolerated, as they cannot be translated in ordinary discourse without affectation. Though this therefore be unavoidable, yet it is not to be pardoned, when, without any necessity, Russian words are employed which may very aptly be supplied by German terms in general use. But we almost everywhere hear, *tschulan* instead of store-room, *krischka* instead of cover, *lutzkoi* instead of the people's room, *agarodnik* instead of the greens-seller, *liteina* instead of the foundery; or even 'Do you choose your coffee with or with-

* "The same may be said of the English likewise."

† "A stove, with a bench on which the Russians usually sleep."

‡ "A small door for foot passengers cut in the carriage-gate."

§ "Carpenter. But, as the German and the Russian carpenter carry on their business in a very different method, it is necessary to retain this denomination for the latter."

|| "Wine-cellar-fellow sounds pedantic in German, and is nowhere adopted in the language of conversation."

‘out slifki [cream]? Here is a ‘pribore wanting;’ i. e. a cover for the table. ‘He made his pok-lone [bow or salutation],’ and a thousand other expressions of like nature. That the Germans and English born here should have interwoven a number of Ruthenisms in their speech is however naturally to be expected. German provincialisms are seldom heard, and the accent is rendered peculiarly soft and harmonious by the melting together of so many dialects.

“This seems no improper place for mentioning an amiable national custom which has ever been adopted among the Germans and English; and has much contributed to render the style of conversation easy and familiar by reducing nearer to a level, at least in appearance, persons of distant ranks and ages. The Russians very rarely call one another by their family names, or, in addressing any one, to give him the predicate of his quality; the baptismal name being generally used* with the addition of that of the father. When, for instance, the person addressed is called Feodor, Théodore, and his father Ivan, then the former is termed Feodor Ivanovitch, Théodore Johnson. A lady named Maria, and her father Ivan, is called Maria Ivanovna, &c. The only exceptions to this rule are among persons totally unacquainted with each other or people of high distinction; in all other cases it holds good even in the politest circles. This custom has likewise crept into very many

German and English families; at least it has been adopted by them to facilitate the manner of address to the common Russians who are not accustomed to foreign family names. Such as have Christian names not known to the Russians change it for one something similar in sound, for instance, Henry for Andrey, Edward for Dmitri, William for Vassilly or Basil; or sometimes retain it, as in the appellatives Karl, Christoph, &c. There are some other national customs of a like nature that introduce a certain familiarity into society; but they are lost in proportion as foreign manners and customs glide into use. Thus, for example, it was formerly usual, among all orders of people, and is still among the lower, to kiss the cheek on coming into company and at leaving it, or on meeting an acquaintance in the streets. This usage, which in the higher classes only subsists among the ladies, or is continued by the gentlemen to them by way of homage to the fair sex, is now gradually giving way to the mode of greeting generally used throughout Europe. Russian and even many foreign ladies have no other method of salutation than that of the gentlemen, that is, by merely bowing the head, without bending the knee.

“A people so social and fond of amusement as those of this city are not apt to let slip any opportunity for feasting and junketing. Name-days and birth-days are particularly solemnized in Russian families with grand entertainments or balls, at which the friends and acquaint-

* “The Russians commonly have no more than one baptismal name. Women are not called after the mother, but after the father. In the pronunciation the third or fourth syllable is dropped. Though we write Ivan Vassilievitch, it is pronounced Ivane Vassilitch; Kuprian Prokopovitch, prop. Kupriane Prokopitch; Leof Alexandrovitch, prop. Leof Alexandritch.”

tance customarily assemble without formal invitation. The birth of a child, the appointment to an office, the purchase of a house, in short every fortunate occurrence furnishes an occasion for a domestic festivity. At these times likewise the same ease and freedom prevail that so agreeably heighten the character of the general manners of the people of this place. No custom is of such universal obligation as not to admit of an exception without impropriety; no where are fewer formalities, and no where is the neglect of them attended with fewer expostulations and remarks. Weddings, christenings and funerals are conducted in various ways; there being no rule of etiquette prescribing the pomp, nor any form to regulate the ceremonies.

"From these strokes lightly thrown together some judgment may be formed concerning the agreeable sojourn this city affords. In fact, of all the capitals in Europe that I have visited I know of none where in such a variety of enjoyments are to be had at so cheap a rate as here. The uncommon hospitality, the good-humoured behaviour, the passion for society, the freedom from all formality and constraint, are every where seen in particular instances, but no where in so great a degree together. Neither is Petersburg devoid of attractions for the lover of intellectual gratifications. In the higher ranks it is common enough to meet with persons of extensive cultivation in mind and heart, who to sound learning and shining talents unite a mature judgment and a profound knowledge of mankind. People of this sort, if they are not found in such numbers as in some other cities of the first magnitude, keep

so much the closer together, and by the sentiment of their wants are excited to mutual toleration and indulgence. The works of taste and science with which the residence is stocked and adorned present to the curious in beauty and art as ample nourishment as to the diligent explorer of science.— With a moderate share of content a man may gain sufficient amusement in our point of station; and instances are by no means wanting of people of unbounded pretensions and of an appetite for enjoyment not easily satisfied, after repeatedly changing their place of abode, have amused themselves no where better than here.

"After what has been said the reader is curious to know what are the accomplishments that a person must bring into company for enabling him to claim his share in the stock of social enjoyments. Exclusively of the general requisites in a man of cultivated knowledge, which are every where pre-supposed nearly by the same standard, each country has still a particular demand on him who devotes himself to company and expects to be well received in it. In France to this purpose he must make himself agreeable; in England the grand requisite is wealth; in Holland a letter of recommendation to some great mercantile house; and in Germany a celebrated name or a patent of nobility. In Russia, money and rank are the key to good company. Without these conditions, though having all the rest, a man finds himself dismissed into that populous and obscure sojourn which in all large cities is so widely cut off from all communication with the brilliant circles of fashion.

"Money therefore is the prime requisite

requisite in the man of breeding. Not that fund of property which in England makes the man of consequence, but a competence for supporting a decent expense in dress and equipage, and playing for the usual stakes at the clubs and in genteel companies. Riches on their own account are here no recommendation; no one gives himself the least concern about the sources of income: if a certain ease is discoverable in his deportment, and he betrays no marks of poverty that offend the common rules of decorum, it is all that is required: and it must be reasonably allowed that the Petersburgers show no undue severity in requiring thus much. Play is after all their grand resource; and who can blame them for submitting the particular humour of individuals to the predominant inclination of all? In cities and countries where play is not so universal, even these conditions are not known; but then others are adopted in their stead.—It is not less pardonable that a decent and neat attire should be made the *sine qua non* of admission into good company. In truth, great moderation is shown in exacting this requisite. The value

and cut of the cloaths are more indifferent matters than would perhaps be thought; as to what concerns the point of decorum, that must be every where observed. In France it is held pardonable in great geniuses, witty persons, and singular characters, if they violate the rules of propriety in their dress; with us, neither the first nor the last being very current commodities, it is not necessary to make exceptions on their account. Cleanliness and neatness being in no country, except in England, so general as here, a slovenly dress there attracts less notice. An equipage, in short, is not so much an article of convention as a necessary accommodation arising from local circumstances; since the want of it will be sensibly felt by every one who is fond of good company and would not be deprived of the satisfactions to be found in the politer circles. To appear in these after walking through the streets at certain seasons of the year is utterly impossible. In all parts of the world to go on foot is by no means held a very shining condition, but no where is it thought worse of than here."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

CRITICISM ON FROISSART'S HISTORY.

[From **JOHNES'S MEMOIRS OF FROISSART**, translated from the French.]

FROISSART is accused of partiality; and this accusation is become so general, that it seems to have acquired the character of notoriety; whose privilege is to supersede proofs. Froissart is said to have sold his pen to the English, who paid him a considerable pension; and, by a necessary consequence of his affection for them, he is unfavourable to the French,

“Bodin, Pasquier, Brantôme, Sorel, la Popeliniere, le Laboureur, decide against him in the most positive terms. It seems even that his readers, prejudiced by the connexions which Froissart had with the English, may have some reason to distrust every thing he relates to their advantage. In truth, he begins by saying, that he had written his history at the solicitations of Robert de Namur, a near relation of the queen Philippa, and a vassal of the crown of England, which he usefully served against France. In another part he informs us, that he was of the household of Edward III. the most cruel enemy of the French; and that his queen, to whom he

was secretary, had not only, by her liberalities, enabled him to travel into various parts in order to enrich his history, but that she had generously paid him for his labours in it.

“In short, the first twenty-six chapters of his Chronicle solely concern the history of England, which has been the reason why it has been called the ‘Chronicle of England’ in several manuscripts. From thence it has been concluded, that Froissart, from his intimate attachment to the court of England, must be a violent partisan of that nation, and the enemy of its enemies. Nothing more was wanted for the most innocent accounts, if given by any other historian, appearing as poisonous if issued from his pen: but, in order to judge if this suspicion has any foundation, I will run over the period of which he has transmitted to us the history, in examining successively the different situations he was in when he wrote the various parts of it.

“Froissart cannot be suspected of partiality during the first years of the reign of Edward III. This prince

prince never forgot that his uncle, king Charles le Bel, had given him an asylum in his kingdom; when, with his mother, Isabella of France, he had escaped from the persecutions of the Spencers, who governed the mind of his father Edward II.

“The court of France had not any misunderstanding with that of England during the reign of Charles. I pass over for a moment the forty years which followed from 1329, when the succession to the crown of France being opened by the death of Charles le Bel, the bonds which had united the kings of France and England became themselves the source of divisions and of the most murderous wars; and I come to the times which succeeded the death of queen Philippa in 1369, a period when Froissart, no longer residing in England, had attached himself to Wincellaus, duke of Brabant. This prince, brother to the emperor Charles IV. was, in fact, uncle to Anne of Bohemia, who was afterwards queen of England, by her marriage with Richard II.; but he was also in the same degree of relationship with Charles V. of France, the son of his sister; and preserving a strict neutrality between the two rival crowns, he was invited to the coronations of Charles V. and of Charles VI. He obtained even in the last of these ceremonies the pardon of the count de St. Pol, whom the king's council wished to put to death for the crime of high-treason.

“Froissart, who informs us of this circumstance, with which he must have been well acquainted, tells us another, which clearly shows that Wincellaus ever preserved the friendship of king Charles, as well as that of his coun-

cil. During the time the war was carrying on with the greatest obstinacy, he obtained a passport for the princess Anne of Bohemia to go to England, where she was to marry Richard II. Charles and his uncles accompanied this favour with the most obliging letters, adding, they only granted it out of friendship to him. Froissart had not any interest to write against France during the time he passed with this prince; he had, shortly afterwards, still less, when he was secretary to the count de Blois, who crowned a life, completely devoted to the interests of France, by the sacrifice of the interests of his own family. The most trifling marks of ill-will against France would have exposed him to lose not only the good graces of his master, but the fruit of his historical labours, which he had induced him to continue, and which he so generously recompensed. The historian therefore, fearful of the reproaches which might be made him for being too good a Frenchman, reproaches very different from those which have been since made him, thinks himself bound to justify, in the following terms, what he relates of the inviolable attachment of the Bretons to the crown of France against the English.—‘Let no one say I have
‘been corrupted by the favour
‘which the count Guy de Blois
‘(who has made me write this history)
‘has shown unto me, and who
‘has so liberally paid me for it that
‘I am satisfied, because he was nephew
‘to the true duke of Brittany, and so nearly related as
‘son to count Louis de Blois, brother-german to Charles de Blois,
‘who, as long as he lived, was duke
‘of Brittany: no, by my troth, it is
‘not so; for I will not speak at all,
‘unless it be the truth, and go straight
‘forward,

‘forward, without colouring one
‘more than another: besides, the
‘gallant prince and court, who
‘have made me undertake this
‘history, had no other wish but for
‘me to say what is true.’

“Since Froissart, in all these times which carry us almost to the end of his Chronicle, cannot be suspected of hatred to the French, nor of affection to the English, I return to those years I have omitted from 1329 to 1369, of which he passed a considerable part in England, attached to the king and queen, and living in a sort of familiarity with the young princes, their children: it is in respect to these years that the suspicion of partiality to the English can subsist with the greatest force. It was difficult, in a court where every thing breathed hatred to France, for him to preserve that perfect neutrality which the quality of an historian demands: and that he should not lean towards that passion of princes to whom he owed his present fortune, and from whom he expected more considerable establishments.

“One might find reasons to weaken this prejudice in the sweetness and moderation which queen Philippa ever preserved in the midst of all these wars; who calmed the fury of her husband at the siege of Calais, and who obtained, by her instances, the pardon of the six generous citizens of that town, whom he had condemned to death. I might add, that if Froissart was of the household of king Edward, he was also of the household of king John; and it seems, he was attached to this prince even at the time when he was in England.

“But, without seeking to combat these prejudices by others, I

shall simply consult the text of Froissart, which must, in this respect, be the rule for our judgment. After having read him with all the attention I am capable of, without having remarked one single trace of the partiality they reproach him with, I have examined with the utmost care some principal points, where naturally it ought to have been the most apparent.

“The accession of Philip de Valois to the crown had incensed all England, who adopted the chimerical pretensions of Edward III. This was a delicate circumstance for an historian; who, living in the midst of a court, and a nation so strongly prejudiced, was determined not to quit the line of duty. Now, these are the terms in which Froissart relates this event, after having mentioned the deaths of the kings, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel: ‘The twelve
‘peers and barons of France did
‘not give the realm of France to
‘their sister, who was queen of
‘England, because they declared
‘and maintained, and still resolve,
‘that the kingdom of France is so
‘noble, that it ought not to descend
‘to a female, nor consequently to
‘the king of England, her eldest
‘son; for thus they determine, that
‘the son of a female cannot claim
‘any right of succession as coming
‘from his mother, when the mother
‘herself has not any right; so that,
‘for these reasons, the twelve peers
‘and the barons of France unani-
‘mously decreed the kingdom of
‘France to my lord Philip, nephew
‘to the good king Philip of France,
‘before mentioned, and took from
‘the queen of England and her son
‘the right of succeeding to the last
‘king, Charles. Thus, as it ap-
‘peared to many persons, did the
‘kingdom of France go out of the
‘straight

a straight line of succession, which occasioned very great wars in consequence, &c.'

"This whole passage presents nothing but what must make one admire the courage and candour of the historian, when even he should have added these words, 'it appeared to many persons;' since it is not any matter of doubt that the succession passed from the straight line to the collateral branch.

"Nevertheless, some malignant intention was thought to lurk beneath; and the words 'took from' having offended some readers, they have added in the margin a sort of correction, which I have seen in two manuscripts in a hand almost as ancient as the manuscripts themselves: 'They never could take away what they had never been in possession of, nor had any right to. They never took it away; for, neither the foresaid lady, nor her son, had even a right to it; but Froissart shows he was partial to the English.'

"The homage which king Edward III. paid to the king of France hurt exceedingly the delicacy of the English: they had disputed for some time, and with great warmth, on the form in which it was to be made; seeking to curtail it of all that was humiliating to them. As the king of France firmly supported the prerogatives of his crown, and obliged Edward to acquit himself of this duty according to the terms which had been practised by his predecessors, an historian who was desirous of being complaisant would have slightly passed over this article. Froissart, however, insists upon it as much as he is able; he neither omits the difficulties which the English made, nor the authorities which king Philip opposed to them; and he accompanies these

details with the original accounts most proper to confirm them; so that, if the kings of France should ever have occasion to verify their rights, the deposition alone of Froissart would furnish an authentic and incontestable title.

"The English accuse the French of not being very scrupulous in observing treaties; and maintain, that sir Geoffry de Charni acted by the secret orders of the king of France, when, in contempt of a truce which had been made, he attempted to surprise Calais in 1349. Rapin embraces this opinion, and supports it by the testimony of Froissart, whom he quotes in the margin. I know not from what copy, nor what manuscript, he has taken his authority; but, for my part, I read in all the printed and in all the manuscripts these words, which are quite contrary to his sentiments: 'I believe, that Geoffry de Charni had never spoken of it to the king of France: for, the king would never have advised him to attempt it, on account of the truce.'

"The English again impute to Charles V. the infraction of the treaty of Bretigny, which they first broke, if we believe the French. Far from finding any thing in Froissart which favours the English pretensions, I believe that, if the terms in which he expresses himself were strictly examined, they would at least form a presumption against them. I do not despair but that one day a brother academician will give us all the proofs which a sound criticism, and a mature reading of the historical monuments of that age, can furnish on a point of history which is of equal consequence to the nation and to truth.

"The singular combat proposed in 1354 between the kings of France

France and of England is still a matter of dispute between the historians of the two nations. According to the French, the challenge sent in the name of king John was not accepted by Edward; whilst the English say, their king dared the king of France to battle, but that he refused the combat: Froissart decides formally for the French. 'The king of France,' says he, 'went after him as far as St. Omer, and sent to him (the king of England) by the marshal d'Authain, and by several other knights, that he would fight with him if he pleased, body to body, or strength against strength, any day he would name: but the king of England refused the combat, and recrossed the sea to England; and the king of France returned to Paris.'

"To these examples, I could add a great number of other passages where he gives much praise, as well to the people, as to the lords who signalled themselves by their attachment to the party of the French, and wherein he neither spares those who had declared themselves against, nor those who had cowardly abandoned them. In addition to what he says of the fidelity of the Bretons, and of the counts de Blois, their legitimate sovereigns, he praises the zeal with which several lords in Scotland received the French fleet sent in 1385 to assist them against the English. The earl of Douglas, to whom he appears much attached, and in whose castle he had spent several days in his travels into Scotland, seems to be of this number. At the same time he declaims against those whose bad faith, and ingratitude, rendered this armament fruitless. He speaks in the strongest terms of the presump-

tion of the duke of Gueldres, who dared to declare war against the king of France (Charles VI.) in 1387, and of the insolence with which he expressed himself in his declaration of war. He applauds the just indignation which induced this monarch to march in person to chastise the pride of this petty prince.

"In short, of all the nations whom he speaks of in his history, there are but few whom he has not sometimes marked with odious epithets. According to him, the Portuguese are passionate and quarrelsome; the Spaniards envious, haughty, and uncleanly; the Scots perfidious and ungrateful; the Italians assassins and poisoners; the English vain-boasters, contemptuous, and cruel. There is not one trait against the French: on the contrary, this brave nation supports itself, according to Froissart, by the vigour and strength of its knighthood, which was never so totally overwhelmed by its misfortunes, as not in the end to find some marvellous resources in its courage. The historian also seems to have taken a pride in having been born a Frenchman, in telling us that he owed to this title the good reception which a French esquire gave him, when he lodged with him at Ortez.

"It is true, that the king of England, and his son the prince of Wales, seem to have been, as long as they lived, the heroes of his history; and that, in the recital of several battles, he is more occupied with them than with the king of France. But, where is the Frenchman of candour, who will not find himself forced to give these princes the utmost praise? Besides, does not our historian render justice to the valour and intrepidity

trepidity of king Philip de Valois, and of king John? Nothing can surpass the praises he gives as well to the wisdom as to the ability of king Charles V; and, above all, that glorious testimony which he makes no difficulty to put into the mouth of the king of England: 'There never was a king who so little armed himself; and there never was a king who gave me so much to do.'

"I think I have fully established, by all that you have just read, that Froissart was not that partial historian he has been accused of. Nevertheless, I think it will be more sure to read him with some circumspection, and that one ought, as much as may be possible, never to lose sight, I repeat it, of two objects which I have particularly endeavoured to make observed in the preceding pages: I mean to say, on one hand, the details of his life, his different attachments to divers princes and to certain lords, the connexions he had, or the friendships he contracted with various persons; on the other, the situations in which he was placed when he wrote his history, what parts of it were undertaken at the solicitation of the count de Namur, a partisan of the English, and those which he composed by the orders of

the count de Blois, a friend to France.

"For, if one is determined to persuade oneself that he ought to be disposed to favour the English in all he relates until 1369; from the same reason he should lean to the French in all the ensuing years until the conclusion of his Chronicle. I ought not to neglect to mention that his prejudices are sometimes visible when he enters into the minutest details, as one may be convinced of by the praises he gives to the piety and other virtues of the count de Foix, strongly contrasted with those actions of cruelty he had just before related. But when an historian, disengaged from all passion, should hold an even balance between the different parties; when to this quality he adds that which cannot be refused to Froissart, I mean a continual anxiety to be informed of every event, and of every particular, that may interest his readers; he will yet be very far from perfection, if to these acquirements he does not add sound criticism, which, in the multitude of discordant relations, knows how to separate every thing that is distant from truth; or his work will otherwise be less an history, than a heap of fables and popular rumours."

INQUIRY into MILTON's early READING.

[From TODD's Edition of MILTON's POETICAL WORKS.]

"THE latest observation respecting the origin of Paradise Lost, which has been submitted to the public, is contained in Mr. Dunster's 'Considerations on Milton's early Reading, and the 1801.

'*prima stamina* of Paradise Lost,' 1800. The object of these 'Considerations' is to prove that Milton became, at a very early period of his life, enamoured of Joshua Sylvester's translation of the French poet,

H

ppet, Du Bartas. Lauder had asserted long since that Milton was indebted to Sylvester's translation for 'numberless fine thoughts, besides his low trick of playing upon words, and his frequent use of technical terms. From him,' he adds, 'Milton has borrowed many elegant phrases, and single words, which were thought to be peculiar to him, or rather coined by him; such as *palpable darkness*, and a thousand others.' Lauder has also said, that Philips, Milton's nephew, 'every where, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, either wholly passes over in silence such authors as Milton was most obliged to, or, if he chances to mention them, does it in the most slight and superficial manner imaginable: *Du Bartas* alone excepted.' But Sylvester is also highly commended, in this work, for his translation, Mr. Hayley well observes, in apology, for other omissions of Philips, 'which are too frequent to be considered as accidental, that he probably chose not to enumerate various poems relating to angels, to Adam, and to Paradise, lest ignorance and malice should absurdly consider the mere existence of such poetry as a derogation from the glory of Milton.'

"Lauder adds, that there is 'a commentary on this work, called *A Summary of Du Bartas*, a book full of prodigious learning, and many curious observations on all arts and sciences: from whence Milton has derived a multiplicity of fine hints, scattered up and down his poem, especially in philosophy and theology.' This book

was printed in folio, in 1621; and is recommended in the title-page, as 'fitt for the learned to refresh their memories, and for younger students to abbreviate and further their studies.' From this pretended garden of sweets I can collect no nosegay. It cannot indeed be supposed that Milton, when he wrote the *Paradise Lost*, was so imperfectly acquainted with the purer sources of knowledge, as to be indebted to such a volume.

"That Milton, however, had read the translation of *Du Bartas*, has been admitted by his warmest admirers, Dr. Farmer, Mr. Bowle, Mr. Warton, and Mr. Headley. A slight remark, which the editor of these volumes long since ventured to make, in the * *Gentleman's Magazine*, respecting Milton's acquaintance with the poetry of Sylvester, attracted the notice of the author of the *Considerations*, &c. just mentioned; and appears to have stimulated his desire to know more of the forgotten bard. Mr. Dunster, therefore, having procured an edition of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, drew up his ingenious volume; and, with no less elegance of language than liberality of opinion, pointed out the taste and judgment of Milton in availing himself of particular passages in that book. With honourable affection for the fame of Milton, he observes, that 'nothing can be further from my intention than to insinuate that Milton was a plagiarist or servile imitator; but I conceive that, having read these sacred poems of very high merit, at the immediate age when his own mind was just beginning to teem with poetry, he

* "See November 1796, p. 200. See also Mr. Dunster's *Considerations* &c. p. 5. I take this opportunity of adding that Dr. Farmer's remark occurs in a note on the 'married calm of states,' in *Troilus and Cressida*. See Steevens's *Shakspeare*, edit 1793, vol. xi. p. 254."

retained numberless thoughts, passages, and expressions, therein, so deeply in his mind, that they hung inherently on his imagination, and became as it were naturalised there. Hence many of them were afterwards insensibly transfused into his own compositions.* Sylvester's *Du Bartas* was also a popular book when Milton began to write poetry; it was published in the very street in which Milton's father then lived: Sylvester was certainly, as was probably * Humphry Lowndes the printer of the book, puritanically inclined; Milton's family, professing the same religious opinions, would powerfully recommend to the young student the perusal of this work: by such inferences, added to the preceding remark, the reader is led to acknowledge the successful manner, in which Mr. Dunster has accomplished his design; namely, to show Milton's early acquaintance with, and predilection for, Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.† I am persuaded, however, that Milton must have sometimes closed the volume with extreme disgust; and that he then sought gratification in the strains of his kindred poets, of Spenser, and of Shakspeare; or of those, whose style was not barbarous like Sylvester's, the enticing Drummond, the learned and affecting Drayton, and several other bards of that period; as may be gathered from expressions even in his earliest performances. But, to resume Mr. Dunster's observation respecting the origin of Para-

dise Lost: Sylvester's *Du Bartas* contains, indeed, more material *prima stamina* of the *Paradise Lost*, than, as I believe, any other book whatever: and my hypothesis is, that it positively laid the first stone of that "monumentum ære perennius." That Arthur for a time predominated in Milton's mind over his, at length preferred, sacred subject, was probably owing to the advice of Manso, and the track of reading into which he had then got. How far the *Adamo* of Andreini, or the *Scena Tragica d'Adamo et Eva* of Lancetta, as pointed out by Mr. Hayley; or any of the Italian poems on such subjects, noticed by Mr. Walker; contributed to revive his predilection for sacred poesy, it is beside my purpose to inquire. If he was materially caught by any of these, it served, I conceive, only to renew a primary impression made on his mind by Sylvester's *Du Bartas*: although the Italian dramas might induce him then to meditate his divine poem in a dramatic form. It is, indeed, justly observed by Mr. Warton, on the very fine passage, ver. 33. of the *Vacation Exercise*, written when Milton was only nineteen, "that it contains strong indications of a young mind anticipating the subject of *Paradise Lost*."—Cowley found himself to be a poet, or, as himself tells us, "was made one," by the delight he took in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, "which was wont to lay in his mother's apartment;" and

* "I may observe that the folio edition of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, and of his other poems, in 1611, came from the press of Humphry Lowndes; the date at the end of the *Fairy Queen* is, however, 1612.

† In 1611 also Humphry Lowndes printed the second edition of the little volume, from which I shall presently have occasion to make an extract or two, entitled 'Stafford's Niobe: or his Age of Teares. A Treatise no lesse profitable and comfortable then the Times damnable, &c.' 12mo."

† "See the Notes on his Translations of the 114th and 136th Psalms."

‘ which he had read all over, before
 ‘ he was twelve years’ old. That
 ‘ Dryden was, in some degree,
 ‘ similarly indebted to Cowley, we
 ‘ may collect from his denominat-
 ‘ ing him “the darling of my youth;
 ‘ the famous Cowley.” Pope, at a
 ‘ little more than eight years of
 ‘ age, was initiated in poetry by
 ‘ the perusal of Ogilby’s Homer and
 ‘ Sandys’s Ovid; and to the latter
 ‘ he has himself intimated obliga-
 ‘ tions, where he declares, in his
 ‘ notes to the Iliad, “that English
 ‘ poetry owes much of its present
 ‘ beauty to the translations of
 ‘ Sandys.” The *rudimenta poetica*
 ‘ of our great poet I suppose simi-
 ‘ larly to have been Sylvester’s *Du*
 ‘ *Bartas*; which, I conceive, not
 ‘ only elicited the first sparks of
 ‘ poetic fire from the pubescent
 ‘ genius of Milton, but induced
 ‘ him, from that time, to devote
 ‘ himself principally to sacred po-
 ‘ esy, and to select *Urania* for his
 ‘ immediate muse,

————— “*magno percussus amore.*”

“ While I agree with Mr. Dun-
 ster, that Milton has adopted sever-
 al thoughts and expressions from
 Sylvester, I hope I may be permit-
 ted to observe that, although the
 poem of *Du Bartas* treats largely of
 the creation of the world and the
 fall of man, the origin of Paradise
 Lost may not perhaps be absolutely
 attributed to that work. ‘ Smit with
 ‘ the love of sacred song,’ Milton, I
 apprehend, might be influenced, in
 his ‘ long choosing and beginning
 ‘ late,’ by other effusions of sacred
 poetry, in the language which he
 loved; and in the epic form, on si-
 milar subjects; besides those of
 Dante, of Tasso, and of the Italian
 poets already mentioned. In the

following list the musés of Spain
 and Portugal also will be found to
 have chosen congenial themes.

‘ i. Discorso in versi della Crea-
 ‘ zione del Mondo sino alla Venuta
 ‘ di Gesù Cristo, per Antonio Cor-
 ‘ nazono. 4to. 1472.

‘ ii. Della Creatione del Mondo,
 ‘ Poema Sacro, del Sig. Gaspare
 ‘ Mvrtola. Giorni sette, Canti
 ‘ sedici. 12mo. Venet. 1608.

‘ iii. Epamerone, overo l’opera de
 ‘ sei Giorni, Poema di Don Felice
 ‘ Passero. 12mo. Venet. 1609.

‘ iv. Creacion del Mundo, Poema
 ‘ Espagnol, por el Doctor Alonzo
 ‘ de Azevedo. 8vo. en Roma, 1615.

‘ v. Da Creação et Complicação do
 ‘ Homem, Cantos tres por Luis de
 ‘ Camoens, em Verso Portugues.
 ‘ 4to. em Lisboa, 1615. Rimas 2^a
 ‘ Parte.—Paris, 12mo. 1759.’

“ The first of these poems is
 noticed by Baretti in his Italian Li-
 brary, p. 58; who also mentions
 an epic poem, first printed in Sicily,
 and since at Milan, of which he had
 forgot the dates, entitled ‘ *L’ Adamo*
 ‘ *del Campailla*. It is a philosophical
 ‘ poem, much admired by the fol-
 ‘ lowers of the Cartesian system,
 ‘ who were very numerous when
 ‘ the author wrote it.’ Ib. p. 66.
 Baretti also mentions another epic
 poem ‘ *Le sei Giornate*, di Sebasti-
 ‘ ano Erizzo. *The six Days*, that
 ‘ is, the Creation performed in six
 ‘ days, &c.’ Ib. p. 64. But this
 is a mistake. *Le sei Giornate* of
 Erizzo is neither a poem, nor at all
 connected with the history of the
 Creation. It is a series of novels:
 ‘ *Le sei giornate, nelle quali sotto*
 ‘ *diuersi fortunati et infelici aueni-*
 ‘ *menti, da sei giuani raccontati,*
 ‘ *si contengono ammaestramenti no-*
 ‘ *bili et utili di morale Filosofia* *.”

* “ Proemio, p. 1.—This work of Sebastian Erizzo was printed at Venice, in quarto, by Giovan Varisco, &c. in 1567.”

* The second of the before-mentioned poems is in my possession; and I have given some account of it in the notes on b. iv. 753, and b. v. 689 of *Paradise Lost*.

"The three next are mentioned by Mr. Bowle, together with the preceding poem; as also with the *Adamos* of Andreini, Soranzo, and Serafino della Salandra, and with the *Angeleida* of Valvasone; in his * manuscript notes on Lauder's Essay. He has added a reference to the following work, which might not be unknown to Milton.

'vi. Il Caso di Lucifero, di Amico Aguilfo. Crescimbeni, 4. 126.'

"To which may be subjoined another poem that might have attracted the great poet's notice, as it is pronounced by Baretti to be little inferior to Dante himself.

'vii. Il Quadriregio, sopra i regni d'Amore, di Satanasso, dei vizi, e delle virtu, di Mons. F. Frezzi Vescovo di Foligno. fol. Perug. 1481.'

I may venture also to point out

'viii. La Vita et Passione di Christo, &c. composta per Antonio Cornozano, in terza rima. Venet. 1518. 12mo.'

In which the second chapter of the first book is entitled 'De la Creatione del Mondo.'

'ix. La Humanita del Figliuolo di Dio, in ottaua rima, per Theofilo Folengo, Mantoano. Venezia. 1533. 4to.'

In ten books: in the second of which Adam and Eve are particu-

larly noticed. Dr. Burney has considered the sacred drama of *Il Gran Natale di Christo* by the elder Cicognini, as subservient to Milton's plan. See the note on *Paradise Lost*, b. x. 249. There is also a poem of † P. Antonio Glielmo, Milton's contemporary, entitled *Il Diluvio del Mondo*; and there are the *Mondo Desolato* of the 'Shepherd-boy,' G. D. Peri, (the author also of the epic poem, *Fiesole Distrutta*,) and the *Giudicio Estremo* of Toldo Costantini; both published ‡ before Milton perhaps had determined the subject of his song. The writer of the article *Pona* (*François*) in the *Nouveau Dict. Hist. à Caen*, edit. 1786, says that Pona published '*L'Adamo, poema, 1664.*' The *Adamo* by this writer, (of which I am possessed,) is not, however, a poem, although abounding with poetical expressions, but a history, in three books, of the Creation and of our first parents. I have made extracts from it in the notes on *Paradise Lost*, b. ix. 704, 897, &c. Pona was an author not a little admired in Italy: he died in 1652. Loredano, in a letter to him, says '§ L'ingegno di V. S. è un giardino di Paradiso, ove non nascono che fiori immortali. Tale ho riconosciuto l'angelico,' Loredano himself has also written an Italian Life of Adam; which is mentioned in the notes on *Paradise Lost*, b. ix. 529, 1009. It is probable that Pona and Loredano were acquainted with Milton; that they were among those discerning persons, who, 'in

* "Now the property of Richard Gough, esq.; to whom I am much indebted for the use of the book."

† "He died in 1644. See *Elogii d' Huomini Letterati*, scritti da Lorenzo Crasso, parte sec. Venet. 1666. p. 287."

‡ "The former in 1637; and I believe there is an earlier edition: the latter in 1648."

§ "Lettres de Loredano, edit. Bruxelles, 1708. p. 88."

‘the private academies of Italy, ‘whither,’ the poet tells us, ‘* he ‘was favoured to resort,’ fostered his blooming genius by their approbation and encouragement. Lordano was the founder of the Accademia degli Incogniti. His house at Venice was the constant resort of learned men. Gaddi, an Italian friend whom Milton names, and who has † celebrated the foundation of the academy, would hardly fail to introduce the young Englishman to the founder of it, if by no other means he had become known to him.

“Italy, then, may perhaps be thought to have confirmed, if not to have excited, the design of Milton to sing ‘man’s disobedience, and ‘the mortal taste of the forbidden ‘fruit.’

‘Ergo, novum molitus opus, Pater ipse profundum
 ‘Instillat somnum, cui jam in tellure jacenti
 ‘Eximit insertam lato sub pectore costam,
 ‘Explens carne locum, sed enim pulcherrima visu
 ‘Fœmina, quæ dovis superaret quicquid in orbe est,
 ‘Exoritur; qualis primo cùm Lucifer ortu
 ‘Evelit auricomum gemmatâ luce nitorem.
 ‘Nec mora surgenti è somnis, lucemque tuenti,
 ‘Matronam insignem Genitor vultûque decoram
 ‘Obtulit ante oculos Adæ; miratur honorem
 ‘Egregium, et toto fulgentem pectore formam;
 ‘Agnoscitque suo sumptum de corpore corpus,
 ‘Et sic incipiens læto tandem ore profatur:
 ‘Aspicio, accipioque libens tua maxima rerum
 ‘Munera largitor, nostris ex ossibus ossa.
 ‘Formata in teneros humani corporis artus
 ‘Offers, egregiâque thori me compare donas, &c.”

“I must not omit to mention an English poem, relating to the state of innocence, entitled ‘The Glasse of Time in the two first Ages, divinely handled by Thomas Peyton, of Lincolne’s Inne, Gent.’ 4to. Lond. 1623; and to observe also

“Mr. Bowle, in his catalogue of poets who have treated Milton’s subject before him, mentions Alcinus Avitus, archbishop of Vienna, who wrote a poem, in Latin hexameters, *De Origine Mundi*. Phillips, in his † account of this author, adds the name of Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetorician of Marseilles, who wrote upon Genesis in hexameters also; which are said to be extant. Pantaleon Candidus, a German poet, has a copy of verses, I find, in his *Loci communes Theologici*, &c. Basil. 1570, p. 24—27, entitled *Lapsus Adæ*; and in a nuptial hymn, in the same volume, p. 110, he has painted the creation of Eve in lines not unworthy the attention of Milton.

that part of *Du Bartas* had been translated into verse, and published, before the first edition of Sylvester’s, ‘by William Lisle of Wilburgham, ‘Esquier for the King’s body,’ namely, in 1596 and 1598, and again in 1625. See the note on

* “See the Preface to his *Church Government*, l. ii. and his *Epitaph. Damon* v. 133, &c.”

† “See *Jacobi Gaddi Adlocutiones, et Elogia, &c.* Florentiæ, 1636. 4to. p. 36.”

‡ “*Theat. Poet.* edit. 1675. *Ancient Poets*, p. 12.”

Milton's cxivth Psalm, ver. 11. Lisle's compound epithets, in his translation, are very numerous, and sometimes extremely beautiful. Sylvester has often merit also of this kind: but it is my duty to observe, that Sylvester is not always original: his shining phrases may be frequently traced in contemporary or preceding poets. In the notes on Milton's poetical works, I have sometimes had occasion to exhibit

the expressions of Sylvester in this point of view. In justice, however, to this laborious writer, I shall here close my remarks with a detached specimen of his poetry; to which, if Milton has been indebted, the temptation of the serpent in Paradise Lost affords such a contrast, that the reader will be at no loss how to appreciate the improvement.

‘ Eve, second honour of this vniverse :
 ‘ Is’t true (I pray) that jealous God, perverse,
 ‘ Forbids (quoth he) both you, and all your race,
 ‘ All the fair fruits these siluer brooks embrace;
 ‘ So oft bequeath’d you, and by you possest,
 ‘ And day and night by your own labour drest?
 ‘ With th’ air of these sweet words, the wily snake
 ‘ A poysoned air inspired (as it spake)
 ‘ In Eve’s frail brest; who thus replies: O! knowe,
 ‘ Whate’er thou be, (but thy kind care doth showe
 ‘ A gentle friend,) that all the fruits and flowrs
 ‘ In this earth’s-heav’n are in our hands and powrs,
 ‘ Except alone that goodly fruit diuine,
 ‘ Which in the midst of this green ground doth shine;
 ‘ But all good God (alas! I wot not why)
 ‘ Forbad us touch that tree, on pain to dy.—
 ‘ She ceast; already brooding in her heart
 ‘ A curious wish, that will her weal subvert.
 ‘ As a false louer, that thick snares hath laid
 ‘ T’ intrap the honour of a fair young maid,
 ‘ When she (though little) listning ear affords
 ‘ To his sweet, courting, deep-affected words,
 ‘ Feels some asswaging of his freezing flame,
 ‘ And sooths himself with hope to gain his game;
 ‘ And, rapt with joy, vpon this point persists,
 ‘ That parleing city never long resists:
 ‘ Even so the serpent, that doth counterfet
 ‘ A guilefull call t’ allure vs to his net,
 ‘ Perceiuing Eve his flattering gloze digest,
 ‘ He prosecutes; and, jocund, doth not rest,
 ‘ Till he haue try’d foot, hand, and head, and all,
 ‘ Vpon the breach of this new-battered wall.

‘ No, fair, (quoth he) beleene not that the care
 ‘ God hath, mankinde from spoyling death to spare,
 ‘ Makes him forbid you (on so strict condition)
 ‘ This purest, fairest, rarest fruit’s fruition:

H 4

‘ A double

' A double fear, an envie, and a hate,
 ' His iealous heart for euer cruciate;
 ' Sith the suspected vertue of this tree
 ' Shall soon disperse the cloud of idiocy,
 ' Which dims your eyes; and, further, make you seem
 ' (Excelling vs) even equall Gods to him.
 ' O world's rare glory! reach thy happy hand,
 ' Reach, reach, I say; why dost thou stop or stand?
 ' Begin thy bliss, and do not fear the threat
 ' Of an vncertain God-head, onely great
 ' Through self-aw'd zeal: put on the glistering pall
 ' Of immortality: do not forestall
 ' (As envious stepdame) thy posteritie
 ' The soverain honour of Divinitie.'

SYLVESTER's *Du Bartas*, edit. 1621. pp. 192, 193.

" As Milton has been supposed to have been much obliged to other poets in describing the unsubdued spirit of Satan, especially where he says,

' Better to reign in hell, than serve in
 ' heaven;'

I am tempted to make an extract or two from Stafford's *Niobe*, a prose-work already * mentioned, in which Satan speaks the following words; not dissimilar to passages in Fletcher and Crashaw, which have been cited, on the same subject.

' They say, forsooth, that pride
 ' was the cause of my fall; and that
 ' I dwell where there is nothing
 ' but weeping, howling, and gnash-
 ' ing of teeth; of which that false-
 ' hood was the authour, I will make
 ' you plainlie perceiue. True it is,
 ' sir, that I (*storming at the name of*
 ' *supremacie*) *sought to depose my*
 ' *Creatour*; which the watchful,
 ' all-seeing eye of Prouidence find-
 ' ing, degraded me of my angelicall
 ' dignitie, dispossessed me of all
 ' pleasures; and the seraphin, and
 ' cherubin, throni, dominationes,
 ' virtutes, potestates, principatus,

' arch-angeli, angeli, and all the
 ' celestiaall hierarchieyes, (with a shout
 ' of applause,) *sung my departure*
 ' *out of heauen*: my alleluia was
 ' turned into an ehu; and too soone
 ' found, that I was corruptibilis ab
 ' alio, though not in alio; and that
 ' he, that gaue me my being, could
 ' againe take it from mee. *Now,*
 ' *for as much as I was once an angel*
 ' *of light, it was the will of Wisedome*
 ' *to confine me to darknes, and to*
 ' *create me prince thereof, that so I,*
 ' WHO COULD NOT OBEY IN
 ' HEAVEN, MIGHT COMMAUND IN
 ' HELL. And, belieue mee, sir, I
 ' *had rather controule within my dark*
 ' *diocese, than to reihabite celum*
 ' *empyrium, and there liue in subjec-*
 ' *tion, vnder check."* Edit. 1611,
 ' pp. 16—18, part the second. Staf-
 ' ford calls Satan the "grim-visag'd
 ' goblin," *ibid.* p. 85. And, in the
 ' first part of the book, he de-
 ' scribes the devil as having "com-
 ' mitted incest with his daughter, the
 ' World," p. 3. He also attributes
 ' the gunpowder-plot to the devil,
 ' with his unhallowed senate of
 ' popes, the inuentors and fauourers
 ' of this vnheard-of attempt in hell,'
 p. 149.

* * See the note *, p. 115."

" I have

“ I have thus brought together opinions delivered at different periods, respecting the origin of *Paradise Lost*; and have humbly endeavoured to trace, in part, the reading of the great poet, subservient to his *plan*. More successful discoveries will probably arise from the pursuits of those, who are devoted to patient and liberal investigation. * *Videlicet hoc illud est præcipuè studiorum genus, quod vigiliis augeat; ut cui subinde ceu fluminibus ex decursu, sic accedit ex lectione minutatim quo fiat uberius.*” To such persons may be recommended the masterly observations of him, who was once so far imposed upon as to believe *Lauder* an honest man, and *Milton* a plagiarist; but who expressed, when † *Douglas and Truth* appeared, the ‡ strongest indignation against the envious impostor: for they are observations resulting from a wish not to depreciate, but zealously to praise, the *Paradise Lost*. § Among the *inquiries*, to which this ardour of criticism has

naturally given occasion, none is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospect of the progress of this mighty genius in the construction of his work; a view of the fabric gradually rising, perhaps, from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies; to trace back the structure, through all its varieties, to the simplicity of its first plan; to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected; whether its founder dug them from the quarries of Nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own. I may venture to add that, in such inquiries, patience will be invigorated rather than dispirited; and every new discovery will teach us more and more to admire the genius, the erudition, and the memory of the inimitable *Milton*.

METHOD of TEACHING LOGIC and RELIGION to the DEAF and DUMB.

[From the *ABBE L'EPRE's* Manner of educating the DEAF and DUMB.]

“ *How Spiritual Operations, which are the Object of Logic, may be explained to the Deaf and Dumb.*

“ I T will easily be admitted that there is no danger of the deaf and dumb confounding any of the

parts of speech. It is sufficient for me to give, by signs, to every word its proper signification, and they assign it of themselves its proper place; (which, by the way, is what very many, whose education has

* “ *Politian, Miscellaneorum Præf.*”

† “ *The Progress of Envy*, an excellent poem, occasioned by *Lauder's* attack on the character of *Milton*. See *Lloyd's Poems*, 1762, p. 221.”

‡ “ So bishop *Douglas* told the affectionate biographer of *Dr. Johnson*. See *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 197, edit. 1799.”

§ “ See *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. i. p. 199.”

been deficient, cannot do. So that nothing is beyond the reach of their capacity which we propose to them with clearness and method.

“ To explain to them the spiritual operations which are the chief subjects of logic, I take the following measures.

“ I look attentively at the various rows of my library, and at the busts and the globes on the top; and I engage my pupil to fix his eyes upon them also. Afterwards I shut my eyes, and no longer beholding any of these objects externally, I trace out however the height and the width of them, their different shapes and their positions. I remark, and press upon the observation of my pupil, that it is no longer the eyes of my body which perceive them, but that I behold them in another way, as if there were two apertures in the middle of my forehead, through which these objects were still pictured in my head, my eyes being shut. This I call, ‘seeing with the eyes of the mind.’ No deaf and dumb persons will fail to put this to the proof in themselves, upon the spot: and they will all take pleasure in multiplying and diversifying exemplifications.

“ I am at Paris, in my own house, giving lessons; but I transport myself in imagination to Versailles, (the place of my nativity,) where I once took three of my eldest female pupils to spend a week. They transport themselves thither in fancy as readily as I do; they never call to mind the stay they made there without pleasing sensations.

“ In idea, I mount the castle, and I trace out, as well as I can, the grand stair-case, and the outer rooms: the females immediately proceed with the picture, particularly that of the gallery, which

overpowered them with admiration to such a degree, that they all three changed colour when they entered it.

“ We then, in idea, range the park. They walk from grove to grove, and in their description do not leave out the different water-pieces, the sight of which surprised them strangely.

“ I observe to them, it is not the eyes of their body which now see these various objects; that their body has not changed places; that it is fronting the table upon which we write; but that these objects are presented by the eyes of the mind as if still actually visible: and I then say, that the internal painting which is the source of their present entertainment is what we call ‘an idea, or the representation of an object in the mind.’

“ You have just now in your mind, I say to them, the idea of the castle of Versailles, the idea of its apartments, of its groves, &c. all these things are material and sensible; you have seen them with your eyes; but that which now represents them to you internally we call your imagination.

“ You have seen that it took two hours and a half to transport you from Paris to Versailles, and several entire days to bring you from Lyons to Paris. Your body cannot travel faster. But as speedily as you please your mind is rambling in the gardens of Versailles, or walking on the banks of the Rhone, while this same body is seated on a chair, or traversing the streets of Paris. This we term *thinking*: you *think* of the beauty of Versailles: you *think* of the river which runs through Lyons.

“ You say within yourselves, the park of Versailles is beautiful; this is what we call *judgment*. It contains

tains two ideas; you have the idea of the park, and the idea of beauty; you unite them to each other by an internal *yes*; this is what we call an *affirmative judgment*. On the contrary, you say within yourselves, that the tower at St. Martin's gate is not handsome: here again are two ideas, the idea of the tower and the idea of handsomeness: but you separate them by an internal *no*: this is what we call a *negative judgment*; and when you write down what you have thought within yourselves, it forms what we call an *affirmative proposition*, or a *negative proposition*.

"I ask, if you are willing to return to Versailles, where you appeared to be very much delighted, and reside there constantly. You answer me, that you should like extremely to do so, provided I go and reside there too. I ask you, why you put in this condition; and you answer, that it is because there is nobody at Versailles who instructs the deaf and dumb; now this is what we call reasoning. It contains several ideas which you compare one with another, in this manner: 'Versailles is a beautiful place; I am charmed with Versailles; I should like to live there: but I should find no instruction at Versailles for the deaf and dumb; I am fonder of instruction than of the beauty of Versailles: therefore I do not wish to live there unless he who instructs us live there too.'

"Thought and love, we tell our pupils, are not the same thing. You often think of things which you do not love; which, on the contrary, you hate. You think of idleness, of disobedience, of gluttony, when you observe them in some young person; and yet you love none of them. That which thinks within us is called our *mind*; that which

loves is called our *heart*; and the union of the two is called our *soul*.

"The idea of a soul which thinks and reasons, presents itself to our mind without form and without colour; we call this idea a *simple conception*.

"Thus you have a body and a soul: a body which eats, drinks, sleeps, moves, and rests; a soul which thinks, judges, and reasons. Your soul cannot eat, nor drink, &c. Your body cannot think, nor judge, nor reason.

"These operations, as our readers perceive, are in truth perfectly simple; and the deaf and dumb seize them with equal facility and avidity."

How Deaf and Dumb Persons are instructed in the first Truths of Religion.

"When the difference of soul and body is once clearly ascertained, and the deaf and dumb are become sensible of the superiority and nobleness which thereby distinguish them from brutes, that can neither reason nor think, their souls stand eager to follow wherever we lead the way: they take their flight up to heaven, descend again to earth, and plunge into the abyss, with as much promptitude as our own.

"They have seen with their own eyes that a house does not build itself, nor a watch construct itself; they have admired this little machine, and have observed, without the least suggestion from others, that the inventor of it must have had a great deal of ingenuity.

"But when we show them on an artificial sphere, the periodical motions of the earth and the planets round the sun, and afterwards let them see the execution of these in miniature, in Passenmont's scientific machinery, their souls are then expanded

panded and elevated with sentiments of delight and admiration, to which all our expressions are inadequate: their surprise soon borders upon ecstasy when, ascending to the fixed stars, we state their distance from the earth, and remoteness from each other.

“ They now begin to comprehend that a machine so prodigiously immense, containing so many exquisite beauties vying for superiority, can be the effect of infinite power alone. They see and know the use of artisans’ tools in the fabrication of their works: it is unnecessary to make any observations to them concerning the impossibility of such tools being employed in the fabrication of the universe.

“ If we write down, that he who made all these things has no body, nor figure, nor colour so as to come under our senses; scarcely do they deign to cast their eyes over the proposition, because their own good sense alone tells them that it is impossible to conceive eyes, ears, hands, and feet for him. This is what we call being a pure spirit, whose operations are not impeded or retarded as ours are by the heaviness of our bodies.

“ It is now time to announce that he whose works transport them with astonishment is the God before whom we prostrate ourselves, a Spirit: eternal, independent, immoveable, infinite, present every where, beholding all things, who can do all things, who has created all things, who governs all things. There is no necessity for hasty strides here; if our steps are slow, our patience is amply compensated by a view of the gradations of respect towards God displayed in the hearts of our pupils, which, in general, are in exact proportion to the progression of their knowledge of

him. Let us give a specimen of our mode of proceeding in the explication of the divine attributes.

“ You have not been in this world always, we say to our pupils; you did not exist thirty years ago; you came into the world like other infants, whose birth you hear of daily; your father was before you; your grandfather was his elder; your great grandfather and great-great grandfather were elder still; each of them had a beginning in his turn: it was God who formed them in the breast of their mothers; it was then only that they began to exist: just so it has been with all the other men who have been born and have died since the beginning of the world. But he who forms all others, cannot have been formed by another elder than he; therefore he has had no beginning.

“ This is not all. Your fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers, and great-great grandfathers are all dead. You also will die when God so pleases. They have had an end in this world; you likewise will when you die. Their bodies have been put into the earth when their souls separated from them; yours will also be put into it when you are dead. But God will not die; he will never have an end: he has always been, and he always will be; this is what we mean by the word *eternal*.

“ The independence and other perfections of God are explained in the same manner, *à magis noto ad minus notum*. We do not aim at philosophical or theological demonstration; our design is merely to make ourselves understood, and by our simplicity we succeed.

“ Hitherto when the name of God was inscribed, the pupils lifted up their hand and pointed to the sky, a sign which they acknowledged

to be void of meaning to them: but it is necessary to be conscious of having a soul, and that the curtain which conceals it from itself should be drawn, before it can discover the indelible seal of the divinity imprinted on it by nature. Now, indeed, they comprehend that adoration and thanksgiving are due to him. What is performed in our temples is no more a mere spectacle in their eyes, as it used to be; they comprehend that we there ask, and they join with us in asking, whatever is most necessary for the good of our bodies and our souls."

"Method of initiating the Deaf and Dumb even in the Mysteries of our Religion."

"By the method we are about to lay down, it is practicable to teach the deaf and dumb even the mysteries of our religion.

"You exist, we say to them, you think, and you love. Your existence is not your thought: brutes exist, and do not think. Neither is it your love.

"Nor yet is your thought your love, because you sometimes think of things which you do not love: neither is it your existence. In fine, your love is neither your existence nor your thought.

"Here then are three things in you distinct from each other, that is, the one is not the other. You can think of one without thinking of the others: yet these three things are inseparable, and constitute one self which exists, thinks, and loves; it is a kind of image or semblance of what is in God: it is what the great bishop Bossuet termed a created Trinity.

"In God there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is not

the Son; neither is he the Holy Ghost.

"The Son is not the Father; neither is he the Holy Ghost.

"Lastly, the Holy Ghost is not the Father; nor yet the Son.

"These three persons are distinct from each other, that is to say, the one is not the other. You can think of one without thinking of the others: yet they are inseparable, and make but one God, a single spirit eternal, independent, immoveable, &c. This is what we are to believe, because it is what our faith teaches us; and after showing this doctrine in the Scriptures, to such of the deaf and dumb who are past their childhood; they repeat emphatically every Sunday at morning service, the symbol of St. Athanasius, and implicitly believe all the articles he exposes touching the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

"The comparison of the soul and the body, which is one man, *unus est homo*, as it is said in this creed, serves to make them understand how God and man is only one Jesus Christ, *unus est Christus*; and throws a light upon the sacred truths which necessarily result from this ineffable union. We eat, we drink, we sleep, we move by our body; we think, we judge, we reason by our soul. Jesus Christ, as God, is eternal, independent, immoveable, &c. Jesus Christ, as man, was conceived, was born, has suffered, and has died.

"(In the public exercise of the 13th August, eight deaf and dumb persons resolved eighty-six questions, in three different languages, concerning the three principal mysteries of our religion.)

"The mystery of the Eucharist is likewise expounded in an appropriate manner.

"The

[126] On the PRINCIPLE of ASSOCIATION in EDUCATING YOUTH.

“ The deaf and dumb see with their eyes that five or six drops of water, poured into a liquor of vivid red, turn it instantly to milk white. We remind them of what they have read in the Old Testament of the rod of Moses being changed into a serpent, and the waters of a large river into blood; also of what they have read in the Gospel, of Jesus Christ by his power changing the water into wine at the marriage of Cana.

“ We tell them that a change still more miraculous is operated upon our altars, by virtue of the all-powerful words of Jesus Christ, pronounced in his name by the priest. Bread and wine are there changed into the body and blood of Christ. It is Jesus Christ himself that has said so: the church teaches us so; we are bound to

believe it, though we comprehend it not.

“ In 1773, some of our deaf and dumb, scholars went through a public exercise upon the sacrament of the Eucharist, of which the programme announced, along with other matters, that they would give four proofs of the real presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ under the eucharistic forms, and answer the principal objections that might be brought forward against this article of our faith.

“ From the examples furnished by this chapter, the possibility of making deaf and dumb persons comprehend the mysteries of our religion, will, I presume, be admitted; and even the likelihood of their understanding them better than such as have learned them out of their catechism only.”

On the IMPORTANCE of the PRINCIPLE of ASSOCIATION in educating YOUTH.

[From Miss HAMILTON'S LETTERS on the ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES of EDUCATION. Vol. I.]

“ **T**HE more deeply I contemplated the subject of education, the more thoroughly was I impressed with a sense of its importance. What I had at first considered as easy and simple, appeared upon close inspection to be difficult and complex; and as I traced effects to their causes, I frequently found circumstances I had overlooked as trifling, rise into magnitude, and branch out into consequences unseen and unexpected.

“ Every discovery I made, tended to increase diffidence in my own abilities; which I became truly

sensible were inadequate to the due performance of a task so arduous. With this consciousness, I should have been highly culpable, rashly to have undertaken it.

“ On every subject that requires serious investigation, our sex is doomed to experience the double disadvantage arising from original conformation of mind, and a defective education. From the quickness of our perceptions we are frequently liable, ‘ where we see a little, to imagine a great deal, ‘ and so jump to a conclusion;’ while, from an education conducted upon no regular plan, we acquire

no regular associations in our ideas, no accurate arrangement, no habit of mental application. Of nature, indeed, we have little reason to complain. She has sufficiently qualified us for that sphere in which she evidently intended we should move: and that this sphere is neither undignified nor confined, she has rendered evident, from the intellectual faculties with which she has endowed us. Why these should be given to us as a sealed book which ought not to be opened, I confess I cannot comprehend. Nor can I, perhaps, plead the cause of my sex more effectually, than by explaining the influence of early education; and thus rendering it evident to every unprejudiced mind, that if women were so educated as to qualify them for the proper performance of this momentous duty, it would do more towards the progressive improvement of the species than all the discoveries of science, and the researches of philosophy.

"Could the biographers of illustrious men attain a perfect knowledge of all they had received from early education, I am fully persuaded that it would shed a lustre on the maternal character, conspicuous as glorious*. 'Never,' observed a man of acknowledged sense and penetration, 'never have I known a

'man remarkable for wisdom and 'virtue,' who was the son of a 'foolish mother.' Nor will the assertion appear extraordinary, when we consider how often the temper and dispositions, falsely attributed to nature, may be traced to impressions received in infancy; a fact which might easily be ascertained by observation on the characters around us; but as objects pressing so closely upon the sight, as to have their parts necessarily viewed in succession, have a less striking effect than those that can be surveyed at a single glance, I shall beg leave to present you with some proofs of the influence of early education, which appear to my mind sufficiently convincing.

"Whether we cast our eyes on the effeminate and indolent inhabitants of the east, or turn our attention to the more sturdy savages of the western hemisphere, still we shall find the effects of early education too potent for time to efface, or death itself to conquer. A sensible and accomplished traveller of my own sex, after having given a concise, but striking account of the religion and manners of the Hindoos, observes as follows:†—"It is astonishing with what strictness the 'Hindoos observe these rules, even 'to starving themselves to death, 'rather than break through them.

* "An honourable testimony to the truth of what is here advanced, is given by St. Paul in his epistle to Timothy, to whom he says: 'When I call to remembrance the 'unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice, and I am persuaded that in thee also.'—2 Tim. i. 5.

"The historian Tacitus seems, likewise, to have taken a generous pleasure in pointing out the influence of maternal instruction: an illustrious instance of which he has given in the life of Agricola. 'Julia Procilla, Agricola's mother, was,' says Tacitus, 'respected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her bosom, the 'tender mind of her son was trained to science and every liberal accomplishment.' See Murphy's Translation of Tacitus, vol. iv. The degeneracy of morals under the emperors is, by this distinguished author, traced to the period when mothers began to give up the education of their children to slaves and hirelings."

† "See Mrs. Kindersley's Letters from India."

• The children of the Hindoos are
 • not to be tempted to eat any thing
 • forbidden, either by persuasion
 • or by offering them the greatest
 • delicacies; which I have often
 • been witness of. It is the first
 • impression their minds receive;
 • they are used to see it strictly ob-
 • served by their own and other
 • casts; it grows up with them as
 • the first and most absolute law,
 • and is perhaps observed with
 • more strictness than any other
 • law, religious or civil, by any na-
 • tion under the sun.'

“ Never, surely, was the abiding influence of first impressions more evidently displayed than in this firm and undeviating adherence to early principle, evinced by a people remarkable for feebleness of mind and gentleness of manners. That the fortitude, or rather torpid resignation, with which this feeble race have been observed to endure the extremity of bodily suffering, may with more justice be attributed to early inspired sentiment than to causes merely physical, is rendered obvious by the similar operation of similar causes on a people whose character and manners are in other respects very widely different. That contempt of pain and death, which forms such a prominent feature in the character of the American savage, can by no means be ascribed to an organization and temperament similar to that of the Hindoo. It is explained by the honest traveller Charlevoix in a few words; when, after having given some astonishing instances of the amazing constancy and firmness evinced by the savages of both sexes in bearing the extreme of bodily torture, suffering for many hours, and sometimes for many days together, the sharpest effects of fire, and all that the most industrious

• fury can invent to make it most
 • painful, without letting a sigh e-
 • scape;’ he adds, ‘ the savages
 • exercise themselves in this all
 • their lives, and accustom their
 • children to it from their tenderest
 • years. We have seen little boys
 • and girls tie themselves together
 • by one arm, and tie a lighted
 • coal between them, to see which
 • of them would shake it off first.’

“ If education can thus conquer the most powerful feelings of nature, subdue appetite, and render the soul superior to physical sensation; what may it not be expected to effect when directed to the control of the malevolent passions, the subjection of the irregular appetites, the cultivation of benevolence, and the improvement of intellect? The pains that are taken by the Hindoo to associate the idea of good with a strict adherence to the duties prescribed by his religion, and the idea of evil with the slightest deviation from the rules of his cast, are rendered effectual from the period of their commencement; while the associations thus produced are rendered permanent by the force of habit and example. Were the practice of the parent at war with his precepts: did he indulge himself in eating of the forbidden food, while he gave grave lessons to his children on the duty of abstaining from it; can we believe that the impressions made upon their minds would be powerful or abiding? If while by words he expressed his abhorrence of those who, by a breach of the laws of Brama, had lost their cast, he received, cherished, and caressed these degenerate beings; would all the indignation he could express, lead the witnesses of his conduct to associate the idea of loss of cast with irremediable disgrace? Such inconsistencies the Hindoo

and the savage leave to the practice of the enlightened Christians of Europe.

“ To the instances I have adduced, thousands might be added from the more familiar scenes of life, to prove the infinite importance of watching over the early associations of good and evil; as on these depend the direction of the affections and desires of the heart. To this subject I mean to devote the first series of Letters. I shall then proceed to the cultivation of the understanding; not as a separate branch of education, for it will appear evident that neither heart nor understanding can be cultivated effectually, if an exclusive attention be at any time paid to either; but I shall so divide them for the purpose of more clear elucidation. And as I think it probable these Letters may be made public, I shall not confine myself to such topics as might merely suit the particular circumstances of my friend.

“ From most of the writers on education it would appear, that it is only to people of rank and fortune that education is a matter of any importance. By such alone can the systems that are generally proposed, be adopted. To such, therefore, must we believe them to be exclusively addressed. To make fine ladies and finished gentlemen forms no part of my plan; which has for its object the subjection of the passions, the direction of the affections, and the cultivation of the faculties that are common to the whole human race.

“ In treating of this important subject; I shall give precedence to the examination of those desires and aversions which are the springs of human conduct, because their influence commences, in some measure, with our existence. In the

production of our intellectual faculties nature operates by a slow and gradual process. When her wise regulations are attended to, and not counteracted by our officious folly, one faculty attains sufficient vigour, before another is produced to assist in its developement. But desire and aversion, which may be termed the germ of the passions, appear in the early dawn of life; and show symptoms of strength and vigour at a period when the higher intellectual faculties are yet feeble and imperfect. Hence the necessity of paying an early and unceasing attention to every circumstance which tends to call forth these active powers, which, without such superintendence, may become instrumental to the misery of the possessor.

“ Upon the direction given to desire and aversion, the whole of moral conduct entirely depends. And if it be by means of early and powerful associations, that the desires and aversions of the soul are principally excited; it necessarily follows, that to watch over the associations which are formed by the tender mind, becomes a duty of the first importance.

“ The effects of association are daily experienced by all; but as the term made use of to explain these effects may not be familiar to every reader of my own sex; a few observations upon it may not be unacceptable. This was omitted in the former edition, from a confidence that the application of the term would sufficiently explain its meaning. But in this, I find, I have been mistaken. A lady, whose powers of wit and judgment can be excelled by nothing but her own candour and benevolence, has convinced me of my error, by assuring me that, however familiar the philosophical use of the term might be to a cer-

tain class of readers, to such as had never heard of any other *associations* than those of the *loyal volunteers*; it was to the last degree perplexing. Few, it is probable, are in this predicament; but for the sake of those few, it may be necessary to observe, that the associations which take place in our ideas, are seldom volunteers, but are united by laws that are to the last degree arbitrary; and that their union, when once formed, is no longer at the will of a superior, but frequently remains indissoluble, notwithstanding the commands issued by reason for disbanding them. A little reflexion will render the truth of this observation obvious, even to the most inconsiderate.

“ Who could behold the spot upon which a dear friend was murdered, without the most lively sensations of horror? Why are these sensations called forth by the sight of the place? Is it not from the strength of that association, which connects the idea of the place with the idea of the horrid deed? Let any person of common sensibility say, whether the scenes which they have been accustomed to view in company with a beloved object do not, particularly after long absence, recall that object to the mind, and introduce trains of ideas with which that object is connected? These trains of ideas are linked together by the laws of association; nor can they be broken off, but by the introduction of new associations. When the mind is perfectly at ease, and free from the influence of all violent emotions, the slightest incident will be sufficient to introduce this change; but when under the influence of passion, the mind rejects every idea that is not clearly associated with the prevalent disposition, and the circumstances which

have produced it. It is this which renders the discourses of a mind at ease so seldom salutary to the afflicted. The associations of the former are unconnected and desultory; they take a wide scope, and are easily diverted into new channels. The associations of the latter are, confined by passion; and are accordingly circumscribed within narrow bounds. To be able to enter into the associations of a mind labouring under any violent emotion, is therefore not only necessary to the poet, whose province it is to describe the passions, but to the philanthropist, who wishes to allay their fury. It is the strength of association which renders even the slightest allusion to whatever is in any degree connected with the present feelings, sufficient to rouse the energy of passion. Many fine instances of this might be given from the writings of Shakespeare, who appears to have been perfectly master of all the associations of the human mind. I shall only take notice of one passage, which will serve to illustrate what I have advanced.

“ The gallant Hotspur, whose ardent soul had been roused to resentment by the manner in which the monarch had demanded from him his Scottish prisoners, is represented, some time after this transaction, in conference with his father and Worcester. In the course of the conversation, the Scottish prisoners are incidentally mentioned by Worcester. Percy catches fire at the sound; and instead of attending to the purport of his uncle's speech, calls out in indignation,

‘ I'll keep them all—
 ‘ By Heav'n he shall not have a Scot of
 ‘ them;
 ‘ No, if a Scot would save his soul, he
 ‘ shall not;
 ‘ I'll keep them, by this hand.’

Here

Here we have a striking instance, and one that is true to nature, of the power of association. The idea of the insult he had received being so strongly connected with the idea of the Scottish prisoners, concerning whom the dispute first arose, it was impossible to hear them mentioned without bringing all the ideas associated with them into the mind. These roused the dormant passion, to which he gave vent in the ebullition of rage above cited.

“ The above instances may, it is hoped, suffice to give a just notion of the term *association*, applied in a philosophical sense. It may, however, be proper to observe, that it is acknowledged by many distinguished writers to be a term not perfectly appropriate, and rather made use of from necessity than choice. It has, however, the advantage of being generally adopted; and may, perhaps, on that account deserve a preference to another term, could such be found, of equal import.

“ The laws of association have been made use of by some writers to explain all the phenomena of the human mind; they have been made the basis of systems which have met with opposition, and of theories which are now nearly exploded. With the object of our present inquiry these are totally unconnected. The principles upon which it proceeds, are not implicitly adopted from any author, however celebrated; they are not chosen to suit any theory, however plausible. Of systems I have none, save the system of Christianity. Of theories I cannot be said to adopt any; since I follow none one step farther, than reflexion upon the operations of my own mind, and observation upon those of others, fully justifies. Nor do I mean to stand bound for all

the opinions of every author, whose sentiments I may occasionally quote. I make it a principle never to despise truth, even when it is spoken by an enemy; nor shall I ever be led to reject it, because the person by whom it is advanced, has in some points embraced opinions opposite to my own. Silently to steal the sentiments of such persons, where they happened to suit me, while I pronounced a general censure against the authors, is a line of conduct that is, in my mind, firmly associated with the idea of dishonour. A memory not tenacious respecting particulars may sometimes betray me into seeming ingratitude, as I am conscious that I often forget the source of information; but the same defect in the power of retention precludes me from using the exact words of any author, whose writings are not immediately before me.

“ The effects of association occurred to my mind, long before I was in possession of the word which I now make use of to express them. The first book in which I found a hint upon the subject, was lord Kaime's *Elements of Criticism*. What is there said upon it, though in some respects it met my own ideas, did not perfectly satisfy my mind; and years elapsed before I ventured to look into Locke or Hartley, whom I considered as philosophical writers, far too abstruse for my simple judgment to comprehend. Thus, my friend, are we often deterred from seeking for information, not only upon subjects which are the peculiar province of the learned, but likewise upon those points that are interesting to every rational being. In this light do I consider a knowledge of the powers and principles of the human mind; and greatly

do I wish to see this subject divested of all extraneous matter, cleared from the rubbish of system and hypothesis, and rendered so plain to every capacity as to become a part of common education.

“Till this is effected, the woman who would educate her children with success, must begin by educating herself.

“She must cautiously examine her own opinions, and carefully distinguish between those which have received the sanction of reason and judgment, and such as have been implicitly adopted from the family of prejudice. She must reflect upon the motives which actuate her own conduct; and on the tempers and dispositions of her own mind. If she consider herself as an accountable agent, and that beings formed for immortality are intrusted to her care, she will set about this preliminary duty with alacrity and zeal; assured that her success will be in exact proportion to her performance of it. She must not be seduced by indolence to decline the task, as beyond her ability; but listen to the suggestions of conscience and common sense, which will not fail to convince her that reason and reflexion are within the power of every rational creature. For the exercise of these, happily, no depth of erudition is necessary. Some reading upon the subject she may indeed find expedient, as ideas may be suggested by books which her own experience and reflexion may not be able to furnish: but this is no more than she would find necessary, in order to learn the principles of whist or cassino; for who can expect to play to advantage without a knowledge of the rules of the game? Few chess-players despise the investigation of the parties of Philidor. And here, did I not intend to dis-

claim the use of figure and allegory, I should be tempted to remark, as an elucidation of my argument on the importance of early education, that those who study Philidor with attention; must perceive, that the wonderful superiority of his art entirely consisted in the judicious management of the first moves. What is the triumph of the most skilful chess-player, or the most successful votary of cards, to that of a mother who looks round on a promising and well-educated family? Is the delightful task of observing the opening faculties, and watching over the early associations of the infant mind, less interesting to a mother's heart, than listening to the nonsense of the day, or suffering the alternation of hope and fear at the card-table? It is not probable that any who would answer in the affirmative, will ever take the trouble of perusing these Letters. I may, therefore, spare remonstrance, and proceed to submit a sketch of my plan for your approbation.

“It is my wish to be as concise as possible. But though I shall for this reason avoid all unnecessary amplification, I must, when the elucidation of the subject requires it, beg your patient attention to minute detail, as it is by a reference to facts alone, that the danger of systematizing and arguing from mere hypothesis can be avoided. As I shall be much more solicitous to convince than to amuse, you are not to expect from me those beauties of style, and that profusion of imagery, which adorn the works of some admired writers of my own sex on the same subject: for though I am sensible that these ornaments diffuse a charm over the pages of the author, I am not so certain that they do not distract the reader's

reader's attention, and break the chain of reasoning, so as to leave upon the mind an imperfect idea of its connecting links.

"The first thing I shall urge upon your consideration, is the absolute necessity of contemplating with attention, and defining with accuracy, what is the real object we wish by education to accomplish. If this be not well ascertained, if we have any vague ideas concerning it, we have no reason to flatter ourselves with the success of the event. It appears to me that to a want of precise notions with regard to our ultimate views in education may fairly be traced many of those heavy disappointments, of which parents so often and so bitterly complain.

"If, on examining our own minds, we find that we have no other object in education, than to make our children excel in those fashionable accomplishments which will enable them to appear to advantage in the polite world; if, in our apprehension, all that is valuable be comprised in the word *genteel*; much unnecessary trouble may be spared. The common education of the nursery may then be considered as a very good preparative for the common education of the boarding-school; and as the culture of the heart and of the understanding would but counteract our designs, they may safely be left out of the account. To engage the taste and the imagination in our interest, will be an easy task. Fashion will be the preceptress of our pupils; and she is so engaging a mistress to young minds, that they will easily be brought to yield implicit obedience to her authority. Beneath her plastic hand, both sons and daughters will be formed to our wish. They will soon be qualified

by her precepts for all that is required of them. They will be prepared

'To frisk their hour upon the stage,' perhaps with some *éclat*. But if minds that have been imbued with no solid principles of virtue should become the prey of vice, let us not be astonished. Let us not express the feelings of regret and disappointment at a consequence so natural. That it is not only natural, but inevitable, a little reflexion will evince. For though to train them to vice made no part of our design—so far from it, that we, perhaps, can call many a weary hour to witness what pains we took to lecture them to virtue—yet we must confess the early associations that gave an exclusive preference for whatever was genteel, to have been the operating principle of their minds. The ideas connected with the word *genteel* may, in the mind of the mother, comprise all that is elegant, and all that is virtuous, in polished life; but to these may easily be added, in the minds of the children, pride and vanity, luxury and voluptuousness, contempt of all that is serious and sacred, and that selfishness which knows not how to forego present gratification. Would to God, the fatal consequences of these associations had only their existence in the teeming brain of a visionary recluse! But, alas! the register of Doctors'-Commons, the coroner's records, and the tears of families overwhelmed with shame from the misconduct of once-promising relatives, leave us no room to doubt of their melancholy truth.

"Could we, indeed, reduce the child to a mere automaton; could we teach it to dance, and dress, and play, and sing, as the only business of existence; and while we did so,

totally arrest the operation of mind, and prevent the association of ideas, we might safely pursue our plan, But since this is not in our power, since the ever-active principle must proceed in its course, we have no alternative but to direct that course either to truth or error. If the strength of our own prejudices lean towards the latter; if, by our conduct and our expressions of delight and complacency, we have taught them to associate the idea of *good* with what is in its nature *evil*; and, by our manifest indifference or contempt, taught them to associate the idea of *evil* with what is in its nature *good*; we ought not to be surprised, if the associations thus produced should lead to consequences beyond our calculation. Nor need we wonder, if the vehemence of desires thus engendered should, according to the predominance of vanity or appetite, either run the full career of folly, or sink into the depths of vice.

“To expose the absurdity of making mere personal accomplishments the exclusive object of attention, is an easy task; but it is, perhaps, an error little less fatal in its consequences, to direct the attention *solely* to the cultivation of the understanding, while we neglect the heart. Whoever considers the

operation of the passions, and the influence of the affections upon the happiness of individuals and of society, must be sensible, that if these do not receive a proper direction in early life, the acquisition of knowledge will never render a man ‘wise unto happiness or unto virtue, more than unto salvation.’

“If, upon taking these things into consideration, we acquire a proper view of the necessity of perfecting the intellectual and moral powers of our children, we shall adopt the means best suited to views so comprehensive. If we consider, with an amiable and enlightened philosopher*, the object of education to be ‘first, to cultivate the various principles of our nature, both speculative and active, in such a manner as to bring them to the greatest perfection of which they are susceptible; and secondly, by watching over the impressions and associations which the mind receives in early life, to secure it against the influence of prevailing errors, and as far as possible to engage its prepossessions on the side of truth;’ the importance of the object will command our attention, and our anxiety to accomplish it will prompt to vigorous exertion.

“I remain, your’s.

* “Professor Stewart. See his Introduction to the Elements of Philosophy of the Human Mind, p. 20.”

DEFENCE of the PRINCIPLE of ASSOCIATION in EDUCATING YOUTH.

[From the Same.]

“ **B**EFORE I proceed to a further investigation of the subject with which I concluded my last, I shall fully reply to the objections you have so candidly stated.

“ You say, that ‘ without having
‘ ever read a page of metaphysics,
‘ you can easily comprehend what I
‘ mean by the associations of ideas.
‘ But it appears to you, that I have
‘ laid too great a stress upon the
‘ strength of those that are given in
‘ infancy ; as experience may con-
‘ vince us, that the impressions re-
‘ ceived in that early period are
‘ slight and evanescent ; that the
‘ pleasures and pains of childhood
‘ are not the pleasures and pains of
‘ our riper years, and that this change
‘ of the objects of desire or aversion
‘ shows the early association of ideas
‘ to have been slight and transient.’

“ That thousands of casual associations are of this description, I readily admit ; and I believe, on close and accurate examination, we shall find that the permanency of associations depends, in the first place, on the strength of the original impression, and secondly, on the frequency of the repetition.

“ To give an instance of each kind. First, that the strength of the impression occasioned the associations to be indelibly fixed in the mind. Of this we have a convincing proof in the number of persons who are unhappily through life slaves to the terrors of darkness, from the idea of ghosts and darkness

having been associated together in infancy, and forcibly impressed by means of the passion of fear. Long after reason has pointed out the absurdity of this association, long after the belief in apparitions has ceased to be a part of the creed, has this association continued to operate upon the mind, and to many a brave man, and many a sensible woman, proved a lasting source of misery and disquiet.

“ This is now so well known that servants are generally cautioned against frightening children by those foolish stories which were once so current in every nursery.— But is the fear of ghosts and hobgoblins the only false and permanent association of which the mind is at that early period susceptible ? Alas ! a thousand others of no less fatal tendency are often then received, engendering prejudices no less dangerous and indelible.

“ That all our desires are associated with the ideas of pleasure, and all our aversions with those of pain—no one who gives the least observation to what passes in his own mind or that of others, can doubt. These associations take place at an early period, for it is by means of thee that a child learns to distinguish the voice of praise from that of chiding. The pleasurable sensation excited by praise gives rise to self-complacency ; and the idea of the pleasure experienced from it will not fail to be associated with the circumstance

by which it has been most frequently produced; inclining the child to a repetition of the same mode of conduct for which it has been already praised. The idea of pleasure attached to the gratification of self-will is, however, so much more lively in early life than any other association, that it will, if not properly guarded against, counteract even the love of praise. You desire your little girl to fetch a book from the other end of the room: she obeys, and is caressed and praised for her ready obedience. Thus pleasure becomes associated with obedience. But perhaps in an hour after you desire her to give up a favourite plaything, and go to bed. The pleasure she derives from her amusement will here oppose itself to the pleasure derived from your approbation; and if the association of pleasure with the gratification of self-will has not already been broken, and the desire subdued, there is no doubt but it will here prevail, and triumph over the pleasure of obedience. When the desire of gratifying self-will does not interpose, the association of praise and pleasure will recover its influence, and the pleasurable idea connected with praise be extended to all its attending circumstances. For instance. Let your little girl be dressed in new and unusual finery, and brought into company, where every voice shall join in praise of the ornaments with which she has been decorated. Observe the satisfaction with which she eyes the pretty shoes and pretty sash, which are the objects of praise and admiration. The idea of praise may thus be associated with the idea of finery, and thus, no doubt, may the love of dress be generated; but that it will remain permanent without many repetitions of the

first impression is, I think, a conclusion which experience does not justify. The first impression would be equally strong on the mind of a boy or girl; but on the mind of the boy it will not long have influence, being early and effectually counteracted. On the mind of the poor girl, on the contrary, it may be deeply impressed; for she is unhappily exposed to a daily repetition of the same association, and can, therefore, have little chance of escaping its pernicious influence.

“From these remarks it appears evident, that the early associations to which our attention ought chiefly to be directed, which we must most scrupulously examine, and most assiduously watch, are, first, those which are powerfully impressed by means of strong sensation; and secondly, those which are fixed by means of frequent repetition. If these are properly guarded against, I think we need be under no apprehension concerning those slight and transient associations, to which, by a certain class of philosophers, so much has been attributed.

“To be able to examine and to decide on the tendency of impressions, does, indeed, seem to require a knowledge of the human mind, which few mothers in the common path of life can be supposed to possess. I say *seem to require*, for in reality it requires nothing more than strict attention to the subject, directed by that experience which a knowledge of one's own mind, and common observation on the characters of others, must bestow. The more enlightened our understandings, the more enlarged the sphere of our observation, with so much greater facility shall we be enabled to trace, with so much greater certainty to decide on, the consequences of associations. But it is not to want of knowledge

knowledge or ability that our deficiency is most commonly to be ascribed. It is our own indolence, our own selfishness, our unwillingness to counteract our own prejudices, that prevent us from applying to the subject the degree of understanding and information we possess. For a standard whereby to judge of the tendency of associations, no Christian mother can be at a loss. She, indeed, whose notions of religion extend a little further than to the mere forms of the sect in which she was educated, will here be found to possess a very great advantage. In the morality of the Gospel she has an excellent criterion; and if she conscientiously endeavours to prevent all associations in the minds of her children that are at variance with its precepts, she lays the most probable foundation for their future happiness.

“The system of morality established by Jesus Christ does, indeed, in many respects, differ essentially from the morality of the world. But till it can be proved that the latter is better suited for advancing the dignity of our nature, is better calculated for promoting individual and social happiness, I do not scruple to give a decided preference to the former. To it, therefore, should I endeavour to form the mind. By it should I try the habits, the prejudices, (for they can scarcely be called opinions), that are acquired in infancy; and while I did so, I would submit my own prejudices, my own opinions, to the same test. ‘There are few indi-

viduals (says Stewart) whose education has been conducted in every respect with attention and judgment. Almost every man of reflexion is conscious, when he arrives at maturity, of many defects in his mental powers, and of many inconvenient habits which might have been prevented or remedied in his infancy or youth. Such a consciousness is the first step towards improvement; and the person who feels it, if he is possessed of resolution and steadiness, will not scruple to begin a new course of education for himself.—It is never too late (he adds) to think of the improvement of our faculties.’ It is never too late, I would add, to examine our opinions with attention; so that we may be able to discriminate between those which have been adopted by the understanding on a rational conviction of their truth, and those that are the offspring of false associations deeply impressed upon our minds in early life. Without such an examination of our opinions, we shall, in educating our children, be but perpetuating the reign of prejudice and error. If even in our religious sentiments or feelings there are any that will not stand the test I have mentioned*, though we may not immediately be able to detect their fallacy, we ought, at least, to beware of inculcating them; lest by associating with the sacred name of religion, false and injurious impressions of the Deity, or malevolence and ill-will towards any part of his creation, we inadvertently lay the foundation of a blind and

*“‘There can be nothing in the genuine sentiment, or feelings, occasioned by the Spirit of God, which is not friendly to man, improving to his nature, and co-operating with all that sound philosophy and benignant laws have ever done to advance the happiness of the human race.’—See Dr. Knox’s admirable Treatise of Christian Philosophy, vol. i. p. 254.”

superstitious bigotry, or perhaps of that very scepticism against which we, with so much zeal, but so little judgment, attempt to guard.

“The power of association over the mental faculties is extremely obvious: but I shall postpone the consideration of it, till we come to treat of the cultivation of the understanding; and at present confine myself to an examination of those early associations which affect the heart*. The influence of these has not, I believe, been generally attended to so much as the importance of the subject seems to require. Love and hatred are the great springs of human action. In their various modifications they give rise to every passion and affection of the human soul; and according to the objects with which they are associated, and to the passions which they produce, will vice or virtue predominate in

the character of the individual. How far the primary passions of love and hatred, with their several dependent passions, may be, and actually are, influenced by early association, it shall now be my endeavour to explain by the most obvious and familiar examples.

“By tracing the rise of the malevolent passions, to the earliest stage of life, I shall, as I hope, give a powerful incentive to maternal vigilance; and by showing how the benevolent affections may, at the same early period, be inspired, I give a new motive to maternal virtue. Such at least, is the glorious aim I have in view; and were all mothers possessed with the same zeal for the happiness of their offspring as is felt by my friend, I should not despair of its accomplishment. Adieu.”

* The reader will observe, that in making the heart the seat of the passions, I make use of the popular language, without contending for its propriety; it is sufficient for my purpose, that it is intelligible.”

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, applicable to PRIVATE and DOMESTIC PURPOSES in GREAT-BRITAIN.

[FROM CAPPER'S OBSERVATIONS on the WINDS and MONSOONS.]

“THE tables in the Philosophical Transactions, those of bishop Watson, Dr. Robertson, and major Hayman Rooke, all tend to prove, that the rainy season of these islands commences in June, and continues for the two or three subsequent months; and that the greatest quantity of rain falls almost invariably in the month of July. This is the fact; let us consider what use may be derived from it by the farmer.

“In the neighbourhood of London, from the great command of manure and the goodness of the roads, the farmer is able to bring forward his grass, and to mow it sometimes at the beginning of June, and always by the end of the month; thus he completely finishes his hay harvest before the summer solstice; the solstitial rains therefore which follow, but seldom commence before this time, are extremely beneficial to him: they bring forward the aftermath, they swell the corn and increase the length of the straw; and having finished one harvest the farmer is completely prepared for the other. But it is only within a few years,

that agriculture was in such an improved state, even near the capital, as to admit of an early hay harvest; and I am sorry to say, that nine years in ten at least, in the highly gifted county of Glamorgan, even at the present day, the hay is regularly spoiled in making. But let not this circumstance be considered as reflecting upon the farmers of that country, who are far from deficient either in industry or a competent knowledge of their business. Their country, possessing every possible natural advantage, has not, until lately, had any good turnpike roads; manure was to be had only in small quantities; the little there was it became difficult and expensive to put on the land, and consequently they could not bring forward their grass to be cut before the middle of July. The rains, therefore, so beneficial to the London farmer were hurtful to them; but as it happened almost every year, they patiently submitted to what they considered irremediable; for being situated near the sea, they supposed it the natural consequence of their climate and soil,

“ But

“ But turnpike roads being now made throughout the country, and safe, expeditious, and cheap conveyances being opened, by means of the canals, from the interior of the country to the sea, and labourers of every description resorting in great numbers to the hills, where they are employed to work the mines of iron, lime, and coal, the produce of the country will in future be consumed on the spot, and necessarily increase the quantity of manure. In the course of a few years, then, the valleys at least will come into a high state of cultivation, and both the hay and corn harvests in Glamorganshire will be as early and productive as those of any other county of Great-Britain. The experienced farmer would not thank me for any remarks on the great advantages to be derived from having fodder of a superior quality for his horses, cattle, and sheep.

“ As the solstitial rains are always accompanied with westerly and south-westerly winds, the mariner will readily comprehend, that this season is unfavourable for ships outward bound to the West Indies and America, and consequently the reverse for those which are homeward bound from those countries.

“ It is usual for English travellers to fix the middle of July for their summer excursions, but they must constantly expect to be interrupted by heavy showers of rain. To one class of them however this circumstance may be considered as an advantage: it has lately been the fashion to visit Wales, and, amidst its wild romantic scenery, the waterfalls are in the height of their beauty at this season.

“ The next meteorological general fact worthy of observation is; that frequent violent gales of wind hap-

pen soon after the autumnal equinox. Without dwelling much on the advantages of these high winds, which are known to strip the trees of their leaves, and are said to contribute greatly, by the agitation of them, to the fall of the sap, I shall beg leave to observe, that the little summer of St. Martin, which follows these gales, and is probably the effect of them, continues from the beginning to the 22d of November. This interval of clear weather is particularly useful to the farmer and the gardener; to the former in ploughing and sowing winter and summer fallows, to the latter in pruning and dressing his trees after the fall of the leaf, and when the return of the sap is completed.

“ As to the winter, it is well known that little is to be done in the country at this time, except the carrying of manure; but it is important both to the farmer and gardener to remember, that the hard weather seldom begins before Christmas, and in very severe winters a hard frost is generally preceded or accompanied, in the early part of it, by a heavy fall of snow. Thus secured, the wheat and herbage of every kind is safe from external cold; for snow being a non-conductor of heat, the internal warmth of the earth, which at all seasons is equal at least to 46 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, rises, and is retained near the surface; and when the thaw takes place, vegetation, having been preserved under this excellent covering of the sheet of snow, is found to be in a very advanced and improved state.

“ The mariner at this inclement season will seldom go to sea if he can avoid it; but voyages to the West Indies may be undertaken in the

The winter, provided there is a good outset from the channel by the help of easterly or north-easterly winds. As the spring approaches, the easterly winds commence: the March winds and April showers, says the honest countryman, bring forth May flowers; and it is supposed, that the motion of the trees at the vernal equinox contributes to raise the sap and develop nature, which seems to have been in a state of torpor or necessary repose during the winter. The prudent farmer avails himself of these winds also to sow his oats, barley, pease, beans, potatoes, &c. The drying quality of these winds, on which I have already pretty fully expatiated, takes from the earth what would otherwise be a superabundant degree of moisture on the surface of it.

“ At this season, likewise, the British mariner becomes particularly active. He may undertake his voyages to all countries situated to the southward of these islands; and if bound to the East Indies in particular, he may perform the voyage almost to a certainty in less than four months. The N. E. winds being favourable for ships outward bound, they are of course adverse to those that are homeward bound; therefore it would be prudent to postpone, if possible, entrance into the channel to the end of May, or the beginning of June.

“ In short, the spring is the most favourable season for outward-bound ships, and the summer for those returning home. In the autumn the winds generally incline to the W. but rather towards the N. than the S.; and in winter they are often from the N. E. but the heavier gales of wind almost always come from the N. W.

“ After having pointed out to the farmer and gardener, the mariner

and the traveller, the winds which prevail at different seasons of the year, and which, in examining several meteorological registers kept in Great-Britain for upwards of fifty years, I have found to be almost as periodical as those in the tropics, I shall proceed to a further application of this hypothesis to domestic purposes.

“ It appears that in these islands the W. and S. W. winds prevail three-fourths of the year, and the E. and N. E. only one-fourth. In all parts of Great-Britain the S. W. is esteemed the most rainy point of the compass.

“ In building houses, granaries, or storehouses of any kind, therefore, in all parts of Great-Britain and Ireland, great care should be taken not to place buildings to the E. or N. E. of any lake or standing pool of water, but particularly of marshes or fens; and where a choice is permitted, it would perhaps be prudent to erect our habitations to the W. and S. W. of every river and canal; for if situated to the eastward of them, according to this hypothesis, the wind will blow upon the buildings three-fourths of the year, bringing with it the additional moisture of the river or canal, and consequently will render it damp and unwholesome; whereas if placed westward of these sources of moisture, the air from the eastward, which is rather too dry, in passing over large bodies of water, will absorb a certain quantity of the moisture in solution in the atmosphere, and the dampness of it of course will be by these means in some degree diminished: but at all events, as the wind blows from the eastward three months of the year only, a house thus situated will be less damp than one placed to the westward, exactly in proportion to the

the difference of time each different wind blows, that is, as three to nine; and for this reason every person should recollect that the W. and S. W. sides of a house are always the most damp.

"It seems needless to expatiate on the necessity of applying these observations in particular to situations near marshes or fens. The fatal consequences of the exhalations from these places are very well known; and therefore I shall content myself with having pointed out to those, who are unavoidably obliged to live near them, the most effectual means of partly avoiding their effects. If any persons can for a moment entertain a doubt of their baneful influence, I must beg leave to refer them to the first book of the classical and elegant poem on health by the learned and ingenious Dr. Armstrong, whose salutary advice I shall not attempt to disguise in the tame language of prose; nor would I wish, by a partial quotation, to deprive the reader of the pleasure of gratifying himself by a general reference to the original.

"Although our atmosphere in particular places is impregnated with noxious vapours, fortunately for the inhabitants of these islands they are not subject to the baneful influence of poisonous winds; nor can they scarcely consider themselves exposed to the ravages of hurricanes. The tempests, which sometimes are known in our temperate climate, can scarcely be deemed more than storms, especially when compared with those in the tropic. But a brief recapitulation of the fundamental principles of our theory will best distinguish the names and characters of every kind of wind.

"All winds are supposed to be

produced by the joint effects of rarefaction and condensation. These two principles acting near the middle of the South Atlantic, the Pacific, or any other wide expanse of ocean unbroken by land, will produce two currents of air, one from the E. following the course of the sun, and another nearly N. or S. from the frozen regions near the pole. These two currents of air moving through nearly an equal space, and nearly with equal velocity, over a surface of equal temperature, at length unite, and form a N. E. and S. E. perennial, commonly called a trade wind.

"Where a considerable body of land intervenes, particularly in the tropics, new points of rarefaction and condensation take place, sufficiently powerful to counteract the former more remote, and therefore more feeble causes; and thus the monsoon, or any other periodical wind, will be formed.

"But in high latitudes, near extensive tracts of both sea and land, where the points of rarefaction and condensation are more irregular but moderate, and the changes of temperature much more frequent, the winds in those parts of the globe will necessarily become more variable, and also less violent.

"But perhaps it will be asked, by what means opposite currents of air are observed in the same place? or, in common language, while the wind blows one way, why the clouds apparently move another? The term wind, mentioned as something distinct from the current of air in this question, is, I believe, the cause of all the doubts and perplexities, and very often in this inquiry misleads even experienced philosophers themselves. For my own part, I feel little doubt that these opposite currents

ents of air are imputable to electrical agency, as they almost always precede thunder-storms; for when a considerable portion of the atmosphere in the upper regions is rarefied by means either of electrical or common fire, the surrounding bodies of air will suddenly rush towards the point of rarefaction to

fill up the vacuum. But when all the phenomena of electricity, and the various causes of heat, are perfectly known, it will, I doubt not, be as easy to calculate and predict the course and strength of winds, as it now is to foretell the flux and reflux of the tides, and the regular return of eclipses."

General METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS made in ENGLAND.

[From the Same.]

THOSE who are furnished with proper instruments, and who carefully observe the information they afford, will not often be mistaken in their judgment of the changes of the weather. The barometer, the thermometer, the hygrometer, and the electrometer, will generally give us timely notice of any material change in the state of the atmosphere. But before we consider the best, or at least the usual modes of employing these instruments, we will beg leave to mention some common remarks of the peasantry, whose professions requiring them to live much in the open air, their opinions merit very great attention, being the result of local observation, continued from father to son, and verified from the experience of many ages. Amongst the first of these is one, now established into a proverb, that a rainbow in the morning is the shepherd's warning, but the rainbow at night is the shepherd's delight.

"In a country with the sea or ocean to the westward, and the wind from the same quarter, this opinion is likely to be true; for at least nine-tenths of the rain in a country so situated would come

from that side. If, therefore, the clouds to the westward in the morning are saturated with moisture, which they must be to produce a rainbow, as these clouds proceed from the west towards the east, they probably will produce rain; whereas, on the contrary, when the sun sets perfectly clear, and the clouds to the eastward are moist, it is a proof that the wet clouds are past, with a westerly wind, and the shepherd therefore may reasonably expect fine weather on the following day.

"When it rains with an east wind, it probably will rain for twenty-four hours. This is another observation, which seems to me applicable to countries situated as above mentioned, with land to the eastward; for in general the weather is dry in these countries with an east wind, but when the cohesion of the air and water is broken, the rain will not be violent, but of long duration.

"The weather generally clears at noon; but when it rains at mid-day, it seldom clears up again till sun-set. The air, when dry and warm, continues to absorb and retain the moisture continually evaporated

[144] METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS made in ENGLAND.

evaporated from the earth; as, therefore, the sun advances towards the meridian, and for an hour or two afterwards, he dries and warms the air, and consequently the rain is likely to cease at that time. But if there should be so much water in solution in the atmosphere, that the heat of the sun is not sufficient to produce these effects, in that case the rain will probably continue some hours longer.

“Violent winds generally abate towards sun-set.

“If we admit that wind is only a current of air put in motion by the rarefaction of the atmosphere in some particular place, and that this current of air is moving towards the point of rarefaction to restore the equilibrium, we must suppose, that as the sun declines the rarefaction will diminish, and consequently the velocity of the wind decrease. But this observation, in my opinion, rather applies to the temperate than to the torrid zone; for in whirlwinds and hurricanes the contrary may very often occur.

“When the wind follows the course of the sun, it is generally attended with fair weather. This frequent and regular change of wind, which is never more than a moderate breeze, proves that there is no point of considerable rarefaction near; and, therefore, the current of air follows immediately the sun's course: it always happens in summer, but very seldom when the sun's meridian altitude is less than forty degrees.

“The changes which take place in the atmosphere are principally marked by the rising and falling of the barometer, which apparently is caused by heat and cold, the hands with which nature performs

her meteorological operations: by the former the atmosphere is rarefied, and consequently becomes light; by the latter it is condensed, and consequently becomes heavy. Hence probably the old remark, that a storm generally follows a calm; for during a calm the air is rarefied and expanded, and the cold air will rush forward in a strong current to restore the equilibrium, and necessarily produce what is generally called a gale of wind, the violence of which also will of course be in proportion to the degree of the preceding rarefaction.

“For these reasons, the barometer falls suddenly whilst the air is expanded before a gale of wind, and rises again gradually as the condensed air returns; and the gale in like manner by degrees subsides.

“It must however be observed, that an extraordinary fall of the mercury will sometimes take place in summer, previous to heavy showers of rain, particularly if attended with thunder and lightning; but in spring, autumn, and winter, the sudden extraordinary descent of the barometer indicates principally violent wind.

“Upon these principles likewise we may account for the rise and fall of the barometer in the different zones. In the torrid zone, particularly at St. Helena and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, it seldom varies more than three-tenths; at Madras about five-tenths; in the south of Europe not more than one-inch and two-tenths; in England it varies two inches and a half, and in Petersburg three inches four-tenths. In the two first the temperature of the atmosphere is not subject to much variation, and never to any great degree of condensation.

densation. In the third, reckoning from the tropics to the latitude of forty, the atmosphere may sometimes be suddenly condensed by currents of cold air from the north, and still more so in England. But the greatest variation must necessarily take place on the continent to the northward, where, during the summer, the weather is as hot as within the tropics; and, in winter, the thermometer, for many weeks, continues several degrees below the freezing point.

"The thermometer also, which measures the degree of heat in the air near the earth, will contribute towards denoting when changes are likely to take place in the lower regions of the atmosphere; the hygrometer distinguishes the quantity of moisture in the atmosphere, and the electrometer will point out the quantity of electricity which prevails in it.

"The words generally engraven on the plates of the barometer rather serve to mislead than to inform, for the changes of the weather depend rather on the rising and falling of the mercury, than on its standing at any particular height. When the mercury is as high as fair, or at thirty degrees, and the surface of it is concave, beginning to descend, it very often rains; and on the contrary, when even the mercury is at twenty-nine degrees, opposite to rain, when the surface of it is convex, beginning to rise, fair weather may be expected. These circumstances not being known, or not duly attended to, is the principal cause that farmers and others have not a proper confidence in this instrument.

"It must also be observed that, *ceteris paribus*, the mercury is higher in cold than in warm weather, and
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commonly early in the morning; or late in the evening, than at noon, which seems occasioned by the obvious causes of the atmosphere being condensed by the cold of the night, and rarefied by the heat of the day.

"The following observations of Mr. Patrick seem confirmed by experience.

"1. The rising of the mercury presages, in general, fair weather, and its falling foul weather, as rain, snow, high winds, and storms.

"2. In very hot weather the fall of the mercury indicates thunder.

"3. In winter the rising presages frost; and in frosty weather, if the mercury falls three or four divisions, there will certainly follow a thaw; but in a continued frost, if the mercury rises, it will certainly snow.

"4. When foul weather happens soon after the falling of the mercury, expect but little of it; and, on the contrary, expect but little fair weather when it proves fair shortly after the mercury has risen.

"5. In foul weather, when the mercury rises much and high, and so continues for two or three days before the foul weather is quite over, then expect a continuance of fair weather to follow.

"6. In fair weather, when the mercury falls much and low, and thus continues for two or three days before the rain comes on, then expect a great deal of wet, and probably high winds.

"7. The unsettled motion of the mercury denotes uncertain and changeable weather.

"But to these remarks may be added, that, when the barometer suddenly falls two or three tenths, without any material alteration in

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the thermometer, and the hygrometer is not much turned towards moist, a violent gale of wind may be expected. When the hygrometer inclines far towards moist, with only a trifling descent in the barometer, it denotes a passing shower and little wind; and when the barometer falls considerably, and the hygrometer turns much towards moist, the thermometer remaining stationary, and rather inclined to rise than fall, both violent wind and rain are likely to follow in the course of a few hours.

“ General or common Prognostics of the Weather.

“ Amongst these we may reckon such as are derived from birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and plants; to which might be added great part of the wood-work in houses, as doors, windows, window-shutters, &c.

“ Birds in general retain in the quill-part of their feathers a quantity of oil; which, when they feel an extraordinary degree of moisture in the atmosphere, they express, by means of their bills, and distribute it over their feathers, to secure their bodies against the effects of an approaching shower.

“ Swallows, in pursuit of the flies and insects on which they prey, keep near the earth in wet weather; and in dry weather, from the same cause, they fly much higher.

“ Domestic animals, as cows and sheep, but particularly the latter, on the approach of rain, feed with great avidity in the open field, and retire near the trees and hedges as soon as they are satisfied. In fine weather they graze and lounge about, eating and resting alternately with apparent indifference.

“ The pimpernel, commonly called peep-a-day, or shepherd’s

weather-glass, closes its leaves before rain; and the down of the dandelion is much affected by moisture.

“ All wood, even the hardest and most solid, swells in moist weather. The vapours insinuate themselves into the pores of trees, and also into the wood-work of houses.

“ Insects and reptiles of all kinds seek or avoid rain according to their respective habits, by these means giving notice of every change of weather.

“ It is a well-known fact, that before rain, particularly in summer, a strong smell is perceived from drains and common sewers, as well as from every other body emitting a great quantity of effluvia. During fair weather, even in summer, the atmosphere readily absorbs all the vapours and exhalations from the earth until it is completely saturated, and consequently the effluvia from the bodies which emit them will then be confined and ascend in a narrow compass, like the smoke of a chimney in dry weather, almost perpendicularly; but when the air is saturated with moisture, and becomes rarefied and expanded, as it always does before rain, the volume of air containing the effluvia will be extended horizontally, and diverge from these different bodies as from a centre, and will be sensibly perceived on all sides, but will of course be most perceptible on that to which the current of air or wind moves.

“ In winter, when the thermometer is between thirty-four and forty degrees, the air being in a state of condensation, and the running water being warmer than the land, a mist or fog may be seen rising above the river, particularly when the air is cold and clear; but this vapour

vapour is no longer visible when the river is frozen; for though the ice be subject to evaporation, it does not yield so much vapour as water; and the water, in parting with its caloric in the moment of freezing, warms the surrounding air.

“ To the philosopher all objects in nature, both animate and inanimate,

may afford both amusement and instruction, particularly in meteorology; but to observe them with due attention, we must quit the busy scenes of life; ‘ and thus our
‘ lives exempt from public haunts,
‘ find tongues in trees, books in the
‘ running brooks, sermons in stones,
‘ and good in every thing.”

On BLIGHTS.

[From the same Work.]

“ **B**LIGHTS are diseases incident to plants, but affecting them variously. In some the leaves only are withered, in others the leaves and blossoms; some do not lose much either of their colour or shape, others again seem shrivelled or scorched, and very soon entirely perish. Some persons suppose, that blights come from the eastward, and others from the westward; and by many it is believed that they are frosts which descend from the upper regions of the atmosphere. Insects are often found on the trees which have suffered from blights, whence it is also imagined that some kinds of blights proceed from immense number of insects, which are bred in particular places, and are transported by the winds towards the plants which they destroy.

“ Experience confirms the existence of almost all these different blights. We will offer a few conjectures on the subject, and attempt to explain from what causes they are derived.

“ In the spring vegetation commences, and frequently in the month of April the peach and nectarine trees are in blossom. About

the same time, the earth being warmed by the return of the sun, the current of air will come in strong gusts from the ocean, and produce those winds, which are generally known by the name of the equinoxial gales. The blossoms of those fruit-trees, therefore, which are not sheltered towards the westward, will be blown off before the fruit is formed, and produce those blights which affect the blossoms and not the leaves. But the current of air which comes from the eastward about the same season, being excessively dry, absorbs all the moisture, both on the leaves and fruit, and produces that parching kind of blight which curls up the leaves and destroys the fruit, and sometimes kills the trees themselves. When the leaves are parched, and the texture of them is broken, the perspirable matter becomes viscous, and by adhering to the leaves affords both shelter and nutriment to insects. When the young are hatched, they begin to prey upon the leaves, and if they are not removed in due time will ultimately destroy the trees. I was led to make these reflections from observations made in

my own garden for seven years successively. On the north side of it is a stone wall, coped with brick, of one hundred and thirty yards in length and twelve feet high. Against this wall are planted eighteen peach and nectarine trees, one Cressan pear, and two or three small vines, kept very closely pruned. The trees are planted in a border of four feet in breadth, on a soil of loam and black earth, of about twenty inches depth, on a gravel. The soil is nearly the same as the rest of the gardens in the valley near Cardiff. The wall is built of the same materials, of the same height, and its aspect corresponds nearly with that of other gardens, being about S. by W. or S. S. W.; and the trees are pruned by the same person who works for many other families in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, when their trees entirely fail, these have borne regularly every year four times as much fruit as we choose to leave on the trees to ripen; and the fruit, so abundant, has likewise been of the best quality. The trees are about fourteen years old, and consist of the Magdalene, Rambouilet, Royal George, and Newington peaches, and the Brignon, Etronge, Murray, and Roman nectarines. It may be proper to observe, that no manure is used to these trees, but every year a small quantity of pure virgin earth is put on the border, which is also dug in a good spade deep, both in spring and autumn.

"As therefore the trees in my own garden have never failed, and there appears no difference between them and those belonging to my neighbours, excepting that their walls are exposed to the equinoxial gales and the east wind, from

both which my wall is sheltered, I am much disposed to conclude, that the blights from which they suffer are to be ascribed to those causes.

"It sometimes happens that the nectarine-trees have been slightly attacked by a blight, and the peaches have escaped, though planted alternately with the latter on the same wall. As the blight parched and curled the leaves, I suppose that it came from the east in the manner above described; and it is probable, that this current of air attacked the leaves of the nectarines without injuring the peaches, on account of the superior delicacy of the leaves of the former, or perhaps from their being more porous, and suffering more from evaporation. This blight, however, has only once occurred; these remarks, therefore, are intended as mere suggestions or hints on the subject. If the nectarines should frequently suffer, and the peaches never, it may probably be ascribed to the different qualities of their leaves; but if the contrary should happen, we must then refer to some other cause.

"A wall with a projecting coping is supposed to be favourable to fruit-trees, in protecting their leaves and blossoms from the descent of cold dews, which early in the spring are accompanied with frost; but this plan does not seem to me entirely free from objection; at least it appears necessary to have this a moveable fence, for when the danger of the frost is over, the descent of the dews are necessary to refresh the trees and swell the fruit, which will never come to perfection from being artificially watered. Besides in hot dry weather the expense of labour for this kind of work would be very

very heavy; the gardeners would not begin their work in due time; but even if we suppose them to be active and attentive, the absorbents of the leaves and fruit would take up ten times as much moisture in

the course of the night, and early in the morning, as they would receive from the sprinkling of the water-pot throughout the whole day."

ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF SILVER IN HERLAND COPPER-MINE.
By the REV. MALACHY HITCHINS. Communicated by the Right
Hon. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.

[From the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS for the Year 1801. Part 1.]

"HERLAND mine is situated in the parish of Gwinear, about seven miles N. E. of St. Michael's Mount, on the southern coast of Cornwall; and two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Hayle, on the northern coast of the same county: it is contiguous to Prince George mine.

"It commences in a valley on the west, and passes through a hill, which is first of steep and then of moderate ascent, for upwards of half a mile eastward; when the principal copper lodes, which follow this direction, meet with a large cross lode, by which and by other cross courses and flookans, which intersect them in their further progress, they are repeatedly heaved, and so disordered by these heaves, in their form and position, and so changed by them, in respect to their composition, as hardly to be recognised.

"The strata of the district in which this takes place, consist of the common metalliferous sort of argillaceous slate called *killas*.

"The copper lodes of this district are remarkable for the shortness of their continuity: for, whereas other lodes may be traced to an indefinite extent in the same line of direction, these, on the contrary, are observed to taper away

gradually, and terminate, to all appearance, at a short distance, completely and irrecoverably.

"This mine was worked about twenty years ago, when it was sunk to the depth of one hundred fathoms from the surface. It was again set to work about eight years since; has now four fire-engines and two steam-whims on it; and is sunk to a depth of one hundred and fifty-five fathoms below the surface, or, as the miners call it, from *grass*.

"It is in this latter period of its history, that a discovery has been made of a considerable quantity of silver ore, in a particular part of the mine, the singularity of which discovery, in this country, has much excited the curiosity of the public.

"For, although the numerous veins of lead in Cornwall are richly impregnated with silver, and occasionally yield small quantities of silver ores, and even specimens of native silver, yet, hitherto, no instance had been known of their yielding this precious metal in such abundance; nor had any circumstances, in the natural history of the mineral veins of this country, borne any analogy to those which accompanied the present discovery.

"These circumstances therefore, having been examined with

more attention than usual, shall be stated with as much precision as it is possible to obtain, from the report of those practical miners only who have hitherto inspected them.

" The facts which deserve to be first noticed are, the confined and insulated position of the mass of silver ore; its great depth from the surface of the mine; and its contiguity to a copper lode.

" The lode in which it occurs is one of those cross courses, as they are here called, which intersect and derange the copper lodes, and consequently are of a more recent formation.

" Lodes in this direction are usually filled with quartz, but frequently produce galena; and sometimes, instead of galena, sulphurated antimony. They appear here to conform to the same laws, except in the particular instance now to be described, which forms, indeed, a very remarkable exception.

" No ores in silver were observable in this lode, until at the depth of one hundred and ten fathoms from the surface, or eighty below the adit or level; and, at the further depth of thirty-two fathoms, they disappeared.

" They have been discovered only in the neighbourhood of one of the intersected copper lodes, extending no where above twelve feet from this lode, on the north, or above thirty-two feet from it, on the south, and acquiring thus their greatest extent at the deepest level; for, the usual dimensions of the silver ore are not more than six feet in the former situation, and twelve feet in the latter.

" It is remarkable, that at the point of contact or intersection, the contents of the silver lode are so poor as to be scarcely worth

having; and those of the copper lode are much less productive of copper than at a little distance from this point. Moreover, that the copper lode, in the vicinity of the intersection, seems to have been influenced by the same causes of improvement and declension as the cross lode; being richer or poorer in copper, as the latter was, at a correspondent level, in silver.

" The richest mass of silver ore was found at the depth of two fathoms above the level at which it disappears.

" After this brief account of the most striking facts, it may be proper to enter into a more particular description of the two lodes which appear, by their intersection, to have generated this body of extraneous matter.

" The copper lode bears nearly east and west by the compass; the cross lode nearly north and south, or at right angles to it.

" The former is about two feet broad, on an average: and it dips or underlies south, one foot in a fathom. The breadth of the latter is about two feet and a half, on an average; and its underlie is east, about eight inches in a fathom.

" The heave of the copper lode is about eighteen or twenty inches to the right, in the language of the Cornish miner; the expression being so far appropriate and convenient, as it refers to the usual situation of the observer in the heaved lode.

" The copper lode is filled with layers of ore and stony matter, the latter of which is here called capk; but the ore is usually found contiguous to the walls of the lode.

" The contents of the cross lode are more singular, in respect to their local position, and more various. Only the eastern side of it produces

produces silver ore, the breadth of which is, in general about six or eight inches, although in some places it is greater. The other part of the lode is chiefly composed of quartz, intermixed with iron, manganese, and wolfram, together with a small portion of cobalt and antimony.

“ The silver ore, strictly speaking, is a mixture of galena, native bismuth, grey cobalt ore, vitreous silver ore, and native silver; which, in respect to their proportions, follow the order in which they are here enumerated, the galena being the most prevalent. The native silver, of which specimens of the greatest beauty have been reserved for the cabinets of the curious, is found chiefly in a capillary form, in the natural cavities of the lode.

“ About one hundred and eight tons of this ore have been raised. The miners continue to sink near the same point of intersection; and seem confident that both lodes will soon become richer, because similar instances of declension and recovery have frequently occurred in the copper lodes of this mine, and because the two lodes appear to have a reciprocal influence on each other,

“ Unfortunately, however, the

extent of their speculation is limited by the great depth of the present workings; for, forty-five fathoms have been sunk since the first discovery of the silver; and twenty, or twenty-five fathoms more, are as much as can be sunk in this mine, with its present mechanical powers of drawing the water; at which level, viz. one hundred and eighty fathoms from the surface, it would be somewhat deeper than any mine in Cornwall, and about one hundred and thirty fathoms below the level of the sea, at low water mark.

“ The other cross lodes in this mine produce no silver; most of them being flookans, or lodes which are essentially different from the argentiferous cross lode, in the nature of their constituent mass. There is one, however, in the eastern part of the mine, which, from its resemblance to that, is thought likely to produce silver, whenever it shall be explored to the same depth, at its point of intersection; although these hopes may probably be fallacious, for the argentiferous lode intersects five other copper lodes, viz. two on the north, and three on the south side, without producing any silver.”

CONCLUSION of DR. HERSCHEL'S OBSERVATIONS to investigate the NATURE of the SUN.

[From the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS for 1801. Part II.]

“ FROM these two last sets of observations, one of which establishes the scarcity of the luminous clouds, while the other shows their great abundance, I think we may reasonably conclude, that there must be a manifest difference in the emission of light and heat from the sun. It appears to me, if I may be permitted the metaphor,

taphor, that our sun has for some time past been labouring under an indisposition, from which it is now in a fair way of recovering. An application of the foregoing method, however, even if we were perfectly assured of its being well founded, will still remain attended with considerable difficulties.

“ We see how, in that simple instrument the barometer, our expectations of rain or fair weather, are only to be had by a consideration of many circumstances, besides its actual elevation at the moment of inspection.

“ The tides also present us with the most complicated varieties in their greatest elevation, as well as in the time when they happen on the coasts of different parts of this globe. The simplicity of their cause, the solar and lunar attractions, we might have expected, would have precluded every extraordinary and seemingly discordant result.

“ In a much higher degree, may the influence of more or less light and heat from the sun, be liable to produce a great variety in the severity or mildness of the seasons of different climates, and under different local circumstances; yet, when many things which are already known to affect the temperature of different countries, and others which future attention may still discover, come to be properly combined with the results we propose to draw from solar observations, we may possibly find this subject less intricate than we might apprehend on a first view of it.

“ If, for instance, we should have a warm summer in this country, when phenomena observed in the sun indicate the expectation of it, I should by no means consider it as an insurmountable ob-

jection, if it were shown that in another country the weather had not been so favourable. And, if it were generally found that our prognostication from solar observations held good in any one given place, I should be ready to say that, with proper modifications, they would equally succeed in every other situation.

“ Before we can generalise the influence of a certain cause, we ought to confine our experiment to one permanent situation, where local circumstances may be supposed to act nearly alike at all times, which will remove a number of difficulties.

“ To recur to our instance of the tides, if we were to examine the phenomena which they offer to our inspection in any one given place, such as the mouth of the Thames, we should soon be convinced of their agreement with the motion of the sun and moon. A little reflexion would easily reconcile us to every deviation from regularity, by taking into account the direction and violence of winds, the situation of the coast, and other circumstances. Nor should we doubt the truth of the theory of the tides, though high water at Bristol, Liverpool, or Hull, should have been very deficient, at a time when, in the place of our experiments, it had happened to be uncommonly abundant.

“ Now, with regard to the effects of the influence of the sun, we know already, that in the same latitudes the seasons differ widely in temperature: that it is not hottest at noon, or coldest at midnight; that the shortest day is neither attended with the severest frosts, nor the longest day with the most oppressing heats; that large forests, lakes, morasses, and swamps,

swamps, affect the temperature one way; and rocky, sandy, gravelly, and barren situations, in a contrary manner; that the seasons of islands are considerably different from those of large continents, and so forth.

"But it will now be necessary to examine the accounts we already have of the appearance and disappearance of the solar spots, and to compare them with the temperature of the respective times, as far as history will furnish us with records.

"The first thing which appears from astronomical observations is, that the periods of the disappearance of spots on the sun are of much shorter duration than those of their appearance; so that, if the symptoms which have been pointed out, as denoting the state of the sun with regard to light and heat, should be well founded, we ought rather to look upon the absence of spots as a sign of deficiency, than on their presence as one of abundance; and this would justify my expression, of the recovery of the sun from an indisposition, as being a return to its usual splendor.

"In going back to early observations, we cannot expect to meet with a record of such minute phenomena as we have attended to. The method of viewing spots on the sun, by throwing their picture, in a dark room, on a sheet of white paper, is not capable of delicacy; nor were the direct views of former astronomers so distinct as, in the present improved state of the telescope, we can have them; a very imperfect account of solar spots may therefore be ex-

pected, considering our present inquiry, which would require complete observations of every spot, great or small, that has been on the sun during such periods as will be examined.

"With regard to the contemporary severity and mildness of the seasons, it will hardly be necessary to remark, that nothing decisive can be obtained. But, if we are deficient here, an indirect source of information is opened to us, by applying to the influence of the sun-beams on the vegetation of wheat in this country. I do not mean to say, that this is a real criterion of the quantity of light and heat emanated from the sun; much less will the price of this article completely represent the scarcity or abundance of the absolute produce of the country. For the price of commodities will certainly be regulated by the demand for them; and this we know is liable to be affected by many fortuitous circumstances. However, although an argument drawn from a well ascertained price of wheat, may not apply directly to our present purpose, yet, admitting the sun to be the ultimate fountain of fertility, this subject may deserve a short investigation, especially as, for want of proper thermometrical observations, no other method is left for our choice.

"Our historical account of the disappearance of the spots in the sun, contains five very irregular and very unequal periods*. The first takes in a series of twenty-one years, from 1650 to 1670, both included. But it is so imperfectly recorded, that it is hardly safe to draw any conclusions from it; for

* See *Astronomie* par M. de Lalande, § 3235."

we have only a few observations of one or two spots that were seen in all that time, and those were only observed for a short continuance. However, on examining the table of the prices of the quarter of nine bushels of the best or highest priced wheat at Windsor, marked in Dr. Adam Smith's valuable Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations *, we find that wheat, during the time of the twenty-one years above mentioned, bore a very high price; the average of the quarter being $\text{£} 10s. 5\frac{1}{2}d.$ This period is much too long to suppose that we might safely compare it with a preceding or following one of equal duration. Besides, no particulars having been given of the time preceding, except that spots in the sun, a good while before, began to grow very scarce, there might even be fewer of them than from the year 1650 to 1670. Of the twenty-one years immediately following, we know that they certainly comprehend two short periods, in which there were no spots on the sun; of these, more will be said hereafter: but, including even them, we have the average price of wheat, from 1671 to 1691, only $2l. 4s. 4\frac{3}{4}d.$ the quarter. The difference, which is a little more than as nine to eight, is therefore still a proof of a temporary scarcity.

"Our next period is much better ascertained. It begins in December 1678, which year therefore we should not take in, and goes to April 1684; in all which time, Flamsteed, who was then observing, saw no spot in the sun. The average price of wheat, during these eight years, was $2l. 7s. 7d.$

the quarter. We cannot justly compare this price with that of the preceding eight years, as some of the former years of scarcity would come into that period; but the eight years immediately following, that is, from 1685 to 1691, both included, give an average price of no more than $1l. 17s. 1\frac{3}{4}d.$ The difference, which is as full five to four, is well deserving our notice.

"A third but very short period, is from the year 1686 to 1688, in which time Cassini could find no spot in the sun. If both years be included, we have the average price of wheat, for those three years, $1l. 15s. 0\frac{3}{4}d.$ the quarter. We ought not to compare this price with that of the three preceding years, as two of them belong to the preceding period of scarcity; but the three following years give the average price for the quarter of wheat $1l. 12s. 10\frac{3}{4}d.$ or, as nearly eleven to ten.

"The fourth period on record, is from the year 1695 to 1700, in which time no spot could be found in the sun. This makes a period of five years; for, in 1700 the spots were seen again. The average price of wheat, in these years, was $3l. 3s. 3\frac{1}{4}d.$ the quarter. The five preceding years, from 1690 to 1694, give $2l. 9s. 4\frac{1}{4}d.$ and the five following years, from 1700 to 1704, give $1l. 17s. 11\frac{1}{4}d.$ These differences are both very considerable; the last is not less than five to three.

"The fifth period extends from 1710 to 1713; but here there was one spot seen in 1710, none in 1711 and 1712, and again one spot only in 1713. The account of the average price of wheat, for these

* See book i. chap. xi."

four years, is 2*l*. 17*s*. 4*d*. the quarter. The preceding four years, from 1706 to 1709, give the price 2*l*. 2*s*. 7½*d*. and the following years, from 1714 to 1717, it was 2*l*. 6*s*. 9*d*. When the astronomical account of the sun for this period, which has been stated above, is considered, these two differences will be found very considerable; the first of them being nearly as four to three.

“The result of this review of the foregoing five periods is, that, from the price of wheat, it seems probable that some temporary scarcity or defect of vegetation has generally taken place, when the sun has been without those appearances which we surmise to be symptoms of a copious emission of light and heat. In order, however, to make this an argument in favor of our hypothesis, even if the reality of a defective vegetation of grain were sufficiently established by its enhanced price, it would still be necessary to show that a deficiency of the solar beams had been the occasion of it. Now, those who are acquainted with agriculture may remark, that wheat is well known to grow in climates much colder than ours; and that a proper distribution of rain and dry weather, with many other circumstances which it will not be necessary to mention, are probably of much greater consequence than the absolute quantity of light and heat derived from the sun. To this I shall only suggest, by way of answer, that those very circumstances of proper alternations of rain, dry weather, winds, or whatever else may contribute to favor vegetation in this climate, may possibly depend on a certain quantity of sunbeams, transmitted to us at proper times; but, this being a point

which can only be ascertained by future observations, I forbear entering further into a discussion of it.

“It will be thought remarkable, that no later periods of the disappearance of the solar spots can be found. The reason however is obvious. The perfection of instruments, and the increased number of observers, have produced an account of solar spots, which, from their smallness, or their short appearance, would probably have been overlooked in former times. If we should in future only reckon the years of the total absence of solar spots, even that remarkable period of scarcity which has fallen under my own observation, in which nevertheless I have now and then seen a few spots of short duration, and of no great magnitude, could not be admitted.

“For this reason, we ought now to distinguish our solar observations, by reducing them to short periods of symptoms for or against a copious emission of the solar beams, in which, all the phenomena we have pointed out should be noticed. The most striking of them are certainly the number, magnitude, and duration of the openings. The increase and decrease of the luminous appearance of the corrugations is perhaps full as essential; but as it is probable that their brilliancy may be a consequence of the abundance of the former phenomena, an attention to the latter, which is subject to great difficulties, and requires the very best of telescopes, may not be so necessary.

“What remains to be added is but short. In the first of my two series of observations, I have pointed out a deficiency in what appears to be the symptomatic dis-

disposition of the sun for emitting light and heat: it has lasted from the year 1795 to 1800*. That we have had a considerable deficiency in the vegetation of grain, will hardly require any proof. The second series; or rather the commencement of it, for I hope it will last long, has pointed out a favourable return of the rich appearance of the sun. This, if I may venture to judge, will probably occasion a

return of such seasons as, in the end, will be attended by all the usual fertility.

"The subject, however, being so new, it will be proper to conclude, by adding, that this prediction ought not to be relied on by any one, with more confidence than the arguments which have been brought forwards in this paper may appear to deserve."

CASE of a young GENTLEMAN, who recovered his SIGHT when seven YEARS of AGE, after having been deprived of it by CATARACTS, before he was a YEAR old; with REMARKS, By Mr. JAMES WARE, SURGEON.

[From the same Work.]

"MASTER W. the son of a respectable clergyman, at Castle Cary, in Somersetshire, was born in the year 1793; and, for many months, appeared to be a healthy perfect child: his eyes, in particular, were large and rather prominent. When about six months old, he began to cut his teeth; which was attended with great pain, and frequently with violent convulsive fits. About the end of his first year, a number of persons passing in procession near his father's house, accompanied with music and flags, the child was taken to see them; but, instead of looking at the procession, it was observed that, though he was evidently much pleased with the music, his eyes were never directed to the place from whence the sound came. His mother, alarmed by this discovery, was naturally led to try whether he could see silver spoons, and other glaring objects, which she

held before him at different distances; and she was soon convinced, that he was unable to perceive any of them. A surgeon in the country was consulted, who, on examining the child's eyes, discovered an opacity in the pupil, which was so considerable, that he did not hesitate to pronounce there was a complete cataract in each. A description of the child's situation was then sent to me, with a request that I would point out those steps which its parents should pursue. The case was so evident, that I could not hesitate in saying, that the removal of the opaque crystalline humour, from the place it occupied behind the pupil, was the only method by which the child could obtain his sight; and, attached as I was, at that time, in all cases, to the operation of extracting the cataract, in preference to that of depressing it, I added, that I did not think he would be fit for

* This period should properly have been divided into two small ones; but, for want of intermediate solar observations, I have joined the visible deficiencies in the illuminating and heating powers of the sun, from the year 1795 to 1796, and again from 1798 to 1800, into one."

the operation, until he was at least thirteen or fourteen years old. This advice being approved, all thoughts of assisting his sight were, for the present, relinquished. He soon discovered a great fondness for music; his memory was very retentive of the little stories that were read or recited to him; and, in every way, it became evident that he had a mind capable of receiving information. As soon as he could speak, it was also observed, that when an object was held close to his eyes, he was able to distinguish its colour, if strongly marked; but, on no occasion, did he ever notice its outline or figure. In November, 1800, his parents took him to Bristol; whither they went for the purpose of seeing the works carried on in the school for the indigent blind in that city, and in order that they might ascertain whether their son, who was then arrived to his seventh year, could be taught any thing that would be useful or amusing. Here he very quickly learnt the art of making laces. But his parents, having brought him so far from home, thought it adviseable to extend their plan, and make a visit to the metropolis, for the sake of giving me an opportunity of inspecting his eyes, and of hearing whether my opinion continued the same as that which I had written to them six years before. About a month previous to the time of their arrival, a Portuguese boy, fourteen years old, had been put under my care, who was in a similar situation; and, in this case, notwithstanding all the efforts I could use,

I found it impossible to fix the eye, in order to extract the cataract, without employing a degree of force which might have been highly injurious. I therefore relinquished my intention of performing the operation in that way, and determined to make use of the couching needle; being prepared, either to depress the cataract with this instrument, if it was sufficiently solid for the purpose, or, if it was soft or fluid, (which I rather expected,) to puncture its capsule largely, so as to bring the opaque crystalline into free contact with the aqueous and vitreous humours. In order to fix the eye for this operation, I was not afraid to make use of a speculum oculi; since a pressure, which would have been highly dangerous in extracting the cataract, might be applied on the present occasion with perfect safety. Conformably to my expectation, the cataract was of a soft consistence; in consequence of which, I was not able to depress it, and contented myself with making a large aperture through the capsule, by means of which the crystalline was brought into contact with the other humours, a considerable part of it coming forwards, and showing itself directly under the cornea.

“ This being the immediate result of the operation, it could not be expected that any improvement should be made in the sight of the patient at that time. In a few days, however, the opaque matter was wholly absorbed; the pupils became clear; and the lad recovered the sight of both his eyes*.

* It should be remarked, that the sight obtained by children who are born with cataracts, is seldom so perfect as that which those recover, after the operation, who are afflicted with the disorder later in life. In consequence either of some remaining opacity in the crystalline capsule, which hinders the free admission of the rays of light, or of a greater tenuity in the remaining humours of the eye, children require, in general, a much deeper convex glass to enable them to see minute objects; and, at the same time, they are obliged to hold them much nearer their eyes than older persons.”

Encouraged by the success which followed this operation, I was induced to retract the opinion which I had formerly sent to Master W.'s father, (which opinion I had given under the impression that the cataract should be extracted,) and I now proposed, that an attempt should be made to afford relief to one eye, at least without further loss of time; this attempt, in the way above mentioned, being practicable with as much safety at his present age as at any future period; and, if it proved successful, it would give the young gentleman the benefit of vision five or six years sooner than his friends had been encouraged to expect, by my former letter on this subject. They were naturally much pleased with this alteration in my advice; and the child himself appearing to possess a great degree of fortitude, I performed the operation on the left eye, on the 29th of December last, in the presence of Mr. Chamberlain, F. A. S. doctor Bradley, of Baliol college, Oxford, and Mr. Platt, surgeon, in London. It is not necessary, in this place, to enter into a description of the operation. It will be sufficient to say, that the child, during its performance, neither uttered an exclamation, nor made the smallest motion, either with his head or hands. The eye was immediately bound up, and no inquiries made on that day with regard to his sight. On the 30th, I found that he had experienced a slight sickness on the preceding evening, but had made no complaint of pain, either in his head or eye. On the 31st, as soon as I entered his chamber, the mother, with much joy, informed me that her child could see. About an hour before my visit, he was standing near the fire, with a handkerchief tied loosely over his eyes, when he told her that under the handkerchief, which had slipped upward, he could distinguish the table by the side of which she was sitting: it was about a yard and a half from him; and he observed that it was covered with a green cloth, (which was really the case,) and that it was a little further off than he was able to reach. No further questions were asked him at that time; as his mother was much alarmed, lest the use thus made of his eye might have been premature and injurious. Upon examination, I found that it was not more inflamed than the other eye; and the opacity in the pupil did not appear to be much diminished. Desirous, however, to ascertain whether he was able to distinguish objects, I held a letter before him, at the distance of twelve inches, when he told me, after a short hesitation, that it was a piece of paper; that it was square, which he knew by its corners; and that it was longer in one direction than it was in the other. On being desired to point to the corners, he did it with great precision, and readily carried his finger in the line of its longest diameter. I then showed him a small oblong band-box covered with red leather, which he said was red and square, and pointed at once to its four corners. After this, I placed before him an oval silver box, which he said had a shining appearance; and, presently afterwards, that it was round, because it had not corners. The observation, however, which appeared to me most remarkable, was that which related to a white stone mug; which he first called a white bason, but, soon after, recollecting himself, said it was a mug, because it had a handle. These experiments

ments did not give him any pain; and they were made in the presence of his mother, and of Mr. Woodford, a clerk in his majesty's treasury. I held the objects at different distances from his eye, and inquired very particularly if he was sensible of any difference in their situation; which he always said he was, informing me, on every change, whether they were brought nearer to, or carried further from him. I again inquired, both of his mother and himself, whether he had ever, before this time, distinguished by sight any sort of object; and I was assured by both, that he never had, on any occasion; and that, when he wished to discover colours, which he could only do when they were very strong, he had always been obliged to hold the coloured object close to his eye, and a little on one side, to avoid the projection of the nose. No further experiments were made on that day. On the 1st of January, I found that his eye continued quite free both from pain and inflammation, and that he felt no uneasiness on the approach of light. I showed him a table knife; which at first he called a spoon, but soon rectified the mistake, giving it the right name, and distinguishing the blade from the handle, by pointing to each as he was desired. He afterwards called a yellow pocket-book by its name, taking notice of the silver lock in the cover. I held my hand before him; which he knew, but could not at first tell the number of my fingers, nor distinguish one of them from another. I then held up his own hand, and desired him to remark the difference between his thumb and fingers; after which, he readily pointed out the distinctions in mine also. Dark-coloured and smooth

objects were more agreeable to him than those which were bright and rough. On the 3d of January, he saw, from the drawing-room window, a dancing bear in the street; and distinguished a number of boys that were standing round him, noticing particularly a bundle of clothes which one of them had on his head. On the same evening, I placed him before a looking-glass, and held up his hand: after a little time he smiled, and said he saw the shadow of his hand, as well as that of his head. He could not then distinguish his features; but, on the following day, his mother having again placed him before the glass, he pointed to his eyes, nose, and mouth, and seemed much gratified with the sight.

“ Having thus stated the principal observations that were made by master W. I shall now make a brief comparison between this statement which is given in the XXXVth volume of the Philosophical Transactions of Mr. Cheselden's patient, who was supposed to be born blind, and obtained his sight when he was between thirteen and fourteen years old.

“ It should be observed, that though master W. was six years younger than Mr. Cheselden's patient, he was remarkably intelligent, and gave the most direct and satisfactory answers to every question that was put to him. Both of them, also, if not born blind, lost their sight so very early, that, as Mr. Cheselden expresses it, ‘ they had not any recollection of having ever seen.’

“ My first remark is, that, contrary to the experience of Mr. Cheselden's patient, who is stated ‘ to have been so far from making any judgment of distance, that he thought all objects touched his eyes,

'eyes, as what he felt did his 'skin,' master W. distinguished, as soon as he was able to see, a table, a yard and a half from him; and proved that he had some accuracy in his idea of distance, by saying, that it was a little further off than his hand could reach.— This observation, so contrary to the account we have received of Mr. Cheselden's patient, would have surprised me much more than it did, if I had not previously, in some similar instances, had reason to suspect that children, from whom cataracts had been extracted, had a notion of distance the first moment they were enabled to see. In the instance particularly of a young gentleman from Ireland, fourteen years old, from each of whose eyes I extracted a cataract, in the year 1794, in the presence of Dr. Hamilton, physician to the London Hospital, and who, before the operation, assured me, as did his friends, that he never had seen the figure of any object, Dr. Hamilton and myself were much astonished by the facility with which, on the first experiment, he took hold of my hand at different distances, mentioning whether it was brought nearer to, or carried further from him, and conveying his hand to mine in a circular direction, that we might be the better satisfied of the accuracy with which he did it. In this case, however, and in others of a like nature, although the patients had certainly been blind from early infancy, I could not satisfy myself that they had not, before this period, enjoyed a sufficient degree of sight to impress the image of visible objects on their minds, and to give them ideas which could not afterwards be entirely obliterated. In the instance of master W. however, no suspicion of this

kind could occur; since, in addition to the declaration of himself and his mother, it was proved by the testimony of the surgeon who examined his eyes in the country, that the cataracts were fully formed before he was a year old. And I beg leave to add further, that on making inquiries of two children between seven and eight years of age, now under my care, both of whom have been blind from birth, and on whom no operation has yet been performed, I find that the knowledge they have of colours, limited as it is, is sufficient to enable them to tell whether coloured objects be brought nearer to, or carried further from them; for instance, whether they are at the distance of two inches or four inches from their eyes; nor have either of them the slightest suspicion, as is related of Mr. Cheselden's patient, that coloured objects, when held before them, touch their eyes.

"But the judgment which master W. formed of the different distances of objects, was not the only instance in which he differed from Mr. Cheselden's patient; who, we are informed, 'did not know the figure of any thing, nor any one thing from another, however different in shape and magnitude:' for master W. knew and described a letter, not only as white, but also as square, because it had corners; and an oval silver box, not only as shining, but also as round, because it had not corners: he likewise knew, and called by its name, a white stone mug, on the first day he obtained his sight, distinguishing it from a bason, because it had a handle. These experiments were made in the presence of two respectable persons, as well as myself; and they were several times repeated, to convince us that we could

could not be mistaken in them. I mention the circumstance, however, with much diffidence, being aware that the observations not only differ from those that are related of Mr. Cheselden's patient, but appear, on the first statement, to oppose a principle in optics, which I believe is commonly and justly admitted, that the senses of sight and feeling have no other connection than that which is formed by experience; and, therefore, that the ideas derived from feeling can have no power to direct the judgment, with respect either to the distance or form of visible objects. It should be recollected, however, that persons who have cataracts in their eyes, are not, in strictness of speech, blind, though they are deprived of all useful sight. The instances I have adduced prove, that the knowledge they have of colours is sufficient to give them some idea of distance, even in their darkest state. When, therefore, their sight is cleared by the removal of the opaque crystalline, which intercepted the light, and the colour of objects is thereby made to appear stronger, will it be difficult or unphilosophical, to conceive that their ideas of distance will be strengthened, and so far extended as to give them a knowledge, even of the outline and figure of those objects with the colour of which they were previously acquainted?

“The case which I have here related appears to deserve notice, not only on account of the observations that were made by the patient on recovering his sight, but also on account of the hint which it affords to surgeons, relative both to the mode in which the cataract may best be removed, when children are born with this disorder,
1801.

and the time when it is most proper to perform the operation.

“The Baron de Wenzel, in his ingenious Treatise on the Cataract, with great force of reasoning, deduced from the long and successful experience of his father and himself, recommends, in all cases of this disorder, without making any exceptions, the operation of extraction, in preference to that of depression; and I believe it is now generally acknowledged by medical men, that, in the more common cases, his decision, as to the mode of operating, is perfectly well founded. The Baron admits that the operation is not so certain a cure in children as it is in persons of a more advanced age; both on account of their untractableness, and because, in them, the opacity of the crystalline is not unfrequently accompanied with an opacity in the capsule that contains it. On these accounts, when children are born with this disorder, he advises to postpone the operation, until they are old enough to be made sensible of the loss they sustain by the want of sight, and have firmness of mind to submit patiently to the means that are requisite in order to obtain it. Influenced by this opinion of the Baron, and believing the operation of extraction to be so much superior to that of depression, that the latter ought not, on any occasion, to have the preference, I have given advice, in the cases of a considerable number of children who were born with this disorder, to postpone every attempt to relieve them, until they were thirteen or fourteen years old. Prior to this time, it did not appear to me that children could be depended upon to submit, with due steadiness, to the repeated introduction of instruments, which is
L sometimes

Sometimes necessary in extracting the cataract; and, even at this age, the eyes of some are so small, and in such a constant rolling motion, that it is almost impossible properly to accomplish the operation. The Portuguese lad, whose case has been related, afforded an instance of this kind; and I consider it as a fortunate circumstance that it came under my notice, since, in some degree, it may be said to have obliged me to examine, more attentively than I had before done, the advantages and disadvantages of the operation of depression; which operation, being more easy to perform than that of extraction, has certainly this advantage in the cases of children, (to which alone I here advert,) that it may be performed with equal safety when they are only seven years of age, as it may at any subsequent period of their lives.

“ It is well known that the late Mr. Pott, who published his remarks on the cataract in the year 1775, was a strenuous advocate for this operation; and, though he appears to me to have much underrated the advantages of extraction, it must be allowed that he makes many just and highly pertinent observations on the use of the couching needle, in those cases where the cataract is soft, or fluid. Mr. Pott considered this as a very common state of the disorder; and does not make any distinction between the cataract when it attacks grown persons, and when children are born with it. In the former case, experience inclines me to believe, that the cataract is very rarely fluid, or even soft; whereas, in the latter, I have always found it, agreeable to the observation of the Baron de Wenzel, in one or other of these states. Although,

therefore, in the case of grown persons, the operation of extraction appears to me to have very great advantages over that of depression, yet, in the case of children, I can readily accede to almost the whole that Mr. Pott advances in favour of depression. If the couching needle be passed in the way in which it is usually introduced to depress the cataract, and thereby a large aperture be made in the capsule of the crystalline, (which operation may be performed with perfect safety, and with very little pain to the patient, whilst the eye is fixed with a speculum oculi,) the opaque crystalline, being thus brought into contact with the aqueous and vitreous humours, will, in a shorter or longer space of time, according to its degree of softness, be absorbed; and, if there be not an opacity in the capsule, as well as in the crystalline, the pupil will become clear, and the patient will acquire a very useful sight. If, in addition to the opacity of the crystalline, the capsule be also opaque, and, in consequence of this, the operation do not prove successful, the eye will nevertheless be perfectly uninjured, and it will be as fit, at a subsequent period, to have the capsule extracted, as it would have been if no attempt of the above kind had been previously made.

“ From the foregoing observations, I flatter myself I shall be justified in deducing the following inferences:

“ First, When children are born blind, in consequence of having cataracts in their eyes, they are never so totally deprived of sight as not to be able to distinguish colours; and, though they cannot see the figure of an object, nor even its colour, unless it be placed within

within a very short distance, they nevertheless can tell whether, when within this distance, it be brought nearer to, or carried farther from them.

“ Secondly, In consequence of this power, whilst in a state of comparative blindness, children who have their cataracts removed, are enabled, immediately on the acquisition of sight, to form some judgment of the distance, and even of the outline, of those strongly defined objects with the colour of which they were previously acquainted.

“ Thirdly, When children have been born with cataracts, the crystalline humour has generally, if not always, been found either in a soft or fluid state. If, therefore, it be not accompanied with an opacity, either in the anterior or posterior portion of the capsule, and this capsule be largely punctured with the couching needle, introduced in the way in which this instrument is usually employed to depress the cataract, there is reason to expect that the opaque matter will, sooner

or later, be absorbed, the pupil become clear, and the sight be restored.

“ Fourthly, If, in addition to the opacity of the crystalline humour, its capsule be also opaque, either in its anterior or posterior portion, or in both, (which circumstance cannot be ascertained before the operation,) and, in consequence of this, the operation above mentioned should not prove successful, it will not preclude the performance of extraction afterwards, if this be thought adviseable.

“ Fifthly, The operation above mentioned being much more easy to perform than that of extraction, and it being possible to fix the eye with perfect safety during its performance, by means of a speculum oculi, it may be undertaken at a much earlier age than the latter operation; and a chance may of course be given to the patient, of receiving instruction, without that loss of time which has usually been thought unavoidable, when children are born with this disorder*.

* It ought to be mentioned, that about a month after the abovementioned operation on Master W.'s left eye, I performed a similar operation on the right eye of the same young gentleman. Although he behaved with great firmness on the first occasion, it was not without considerable difficulty that his head was kept steady on the second. The operation, however, gave him very little pain, and no inflammation followed; but the opacity afterwards was not diminished; and he did not acquire any additional sight from this eye. There was an evident mark in that part of the capsule where the couching needle pierced it; though the aperture was too small to admit a sufficient number of rays of light to give an idea of objects. It seems probable that the want of success, in this instance, was owing to an opacity in the capsule, which was incapable of being absorbed. The eye, however, is as fit to have the aperture in the capsule enlarged, or a portion of it removed, when the patient is of a proper age, as if no operation had been previously performed.

“ I beg leave also to add, that since these pages were put together, a case has come under my care, which seems to afford a confirmation of the remarks that have been offered respecting the state of the cataract in children, and the effects that are likely to be produced by the operation of puncturing the capsule that contains it. A young lady, eighteen years old, was put under my care, who had been blind from an early part of her infancy. She had a cataract completely formed in both eyes; and in each there were three or four opaque spots, more white than the rest, which seemed to lie on the surface of the opaque crystalline. I punctured the capsule of each with a couching needle, according to the proposition in the preceding pages, in the presence of Mr. Scott, surgeon, in St. Alban's-street. The operation gave her no pain: and

[164] CASE of a PERSON restored to SIGHT by Mr. WARE.

in the course of a few days, the opacity was evidently diminished, particularly in the right eye, the patient discovering the colour of objects more plainly than before, but being still unable to distinguish their figure. At the end of a month, finding no further improvement in her vision, it appeared to me most probable that the remaining opacity was situated in the capsules. I therefore determined to extract either a part or the whole of each of them. The incisions of the cornea were made in the usual manner; after which, I punctured the anterior parts of both the capsules with the sharp end of a gold curette. The punctures became immediately transparent, without affording an issue to the liquor Meibomii, or any other humour. From hence it seems evident, that nothing was contained within the capsules, or, in other words, that the crystalline humours were absorbed; and it appears to me highly probable, that their absorption had been occasioned by the previous operation of puncturing their capsules with the couching needle. I dilated the new punctures with the end of the curette; and, afterwards, being still afraid that the apertures in the capsules might not be large enough to admit a sufficient number of the rays of light, I removed a portion of each of them with a small forceps. This was accomplished in the left eye, without occasioning the discharge of any part of the vitreous humour; and, in the right, the quantity of this humour that came away was very small. In the course of a week, the inflammation that followed the operation was nearly removed; a large portion of both pupils was quite clear; and the young lady distinguished objects with quickness and precision."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

On CONVERSATION.

[From GRAVES'S SENILITIES, OF SOLITARY AMUSEMENTS.]

Μισὸν μνημονὸν συμπαῖδιον

‘I hate a *pal*-companion with a good memory.’

“THERE cannot be a more severe satire on the usual strain of convivial conversation, than is implied in this proverbial maxim of the ancient Greeks. It betrays a consciousness of the trifling, if not absurd or reprehensible kind of communication which too often prevails on those occasions. The most cautious and reserved, in the freedom of social intercourse frequently let fall some remarks or expressions which they would wish to recall, or would blush to have remembered or repeated. And the herd of jovial companions generally talk at random, or indulge themselves in such incoherent, unmeaning loquacity, as can neither be remembered nor repeated. As they sacrifice more to Bacchus than to Minerva, their wine puts wisdom to flight, and folly reigns triumphant.

‘I drank! I lik’d it not, ’twas rage, ’twas
‘noise,

‘An airy scene of transitory joys.

‘And when, at dawn of day, fair reason’s light

‘Broke through the fumes and phantoms
‘of the night,

‘What had been said, I ask’d myself.’

PR. 102.

“In general, indeed, those agreeable conversations which we daily hear mentioned as having been enjoyed even in the society of distinguished characters, if rigidly scrutinized, would, probably, fall far short of our expectation. I never had the honour of being admitted to the assembly of the *Bas Bleu* club, which consists of the most celebrated female characters in the kingdom. But from those who have enjoyed that felicity, I have heard that the conversation often turned upon fashions, the occurrences of the day, and other chit-chat which prevails in other female assemblies.

“In so numerous a mixed company, indeed, where every one comes full charged with literature and science, ready primed for explosion, a little harmless small talk among the less enlightened members, may be better than one general discharge of wit and learning from the whole assembly, which must necessarily produce a Babel of confusion.

“But, what, then! are we to believe, that the observation of some of our best writers is unfounded:

‘That the hours spent in conversation

tion with our friends, are some of the most delightful portions of our existence?" By no means: what I would insinuate is, that when a numerous concourse of individuals, unconnected and of different dispositions, is assembled together in one company; each ambitious of displaying his eloquence and gaining attention, or obtruding his intelligence of frivolous occurrences, uninteresting to the company, though, perhaps, gratifying to himself; this may be called talking or haranguing, or what you please, but hardly merits the name of conversation.

"As for those tumultuous assemblies called routs, we might as well expect edifying conversation from a flight of martins and swallows on the eve of their migration, as from such a multifarious concourse of fluttering fops and flaunting flirts as are there usually crowded together. An evening at a tavern is generally spent in an equally insignificant, though, perhaps, more joyous and sociable, and less formal style of conversation.

"But when a small circle of friends and acquaintance, of nearly equal rank and of similar dispositions and habits of life, meet together, desirous to please and to be pleased, the reciprocal communication of sentiments and observations, with kindness and good-humour, cannot but be highly pleasing and improving to all parties. But the usual error of too many is a desire to shine, rather than to inform, and to please themselves rather than their company, by engrossing more than their due share of the conversation.

"They have no desire to be informed or diverted themselves, but think those the most agreeable

companions who will patiently attend to their superior wisdom, and admire their splendid talents, and applaud their eloquence.

"This accounts for the gratification which the French lady received from the visit of Tristram Shandy. She declared to every one she met, 'that she never had a more improving conversation, than with that gentleman, though (says he) the lady had all the conversation to herself; for, I call heaven to witness, that not five words passed my lips.'

"We may conclude, then, I think, that the pleasure which we receive from the conversation of a circle of friends, does not arise from the fine things which are said, the shrewd observations which are made, the learning which is shown, or the wit which is displayed, so much as from the benevolent disposition, and the exercise of the kind affections * which accompany this friendly intercourse, and the ease and freedom with which every one delivers his sentiments, proposes his doubts, or unbosoms himself of any remarks which he may have made, and which he wishes to communicate. When, therefore, you may have met with this refined gratification, and enjoyed an attic entertainment, do not boast of your good fortune, nor tell every one you meet what an agreeable conversation or delightful evening you have spent; and how merry or how facetious you were: much less give any specimen of your good cheer; for the wit or humour of what is said depends on so many circumstances of time and place, that it is ten to one but what 'set the table in a roar' at night, will appear very insipid in the morning, and what you relate may be received

ceived with cold indifference, and expose yourself to the sneers, and your friends to the ridicule, of per-

sons entirely uninterested in your unseasonable narrative."

SYMPTOMS OF SELF-IMPORTANCE.

[From the Same.]

' I will frown as I pass by; and let them
' take it as they list.'

SHAKESPEARE.

" **A**S I am an idle man, and live in the vicinity of Bath, I spend many of my mornings in traversing the streets and public walks of that beautiful city. The magnificence of the many elegant buildings and the cheerfulness of the scene, sooth the imagination and tranquillize the spirits. Yet I find the calm composure of my mind frequently interrupted, and my nerves unpleasantly irritated, by the haughty and fastidious looks of those I meet.

" Though I will not subscribe to the infallibility of Lavater's system of physiognomy; yet the feelings of every one, without any rules, may interpret the sentiments of most people from the air and cast of their countenances.

" Man is by nature sociable and friendly to man; and when there is no opposition of interests, rarely harbours any malicious or hostile disposition against his fellow-creatures. Whence then are those unfriendly, contemptuous, and repulsive airs which we continually meet with in those with whom we have no connexion, and whom we have never injured or offended? who survey us with such a supercilious, disdainful mien, as if they questioned our right to exist in the

same district, or even on the face of the same globe with themselves.

" I sometimes meet a man so stately in his deportment, so haughty in his look, with such an air of defiance in his whole manner, that I shrink from his appearance, and feel myself annihilated in his presence. Yet, on recovering from my dismay, and reflecting on the limited power and capacity of every human being, I find probably, on inquiry, the real character of this illustrious personage: that his pompous air conceals a mean spirit, and that the solemn countenance is only a veil for his ignorance and insignificance.

" Such are many of those colossal figures who seem to 'bestride the world, and under whose legs, as it were, we petty mortals must 'peep about,' to find a loop-hole to pass by them, without being crushed against the wall, or justled into the kennel.

" One man, whom I have met, perhaps, at a third place, assumes a reserved and distant air, lest I should claim him as an acquaintance*. Another man, with eyes fixed, looks straight forwards, and though our elbows almost touch, seems unconscious that any one is near him, or at least worth his notice.

" A third is near-sighted; and though we have met, perhaps, on various occasions, has not the ho-

* "The Tepino-phoby, or 'dread of low acquaintance,' prevails more in Bath, perhaps, than in any other public place in Europe."

nour to recollect my name. All these are different stratagems of pride and self-importance, which, though not reducible to the precise rules of quarrelling, like 'the lie direct,' and for which we can call a man to account; yet may, and ought to be resented, or rather treated with the contempt which they deserve.

"I remember a stout fellow, with a most terrific countenance, who, if he met a man strutting alone in sublime contemplation of his own importance, and a sovereign contempt of all around him, would, on a sudden, run up to him, turn his large white eyes upon him, and cry, Boh! This, it may be supposed, often involved him in a scuffle, or rough rencounter; but generally raised a laugh at the expense of the haughty despot.

"A proud look is an insult on the public. Pride was not made for man, nor for woman neither. Yet I have seen a fair spinster, rather past her bloom, who has been conversing with a polite smile in the midst of two or three gentlemen; but on the appearance of a young nymph in the glossy lustre of fifteen, assume an haughty air, and survey the blushing harmless virgin with such a murderous aspect that I have been alarmed for the consequences.

"What then do I expect from

those whom I meet in public, and who certainly have a right to look, as well as to act, as they please, in defiance of my assumed censorial authority?

"Why, I expect, that every man should look with an air of kindness and benignity on all mankind; or, at least, not assume an hostile or menacing aspect towards those who have never injured or offended him.

"Let a man of rank or distinction assume the dignity becoming his station and character; but let not those who have no rank, nor, perhaps, any character, to distinguish them from the vulgar, affect that superiority, which is an affront to every one they meet, and which will not easily be allowed them in a country of true liberty, and where education and virtue make the only real distinction; and where men will not be imposed upon or kept in awe by a solemn appearance or arrogant pretensions.

"A friend of mine, when he meets a man of this description, snaps his fingers at him, and ejaculates a scrap of Latin after him, Non hujus te facio! I do not care this for you!

"For my own part, as I love all mankind, I rather pity than resent the folly of this theatrical hero, 'who struts his hour on the stage, and then is seen no more.' "

On what is called a FALSE VOICE.

[From DESPIAU'S SELECT AMUSEMENTS IN PHILOSOPHY and MATHEMATICS.]

"A FINE voice is certainly preferable to every instrument whatever. Unfortunately, many persons have only a false voice; but, in general, this does

not arise from any defect in the organs of the voice, which are almost the same in all mankind: it originates from the ears, owing to an inequality of strength in these organs.

organs, or to some want of delicacy or tension; in consequence of which, as they receive unequal impressions, we necessarily hear false sounds, and the voice, which endeavours to imitate them, becomes itself false. On this subject Dr. Vandermonde made a very simple experiment, which he relates in his Essay on improving the human Mind, and which may be repeated on children who pronounce with a false voice, in order that a remedy may be applied at that tender age when the organs are still susceptible of modification.

“ The experiment, as he describes it, is as follows: ‘ I made choice,’ says he, ‘ of a clear day, ‘ and having fixed on a spacious ‘ apartment, I took up my station ‘ in a place judged most convenient for my experiments. I then ‘ stopped one of the ears of the ‘ child who was to be the subject ‘ of them, and made her recede ‘ from me, till she no longer heard ‘ the sound of a repeating watch ‘ which I held in my hand, or at least ‘ until the sound of the bell produced a very weak impression on ‘ her organs of hearing. I then ‘ desired her to remain in that ‘ place, and immediately going up ‘ to her unstopped her ear, and ‘ stopped the other, taking care to ‘ cause her to shut her mouth, lest ‘ the sound should be communicated to the ear through the eustachian tube. I then returned ‘ to my station, and making my ‘ watch again strike, the child was ‘ quite surprised to find that she ‘ heard tolerably well; upon which ‘ I made a sign to her to recede ‘ again till she could scarcely hear

‘ the sound.’ It results from this experiment, that in the ears of persons who have a false voice, there is an inequality of strength; and the means of remedying this defect in children, is to ascertain by a similar mode, which ear is the weakest. ‘ When this has been ‘ discovered, nothing better can be ‘ done, in my opinion,’ says Dr. Vandermonde, ‘ than to stop up ‘ the other as much as possible, and ‘ to take advantage of that valuable opportunity of frequently ‘ exercising the weak ear, but in ‘ such a manner as not to fatigue it. ‘ The one thus made to labour alone ‘ will be strengthened, while the ‘ other will always retain the same ‘ force. The child’s ear should ‘ from time to time be unstopped, ‘ in order to make it sing, and to ‘ discover whether both ears have ‘ the same degree of sensibility.’ This natural defect may be then corrected, and any person may be made to acquire a true voice, provided the means pointed out by Dr. Vandermonde be early employed.

“ Persons who have a false voice, in consequence of some inequality in the ears, may be compared to those who squint; that is to say, who, in order to see an object distinctly, do not turn equally towards it the axis of both eyes, because they have not the same visual powers. It is probable that the former, if they had early accustomed themselves to make use of only one ear, would hear distinctly different sounds, which they would have imitated, and would not have contracted a false voice.”

FRENCH DEFINITIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY CANT PHRASES.

[From DUPRE'S LEXICOGRAPHIA NEOLOGICA GALLICA.]

"*A-BAS*, interj. Down with him! down with it! A favourite expression with the French during the revolution, and much used by the mobs of Paris. It is a word of proscription, a signal of political anathema, which marks in a striking manner the fickleness of the French character; since they have called out *à-bas!* against all persons at different times, the idol of the evening being the object of their execration the next morning. (*A-bas* M. Veto! *Down with* M. Veto!—*A-bas* Tallien! *Down with* Tallien!—*A-bas* Petion! *Down with* Petion!—*A-bas* le directoire! *Down with* the directory!—*A-bas* les rois! *Down with* kings!—*A-bas* les saints! *Down with* the saints!—*A-bas* les impies! *Down with* the impious wretches!—*A-bas* les athées! *Down with* the atheists!—*A-bas* les sans-culottes! *Down with* the sans-culottes!")

"*Institut aërostatique*, s. m. aërostatic institution. This was first established by the committee of public safety at the palace of Meudon, and is conducted with great secrecy. The company of *aéronauts* consists of fifty enterprising young men who are constantly in practice. Balloons are by this *institution* prepared for the different armies, and have their appropriate names; that employed at the battle of Fleurus on the 26th of June 1794 is called the *Entreprenant*. An *aéronaut* and two officers of rank ascended in it twice, and by their signals made with flags contributed to the success of the day (or rather successive days), which

was of the greatest consequence to the republican arms. When the labours of the *aërostatic institution* shall have attained to a degree of general utility and perfection, the transactions, it has been said, will be published; at present the French public know but little of what is doing. The greatest improvement the *institution* has hitherto made, has been to add a kind of telegraph falling below the gondola, and suspended from it, consisting of eight cylinders of black taffeta, which form the signals by opening and shutting, and appear like so many paper lanterns. This simple apparatus forms two hundred and sixty-five changes, and has been found sufficient for the purposes of correspondence. The principal engineer has had in contemplation the construction of a telegraphic balloon which might be worked on *terra firma*, by means of strings communicating with the cylinders before mentioned, at the height of twelve feet from the ground."

"*Attaché*, s. m. a servant. *Mon attaché* is now generally used in France instead of *mon valet de chambre*, *mon laquais*, *mon garçon*, &c. (Le ministre public de France fit son entrée à Gènes, précédé de deux *attachés*, portant habit de citoyen et la cocarde nationale tricolore au chapeau, &c. The public minister of France made his entry into Genoa, preceded by two servants, dressed in the habit of a citizen, having the three-coloured national cockade in his hat, &c.)"

"*Brissotiner*, v. a. to brissotine; to empty the pockets or purse after the

the manner of Brissot. Brissot was driven from Paris for some tricks of youth, and sought an asylum in London, where he gained a proficiency in an art which he was admirably qualified to distinguish himself by, whether in financial or literary matters.

“ He began his brilliant career by the publication of a treatise on genteel frauds (*sur l'honnêteté des voleries*). He did not confine his doctrine to barren arguments *a priori*, but instructed the public by weighty proofs of unanswerable and lucrative experience. This obtained for him the honour of having his name applied to feats of skill and address in the like way, called after him (*brissotiner*) *brissotining*, with the further eulogium of having proved himself an adept in the art of knavery (*avoir bien mérité de la coquinerie*). ”

“ *Carmagnole*, s. f. a patriotic dance and song so called. It owes its rise to the violence which broke out amongst the people, occasioned by the late king's right of veto, the massacre of the Swiss, and the knights of the poniard. It was called the *carmagnole* of the royalists, that is to say, a *dance* and *song* made to incense the royalists.

“ It is since become a common phrase in familiar speech. (*On dit que nous dansons la carmagnole partout sur la même air; pour dire, que les armes des carmagnols ont du succès partout.*—It is said that we dance the *carmagnole* every where to the same tune; which implies that the *carmagnols* have every where the same success.)

“ *Carmagnole* was the name at first given to the particular tune and dance before mentioned; afterwards to a particular kind of coat, and to the soldiers who wore it, or who sung the song: lastly,

the reports made in the national convention by the framers of them.

“ The word *carmagnole* is probably borrowed from the name of a town so called in Piedmont, from whence came a number of diminutive fellows who served in the capacity of lacqueys in Paris, and, as is usual, were called after the name of the place from whence they came.

“ This song is remarkable because it has given the name of *carmagnol* to the republican part of the French nation.”

“ *Disetteux*, *euse*, adj. famished; starving; having a scarcity of food. This adjective, which has been marked in the dictionaries heretofore as obsolete or seldom used, has been but too much employed during the late dearth of four successive years. (*Une année disetteuse*, a year of *famine*.)

“ It is remarkable that though the substantive *disette* is used to imply a famine, the adjective *disetteux*, formed from it, has been always used as an expression of ridicule, and to mean a poor needy devil; or in a compassionate sense, for a distressed person. Furetière has said: The academicians, so far from rendering the French language rich and copious, have *starved and impoverished it* (*l'ont rendu disetteuse*). ”

“ *S'Embrancher*, v. recip. to interweave; to entwine itself. This verb was formerly used only in an active sense, but is now become a reciprocal verb. (*Cette question s'embranché avec une foule d'autres: this question interweaves itself with a number of others.*) A metaphor taken from the interweaving, or entwining of the branches of trees, whether by art or nature. This verb is new.”

The

The WESTPHALIAN SECRET TRIBUNALS.

[From RENDER'S TOUR through GERMANY.]

THESE are first mentioned as generally known in the year 1220, and reported to have been in force to the year 1665. They were never formally abrogated, but lost their influence by degrees, as the sword of justice was wielded by vigorous hands. The Westphalian secret tribunals were at first only designed for that country alone, and had no jurisdiction whatever elsewhere. The extent of their power was limited on the west by the Rhine, on the east by the Weser, on the north by Friesland, and on the south by the 'Westerwald,' i. e. the western forest, and Hesse."

"The emperor being supreme judge of all secular courts of judicature in Germany, was also the sole institutor and chief of all tribunals.

"Free counties, being certain districts comprehending several parishes, where the judges and counsellors of the secret ban administered justice, conformably to the territorial statutes. A free county contained several tribunals subject to the control of one *master of the chair*, 'stuhlherr.' These masters of the chair, who commonly were secular or ecclesiastical princes, held their appointment by the will of the emperor, which they forfeited by deciding in matters not within their jurisdiction, or on deviating from the laws of the free tribunals. They appointed the

free counts, 'frey-grafen,' who were presidents of particular tribunals of the secret ban. They were presented by the masters of their chair to the emperor for confirmation, who were made responsible for them, upon which they were invested with the royal bar, and obliged to swear fealty and obedience to the head of the empire. The latter also could punish the free counts, or deprive them of their office; occupy the seat of a free count in the tribunals, decide in matters of appeal brought before him, inspect and reform the tribunals, and appoint the free knights, i. e. 'frey-schoffen;' but this was confined to the territory of Westphalia."

"The number of these free knights, belonging to each tribunal, never was less than seven, nor did it amount to more than eleven. Seven free knights, at least, were required to compose a plenary court, i. e. 'vollgericht,' in which the final sentence was pronounced. Knights of other tribunals were indeed permitted to be present on these occasions as visitors, but were not allowed to give their vote. On their reception they promised upon oath, to give information to the secret tribunal of every thing coming under its jurisdiction, perceived by themselves or reported to them by credible persons, and not to suffer any thing created

created betwixt heaven and earth to divert them from the execution of their duty. They also bound themselves to promote the interest of the sacred Roman empire, and to invade the possessions of the masters of the chair, and of the free courts, only on legal grounds. After having taken this oath, they were not permitted to reveal, even to their confessors, the secrets of the tribunal; and on transgressing this law, though only in the most trifling point, they were hanged without mercy. They pronounced judgment according to the statutes of the Westphalian secret tribunal, and executed it conformably to the decrees of the free courts. They knew each other by certain secret signs.

“ The original constitution of the secret tribunals did, however, not long continue in force; all sorts of abandoned characters being admitted. The number of free knights allowed to every tribunal was originally limited to eleven, but in a short time many of them amounted to sixty or seventy, who even were not possessed of an inch of landed property in Westphaly, and were induced by self-interest, ambition, and revenge, or some other disgraceful motive, to join the association. . The meeting-places of the members of the secret tribunals degenerated into haunts of sanguinary banditti, who indiscriminately assassinated the innocent with the guilty. The masters of the chair being actuated by the most sordid avarice, they divided the free counties into numerous smaller seats of justice, whereby the number of spies and secret informers naturally was increased to a most prodigious degree, and various opportunities offered for fraud, imposition, and

extortion. Although they were originally authorised to pronounce sentence only in criminal cases, in order to increase their fees they at length interfered in private and domestic affairs, and contrived to lay even counts and princes under contribution. On their admission, they vowed in the most solemn and awful manner, to judge with incorruptible impartiality, to regard no person, and even to be deaf to every emotion of the heart, in framing their decrees; but on the contrary, they were swayed by selfishness, accessible to corruption, partial to their friends, while they prosecuted their enemies with the most rancorous malice, and prostituted their function by rendering their authority subservient to the gratification of the most brutal lust. They were deaf to the lamentations of calumniated innocence, assassinated their relations to inherit their estates, and were more dreadful to the virtuous than the midnight ruffian. A free count frequently acted at once as witness and as judge: the spy, informer, witness, and judge, were in many instances united in the same person; in short, the abuses which disgraced the secret tribunals rendered them a real curse to mankind.

“ In the beginning of the 15th century, their power in Germany rose to a most alarming degree; and we may safely maintain that the German empire at that time contained more than 140,000 free knights, who, without either previous notice or trial, executed every one who was condemned by the secret ban. Austrians, Bavarians, Franconians, and Suabians, having a demand on any one whom they could not bring to justice before the regular courts of this country, applied to the Westphalian

phalian secret tribunal, where they obtained a summons, and in case of non-appearance, a sentence, which was immediately communicated to the whole fraternity of free knights, a step by which were put in motion an host of executioners, bound by the most dreadful oath to spare neither father nor mother, nor to regard the sacred ties of friendship or matrimonial love. If a free knight met a friend condemned by the secret ban, and gave him only the slightest hint to save his life by flight, all the other free knights were bound to hang him seven feet higher than any other criminal. The sentence being pronounced in the secret ban, they were obliged to put it into immediate execution, and not permitted to make the least remonstrance, though they were perfectly convinced that the victim was the best of men, and innocent of the crime alleged against him. This induced almost every man of rank and power to become a member of that dreadful association, in order to secure himself against its effects. Every prince had some free knights among his counsellors, and the majority of the German nobility belonged to that secret order. Even princes, for instance, the duke of Bavaria and the margrave of Brandenburg, were members of the secret tribunal. The duke William of Brunswick is reported to have said: 'I must order the duke Adolphus of Schleswic to be hanged, if he should come to see me, lest the free knights should hang me.' It was difficult to elude the proceedings of the free knights, as they at all times contrived to steal at night, unknown and unseen, to the gates of castles, palaces, and towns, and to affix the

summons of the secret tribunal. When this had been done three times, and the accused did not appear, he was condemned by the secret ban, and summoned once more to submit to the execution of the sentence; and in case of non-appearance, he was solemnly outlawed, and then the invisible hands of free knights followed all his steps till they found an opportunity of taking away his life. When a free knight thought himself too weak to seize and hang the culprit, he was bound to pursue him till he met with some of his colleagues, who assisted him in hanging him to a tree, near the high road, and not to a gibbet; signifying thereby that they exercised a free imperial judicature throughout the whole empire, independent of all provincial tribunals. If the devoted victim made resistance, so as to compel them to poignard him; they tied the dead body to a tree, fixing the dagger over his head, to show that he had not been murdered, but executed by a free knight.

" Their transactions were shrouded in the most profound concealment: and the signal by which they recognised one another never could be discovered. Their secret proceedings were not permitted to be disclosed to the emperor himself, although he was supreme master of the chair. Only when he asked, 'Has N. N. been condemned?' the free knights were allowed to reply in the affirmative or negative: but when he inquired 'Who had been condemned by the secret ban?' they were not permitted to mention any name.

" The emperor, or his delegate, could create free knights no where but on the 'red soil,' i. e. Westphaly,

phaly, with the assistance of three free knights, who acted as witnesses. The real signification of the term *red soil*, and the reason why it was applied to Westphaly, has not yet been traced out; but during my stay in that country, I learnt the following particulars concerning it, which seemed to me most probable. They informed me, that the terms *red soil* were used as a nickname, to distinguish the Westphalian country, in which this abominable bloody tribunal had been first established, from those milder ones of the same kind in Germany. For *Red soil*,

i. e., 'Rother grund,' or 'Himmels-strich,' or 'Himmels-gegend,' became its most forcible and current name, from a noble family, which was successively subject to the barbarity of those bloodhounds. When any of its descendants happened to ask what had become of their ancestors, they were generally answered with the nickname, 'They have wandered to the *Red soil*,' i. e. to the *Soil that is stained with blood*. For *red* signifies in German not only *roth*, but also *blood-red*; and *soil* signifies *erde*. Thus '*blutrothe erde*,' *blood-red soil*."

The ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY—OPINIONS OF GIBBON CRITICISED.

[From WHITE'S ÆGYPTIACA.]

" 'THE sentence of Omar,' says Mr. Gibbon, 'was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths; and such was their incredible multitude, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius have been given to the world in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity. For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and its consequences. The fact is indeed marvellous; "Read and wonder!" says the historian himself.' Edit. 4to, vol. v. p. 343.

" 'This anecdote,' subjoins Mr. Gibbon in a note on this passage,

' will be in vain sought in the Annals of Eutychius, and the Saracenic History of Elmakin. The silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moslems is less conclusive, from their ignorance of Christian literature.'

" But first, we may ask, is the story of Abulpharajus itself correctly reported by Mr. Gibbon? Surely it is an unfair inference, which he has made from the historian's words, that all the four thousand baths of the city were supplied with these books for fuel. Their distribution amongst any number of the baths would justify the expression of Abulpharajus, and the meaning which I would affix to it. He does not say, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption: this is a false comment upon a mistaken text. The Arabic historian says nothing like it; he simply relates the fact, that in half a year the books were entirely

entirely consumed : but how many baths were employed in their destruction, he neither says nor insinuates. The incredible multitude of the volumes, therefore, vanishes at once. If during the whole time which elapsed, whilst these precious monuments of antiquity were gradually consuming, no sentiment of remorse or compunction arose in the breasts of the conquerors, no wish to rescue the still remaining treasures of this inestimable library from further ravage and destruction, well might Abulpharajus exclaim, ‘Hear and wonder!’ Hear and wonder at the brutal ignorance and unrelenting fury of the barbarians!

“Secondly, even if I should grant to Mr. Gibbon, that we have only the evidence of Abulpharajus for the general fact, I see no ground for rational scepticism with regard to its reality. I will concede even more ; I will allow that Abulpharajus himself does not mention the circumstance in his Syriac Universal History, though he generally describes the period when it happened.

They * both contain in general the same narrative, but with occasional additions and omissions, as appeared to the author most interesting to the class of readers for whom he was writing. Thus many particulars concerning the siege and capture of Acca, with the various messages which passed betwixt our lion-hearted Richard and his generous rival Saladin, are given at large in the Syriac, but entirely passed over in the Arabic : on the contrary, the request of Philoponus, and the burning of the Alexandrian library, are given

in the Arabic, but omitted in the Syriac. Instances of this kind are numerous ; and every general scholar may judge for himself, as both the histories in the original languages, together with the Latin translations, are before the public. I trust, therefore, that we shall hear no more of the objection urged by Mr. Gibbon, ‘that the solitary report of a stranger, who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria.’

“If Abulpharajus himself, in his Syriac Universal History, has both given the life of Omar and noticed the capture of Alexandria, and yet omitted mentioning the burning of the library, and even the very name of Philoponus, why might not the two annalists do the same?

“The high literary as well as ecclesiastical rank of this illustrious primate of the East, and the numerous concurrent testimonies, as well of Mahometans as Christians, to the gravity and sanctity of his character, would, in my opinion, even if he were found to stand single in his testimony, more than overbalance the frivolous cavils of Mr. Gibbon.

“But further, to the negative argument of Mr. Gibbon I shall venture to oppose the positive testimony of two Arabic historians, both writers of unquestionable authority, and both orthodox professors of the Musulman faith,

* “The two Universal Histories of Abulpharajus, written in the Syriac and Arabic languages.”

Macrisi and Abdollatif; who not only agree in stating the fact, the burning of the library, but also point out to us the exact spot on which the library stood. For after describing the column, commonly called Pompey's Pillar, and mentioning the adjacent ruins of some ancient edifice, they add, that 'there was the library which Amru Ebn El Aas burnt by the command of the khalif Omar.' I conclude, therefore, that both the burning, or, more strictly speaking, the despoiling*, of the library by Amru, and its actual situation, are indisputably ascertained.

"A satisfactory answer having now, I hope, been given to the sceptical insinuation of Mr. Gibbon, I advance a step further. As the library despoiled by Amru was a royal library, and as the first Ptolemæan library was unfortunately burnt by Julius Cæsar, this must necessarily have been the second Ptolemæan library; and consequently part of the temple of Sera-

pis. We have at length, then, by the assistance of Arabic writers, unexpectedly discovered the site of the Serapeum; a discovery eagerly sought for by the curious for more than a century: and hence arises one strong proof, that a knowledge of Arabic may be made peculiarly subservient to the illustration of Egyptian antiquities.

"But are there no passages, it may be asked, in Greek or Latin authors, which corroborate the evidence of Arabic writers respecting the site of the Serapeum? I answer, that certainly there are; though their meaning has hitherto been wholly overlooked, and perhaps would for ever have been lost in obscurity, had not a ray of light broken in from the East. Such, however, is the accumulated force of these passages, when properly considered, as to leave no room to doubt that the temple of Serapis was contiguous to what is commonly called the Pillar of Pompey."

REMARKS ON the REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

[From ELLIS'S SPECIMENS of the Early ENGLISH POETS.]

"THE poetical history of this important reign, which occupies near a century in our annals, could not easily be comprised in a moderate volume. Epic and didactic poems, satires, plays, masks, translations from the Greek, Latin, and all the modern languages, historical legends, devotional poems, pastoral sonnets, madrigals, acros-

tics, and humorous and romantic ballads, were produced during this period, with a profusion which, perhaps, has never since been equalled. No less than seventy-four poets are assigned to the reign of Elizabeth in the new edition of the 'Theatrum Poetarum,' and the catalogue might certainly be much further extended.

* "Abulpharajus affirms, that the books were ordered to be distributed amongst the baths, and used as fuel for heating them. It being then explicitly stated, that they were not burnt in the library, we may fairly infer, that the edifice itself, that is, its walls, rooms, and colonnades, remained after the books were committed to the flames."

“ It is true, that, of these claimants to immortality, the far greater number have been very generally consigned to oblivion; a few, such as Drayton, Fairfax, Warner, sir John Harrington, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Raleigh, &c., continue to be cited, in deference to their ancient reputation; but Shakspeare, Jonson, Fletcher, Spenser, and sir John Davis, are still confessed to be unrivalled in their several styles of composition, although near two centuries have elapsed, during which the progress of literature and the improvement of our language have been constant and uninterrupted.

“ The literary splendour of this reign may be justly attributed to the effects of the Reformation. ‘ When the corruptions and impostures of popery were abolished,’ says Mr. Warton, ‘ the laity, who ‘ had now’ been taught to assert ‘ their natural privileges, became ‘ impatient of the old monopoly of ‘ knowledge, and demanded admission to the usurpations of the ‘ clergy. The general curiosity ‘ for new discoveries, heightened ‘ either by just or imaginary ideas ‘ of the treasures contained in the ‘ Greek and Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The ‘ pedantry of the present age was ‘ the politeness of the last.’ Of this pedantry he adduces a curious instance in the occupations of queen Elizabeth, whose marvellous progress in the Greek nouns is recorded with rapture by her preceptor Roger Ascham; and he might have found many similar examples in Anne Bullen, and other distinguished characters. But these efforts of patience and industry in the great, were perhaps necessary to encourage and preserve the

general emulation of the learned. In a short time, all the treasures of Greek, Latin, and Italian literature were laid open to the public, through the medium of translation. The former supplied our poetry with an inexhaustible fund of new and beautiful allusions; the latter afforded numberless stories taken from common life, in which variety of incident and ingenuity of contrivance were happily united. The genius which was destined to combine this mass of materials, could not fail to be called forth by the patronage of the court, by the incentive of general applause, and by the hopes of raising the literary glory of our nation to a level with that which was the result of its political and military triumphs.

“ It must also be remembered that the English language was, at this time, much more copious, and consequently better adapted to poetry, than at any prior or subsequent period. Our vocabulary was enriched, during the first half of the sixteenth century, by almost daily adoptions from the learned languages; and though they were often admitted without necessity, and only in consequence of a blind veneration for the dignity of polysyllables, they must have added something to the expression, as well as to the harmony and variety of our language. These exotics however did not occasion the expulsion of the natives. Our vulgar tongue having become the vehicle of religion, was regarded, not only with national partiality, but with pious reverence. Chaucer, who was supposed to have greatly assisted the doctrines of his contemporary, Wickliffe, by ridiculing the absurdities, and exposing the impostures of the monks, was not only respected as the father of English

lish poetry, but revered as a champion of reformation: and a familiar knowledge of his phraseology was considered, at least in the reign of Edward VI. as essential to the politeness of a courtier. 'I know 'them,' says Wilson, in his Rhetorick, 'that think rhetorick to stand 'wholly upon dark words: and he 'that can catch an *inkhorn term* by 'the tail, him they count to be a 'fine Englishman and a good rhetorician. He that cometh lately 'out of France will talk French- 'English, and never blush at the 'matter. Another chops in with 'English Italianated. *The fine 'courtier will talk nothing but Chaucer.*' This, by the way, may serve to explain the cause of Spenser's predilection for a phraseology, which, though antiquated, was not either obsolete or unfashionable.

"The whole world of words, therefore (to borrow an expression of one of our glossarists), was open to Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and the mode of employing its treasures was left very much to their discretion. Criticism was

in its infancy: this was the age of adventure and experiment, undertaken for the instruction of posterity. Mr. Warton thinks he sees in the writers of this reign 'a certain dignified inattention to niceties,' and to this he attributes the 'flowing modulation which now 'marked the measures of our poets:' but there seems to be neither dignity nor inattention in deviating from rules which had never been laid down: and the modulation, which he ascribes to this cause, is not less likely to have resulted from the musical studies, which at this time formed a part of general education. The lyrical compositions of this time are so far from being usually marked with a faulty negligence, that excess of ornament, and laboured affectation, are their characteristic blemishes. Such as are free from conceit and antithesis, are, in general, exquisitely polished, and may safely be compared with the most elegant and finished specimens of modern poetry."

REMARKS on the REIGN of JAMES I.

[From the Same.]

"IT has been remarked by bishop Percy, that almost all the poetry which was composed during the early part of the preceding reign, was remarkable for the facility and musical flow of its versification; whereas the compositions of Donne, Jonson, and many of their contemporaries, are, in general, unusually harsh and discordant.

"Indeed, our literature could not fail of reflecting, in some degree, the manners of the court.

Our maiden queen, unable to submit, without some degree of peevishness and regret, to the ravages made in her charms by the attacks of age and infirmity, spread uneasiness and constraint all around her: and the playful gallantry inseparable from a female court, was gradually succeeded by a more cold and gloomy system of manners. Poetry, which had long been busied with the loves and graces, was now occupied with the

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abstruse

abstruse researches of science; and fancy seemed to be crushed and overlaid by the weight of learning.

"The accession of James I. who brought to the throne the accomplishments and dispositions of a pedagogue, contributed to the growth of pedantry and affectation; and at the same time the sullen spirit of puritanism, which began to be widely diffused, concurred in vitiating the national taste. The theatres alone seem to have been the refuge of genius: indeed no period of our history has produced so many models of dramatic excellence: but the wretched spirit of criticism which prevailed in the closet, is evinced by the multiplied editions of Donne, Herbert, and similar versifiers; by the general preference of Jonson to Shakespeare; and by the numberless volumes of patchwork and shreds of quotation, which form the prose compositions of this age.

"It is remarkable, that the

series of Scottish poets terminates abruptly in this reign; and that no name of eminence occurs between those of Drummond and Thomson. Indeed it is not extraordinary, that the period which intervened between the union of the two crowns and that of the countries, should have proved highly unpropitious to Scottish literature. Scotland becoming an appendage to the sister kingdom, was subjected, as Ireland has since been, to the worst of all governments, being abandoned to the conflict of rival families, who were alternately supported by the English administration; so that it exhibited a species of anarchy under the auspices of a legitimate sovereign.

"James I. was himself a poet, and specimens of his talent, such as it was, are to be found in many of our miscellanies. He also wrote some rules and *cauteles*, for the use of professors of the art, which have been long, and perhaps deservedly, disregarded."

On the Private LIFE of the ENGLISH during the REIGN of HENRY VI

[From the Same.]

"THAT we may not be encumbered by the accumulation of our materials, it is obviously necessary to take some opportunity of reviewing those which we have collected; of comparing them with such descriptions of national manners as are furnished by our professed historians; and of connecting them with such further particulars, as are to be gleaned from sources of incidental information. For this necessary digression, there is no period more convenient than that on which we are now entering;

because the interval between the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VIII. which comprehends near a century, although uncommonly rich in Scotch poets of distinguished excellence, does not furnish us with a single name among the natives of England deserving of much notice. Our survey must of course be very rapid, and rather desultory, but it will at least break the monotony of the narrative, and preclude, for the future, the necessity of introducing many detached observations. which, when our extracts become more

more amusing, would prove a disagreeable interruption to the reader.

"To begin with the lower classes of society.

"It is generally agreed, that before the Norman conquest, and for a long time after, nearly all the lands of the kingdom were cultivated by serfs, whose situation was, in many respects, scarcely distinguishable from absolute slavery. It may, however, be inferred from the very curious extract already quoted from *Pierce Ploughman*, that about the middle of the fourteenth century, and probably much earlier, the labouring poor, though still serfs with respect to their feudal lords, were perfectly free with respect to their immediate employers. The poet says,

'Labourers that have no land to live on,
but their hands—
'But if they be highly hired else will they
chide.'

During a great part of the year, indeed, they were glad to work for a mere subsistence; but when provisions were plentiful, they could only be induced to work at all by the temptation of excessive wages. Against this indolence the author inveighs with great vehemence; but his remonstrances were probably ineffectual, because a stupid insensibility, and a heedless profusion, are the natural characteristics of an oppressed and degraded people.

"Besides, their conduct seems to have arisen, in some measure, from the imperfect state of agriculture. Animal food formed a considerable part of the support of the people; but as the whole of the manure was used on the arable lands, and it was impossible that large numbers of cattle could sub-

sist during the cold season on the natural pastures, they were slaughtered and salted in autumn for a winter provision. This is a reason adduced by sir John Fortescue for rejecting the gabelle or salt-tax, as a source of revenue for England. 'In France,' says he, 'the people salten but little meat, except their bacon, and therefore would buy little salt; but yet they be artyd (compelled) to buy more salt than they would.—This rule and order would be sore abhorred in England, as well by the merchants, that be wonted to have their freedom in buying and selling of salt, as by the people, that usen much more to salt their meats than do the Frenchmen.'—Fortescue on Monarchy, chap. x.

"But it appears that, partly from the improvidence usual to a barbarous state of society, and partly from the want of those internal means of communication which tend to diffuse general abundance, these stores of animal food, as well as the grain, were often consumed before the reproduction of a fresh stock. Hence, in the above-mentioned extracts from *Pierce Ploughman*, the poor are represented as reduced to 'loaves of beans and bran,' and to 'feed hunger with beans and baken apples, chyboles and charvell,' until the return of the harvest again enabled them to waste their time in idleness and profusion.

"Even the farmers themselves, the order to which *Pierce the Ploughman* apparently belonged, do not seem to have fared very sumptuously, during some part of the year; for he declares, that his whole provision consists in 'two green cheeses, some curds and cream, and an oat cake:' but he adds, that 'after Lammas, he might
M 3
'dight

‘dight his dinner’ as he likes. The particulars of his wealth are, a cow and calf, and a cart-mare, which he keeps for the purpose of carrying manure upon his land. These articles, perhaps, were designed to give an exact statement of his condition in society; for they seem to agree with what sir John Fortescue considers as sufficient for the maintenance of a yeoman.

“It is very honourable to the good sense of the English nation, that our two best early poets, Chaucer, and the author of *Pierce Ploughman*, have highly extolled this useful body of men, while the French minstrels of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, universally seem to approve the supercilious contempt with which the nobles affected to treat them. The absurd prejudices of chivalry on this subject are not ill expressed by Lydgate, where he makes Achilles express his apprehension that,

‘In this rage furious and wood,
‘Full likely is that all the noble blood
‘Throughout this worlde shall destroyed
 be;
‘And a rural folk (and that were great
 pity)
‘Shall have lordship, and wholly gover-
 nance:
‘And churlis eke, with sorrow and mis-
 chance,
‘In every land shall lordis be alone,
‘When gentlemen shall slayen be each
 one.’

“There is a curious chapter in sir John Fortescue’s *Treatise de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, which seems to prove that the smaller landholders in England usually enjoyed more comforts than, from the general language of historians, we should be led to imagine; for he asserts, that ‘there is scarce a small village in which you may not find a knight, an esquire, or some substantial householder, commonly

‘called a frankleyne, all men of
‘considerable estates: there are
‘others who are called freeholders,
‘and many yeomen of estates suf-
‘ficient to make a substantial jury.’ (Chap. xxix.) This wealth he attributes principally to the enclosure of our pasture lands.

“The same writer thus describes the comparative poverty of the French common people: ‘The same commons be so impoverished and destroyed, that they may un-
‘neth (scarcely) live. They drink
‘water; they eat apples, with bread
‘right brown, made of rye. They
‘eat no flesh, but if be seldom a
‘little lard, or of the entrails or
‘heads of beasts slain for the nobles
‘and merchants of the land. They
‘wearen no woollen, but if it be a
‘poor coat under their outermost
‘garment, made of great canvass,
‘and call it a frock. Their hosen
‘be of like canvass, and passen
‘not their knee, wherefore they be
‘gartered, and their thighs bare.
‘Their wives and children gon
‘bare-foot; they may in none
‘other wise live. For some of
‘them that was wont to pay to his
‘lord for his tenement which he
‘hireth by the year, a scute (a
‘crown), payeth now to the king
‘over that scute, five scutes.
‘Wherethrough they be artyd
‘(compelled) by necessity so to
‘watch, labour, and grub in the
‘ground for their sustenance, that
‘their nature is much wasted, and
‘the kind of them brought to nought.
‘They gon crooked, and are feeble,
‘not able to fight, &c.’ Fortescue on Monarchy, chap. iii.

“But though the lower orders of people in England were so advantageously distinguished from those of other nations, by a superiority in food and clothing, their domestic buildings seem to have been much inferior

inferior to those on the continent ; and this inferiority continued even down to the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears from the confession of Harrison :

“ ‘ In old time,’ says he, ‘ the
‘ houses of the Britons were slightly
‘ set up with a few posts, and many
‘ raddles (hurdles), with stable and
‘ all offices under one roof; the like
‘ whereof almost is to be seen in
‘ the fenny countries and northern
‘ parts, unto this day, where, for
‘ lack of wood, they are enforced
‘ to continue this ancient manner
‘ of building. So in the open and
‘ champain countries, they are en-
‘ forced, for want of stuff, to use
‘ no studs at all *, but only frank-
‘ posts, and such principals ; with
‘ here and there a girding, where-
‘ unto they fasten their splints or
‘ raddles, and then cast it all over
‘ with thick clay, to keep out the
‘ wind, which otherwise would
‘ annoy them. Certes, this rude
‘ kind of building made the Spa-
‘ niards, in queen Mary’s days, to
‘ wonder, but chiefly when they
‘ saw what large diet was used in
‘ many of these so homely cottages ;
‘ insomuch, that one of no small
‘ reputation amongst them, said
‘ after this manner : “ These Eng-
‘ lish,” quoth he, “ have their houses
‘ made of sticks and dirt, but they
‘ fare commonly so well as the
‘ king.” ’ Harrison’s Description of
England, prefixed to Holinshed,
p. 187.

“ We have already seen that glazed windows † are always mentioned by our early poets, with an air of affectation, which evinces

their rarity ; so that we are not surprised at being told that the yeomen and farmers were perfectly contented with windows of lattice. Rooms provided with chimnies are also noticed as a luxury, by the author of *Pierce Ploughman* ; but it is difficult to read with gravity, the sagacious observations of Harrison ; on the ill consequences attending the enjoyment of warmth, without the risk of suffocation. ‘ Now,’ says he, ‘ have we many chimnies, ‘ and yet our tenderlings complain ‘ of rheums, catarrhs, and poses ‘ (colds in the head). Then had ‘ we none but reredosses ‡, and ‘ our heads did never ache. For ‘ as the smoke in those days was ‘ supposed to be a sufficient hard- ‘ ening for the timber of the house, ‘ so it was reputed a far better ‘ medicine to keep the good man ‘ and his family from the quacke ‘ (ague) or pose ; wherewith, as then, ‘ very few were oft acquainted.’ Description of England, p. 212.

“ After witnessing the indignation which this author has vented against the tenderlings of his time, the reader may possibly learn with some surprise, that from the latter end of the thirteenth to nearly the sixteenth century, persons of all ranks, and of both sexes, were universally in the habit of sleeping quite naked. This custom is often alluded to by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and all our ancient writers. In the ‘ *Squire of Low Degree*,’ there is a curious instance,

‘ — She rose, that lady dere,
‘ To take her leave of that squyer

* “ The upright beams. Sax.”

† “ Anderson (*History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 90, edit. 1764) says, that they were first introduced into England A. D. 1180.”

‡ “ Reredosses ; this word is sometimes used to express some part of a chimney, and sometimes as a substitute for one. It seems to mean a plate of iron, or perhaps a coating of brick, to enable the wall to resist the flame.”

'All so naked as she was born,
'She stood her chamber door beforne.'

"In the 'Aresta Amorum,' a lady who had stipulated to throw a nosegay to her lover, on a particular night on each week, complains of the difficulty she found in escaping to the window, '*ou par fois etoit toute nue par l'espace de deux grosses heures.*' This strange practice prevailed at a time when the day-dress of both sexes was much warmer than at present; being generally bordered, and often lined with furs; insomuch that numberless warrens were established in the neighbourhood of London, for the purpose of supplying its inhabitants with rabbits' skins.

"Perhaps it was this warmth of clothing that enabled our ancestors, in defiance of a northern climate, to serenade their mistresses with as much perseverance as if they had lived under the torrid zone. Chaucer thought he had given us the date of his dream with sufficient exactness, when he described it as happening

'About such hours as lovers weep
'And cry after their ladies grace.'

"In France, as appears from the work already quoted, the lovers were sometimes bound to conduct '*les tabourins et les bas menestriers,*' to the doors of their mistresses, between midnight and day-break, on every festival throughout the year; though the principal season for such gallantry was the beginning of May, when the windows were ornamented with pots of marjoram, and maypoles hung with garlands carried through the streets, and raised before every door in

succession. This was called '*recueillir les pots de mariolaine,*' and '*planter le mai.*' The same season appears to have been chosen by English lovers, for the purpose of 'crying after their ladies grace.'

"In houses, of which the walls were made of clay, and the floors of the same materials, and where the stabling was under the same roof with the dwelling rooms, the furniture was not likely to be costly. Of this the author just quoted received, from some ancient neighbours, the following description: 'Our fathers (yea and we ourselves) 'have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats, covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hopharlots * (I use their own terms), and a good round log under their heads, instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers, or the good man of the house, had, within seven years after his marriage, purchased a mattress or flock bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town; who, peradventure, lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers. As for servants, if they had any sheet above them, it was well; for seldom had they any under their bodies, to keep them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvass of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.'

"The progress of improvement in building, was from clay to lath and plaster, which was formed into panels between the principal timbers: to floors or pargets (as Harrison calls them, i. e. parquet),

* "*dag*, Sax. (from whence *daggle* or *draggle*), any thing pendent, a shred. The term therefore means any *patched materials*, like those worn by the poorest country people."

coated with plaster of Paris; and to ceilings overlaid with mortar, and washed with lime or plaster, of delectable whiteness.' Country houses were generally covered with shingles; but in towns, the danger of fires obliged the inhabitants to adopt the use of tile or slate. These latter buildings were very solid, and consisted of many stories projecting over each other, so that the windows on opposite sides of the street nearly met.— 'The walls of our houses on the inner sides,' says Harrison, 'be either hanged with tapestry, arras-work, or painted cloths, wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such like, are stained; or else they are seeled with oak of our own, or wainscot brought out of the east countries.' This relates, of course, to the houses of the wealthy, which he also represents as abounding in plate and pewter. In earlier times, wooden platters, bowls, and drinking vessels, were universally used, excepting in the houses of the nobles. In France, if we may believe M. de Paumy (*Vie privée des François*), slices of bread, called '*pains tranchoirs*,' were used as a substitute for plates, till the reign of Louis XII."

SUMMARY NARRATIVE of the CIRCUMSTANCES which attended the DETENTION of LATOUR MAUBOURG, BUREAU DE PUZY, LA FAYETTE, and his Family *.

[FROM SEGUR'S REIGN of WILLIAM II. KING of PRUSSIA.]

"LA Fayette, Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy, having in vain endeavoured to support the constitution of 1791, which they had sworn to maintain, and finding themselves compelled to emigrate, with some officers, in order to avoid the execution of decrees passed against them, meant to proceed to Holland; but, some leagues from the frontier, they were, notwithstanding their protestations, arrested by an Austrian post, and conducted to Luxemburg. Having sent to ask passports from the duke de Saxe-Teschen, they were refused, and those who signified this refusal, barbarously informed them, that they were reserved for the scaffold.

"As soon as the orders had been received from the court of

Vienna, which determined the fate of the prisoners, and delivered them over to the king of Prussia, they were all three carried and confined at Wesel, where they were guarded by non-commissioned officers, whose orders were to observe them constantly, and not to answer their questions.

"La Fayette had fallen dangerously sick. His fellow-sufferers were refused permission at Maubourg to see their friend ready to expire. A salutary crisis having rescued him from the jaws of death, the king of Prussia thought he might profit by his dejected state, and had a proposal made to him, that his situation should be alleviated, if he would furnish him with plans against France; but he proved, by an energetic reply, his

* "Communicated by one of the prisoners."

contempt of such a proposition. The rigour towards him was then redoubled, and soon after they were thrown into a cart and carried to Magdeburg, and were constantly refused any information of the existence of their families, respecting whom the proscriptions in France gave them the most anxious inquietude.

“In travelling thus, their keepers thought to aggravate their distress and excite the public indignation against them. These wishes, however, were not fulfilled; they every where received marks of the interest excited by the injustice of their detention, and the constancy of their courage.

“They remained a year at Magdeburg, in a damp and dark vault surrounded by high palisades, shut by four successive gates, and fastened with bars of iron and padlocks. However, their situation seemed milder, that they were sometimes allowed to see each other, and were walked out an hour each day on a bastion.

“The king of Prussia suddenly sent an order to remove La Fayette to Silesia; Maubourg solicited and obtained leave to be confined there with him: they were conducted to Glatz, whither Bureau de Puzy was soon after sent.

“Alexander Lameth, being dangerously ill, could not be transported with his companions. His mother, who enjoyed a respect merited by her virtues, obtained of Frederic William, after ardent solicitation, that he should remain in prison in his dominions; and some time after, peace being concluded between that monarch and the French, she succeeded in procuring his liberty. The king of Prussia granted it, because he did not think himself longer obliged to

observe the same respect towards the court of Vienna, which was irritated against him for having quitted the coalition. The prisoners were transferred to Neifs; and, although the dungeon which they there inhabited was still more dismal and unwholesome than any of the others, this change appeared happy to them, as all the three prisoners together were allowed to enjoy the presence of madame de Maisonneuve, who came courageously to share the chains of her brother, Maubourg.

“The king of Prussia, who did not wish, on making peace with France, to be obliged from justice to release his victims, determined to send them into Austria, and they were carried to Olmutz.

“On their arrival at this place, they were robbed of whatever the Prussians had left them, which reduced them to their watches and buckles; some of their books even were seized in which was found the word *liberty*, particularly *Helvetius de l'Esprit* and *Paine's Common Sense*; on which La Fayette asked if these were contraband articles.

“Each of them was told, on being shut up separately in his cell, ‘That they should hereafter see only their four walls; that they would have neither news, necessities, nor visitors; that it was forbidden to mention their names even among the jailers, or in the government dispatches, in which they were distinguished by numbers; that they would never be informed of the fate of their families, nor of each other's existence; and that, as this situation might naturally lead them to self-destruction, they were forbidden knife, fork, and every means whatever of suicide.’

“After three certificates of physicians

sicians of the indispensable necessity of air for La Fayette, after three replies that he was not yet sufficiently ill, he was at length permitted to walk out unconditionally; for it is false that La Fayette enjoyed this liberty, as has been alleged, on his engagement of honour that he should not attempt to make his escape.

“The public know the enterprise of Dr. Boleman and the young Huger, the son of the man at whose house La Fayette first landed in America.

“Boleman, after several months’ unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in procuring a note to be secretly delivered to him, and executed a very bold plan. He repaired to Vienna, sent for the young Huger thither, and posted himself with him at the place where La Fayette was to be conducted to take the air; and these two attempted to rescue him at the moment when, having misled some of his keepers, they endeavoured to disarm the one that remained with him.

“In this struggle, La Fayette gave himself a violent strain in the loins, and the corporal-jailer, with whom he contended, and whom he had disarmed, tore with his teeth his hand to the bone.

“His generous deliverers succeeded in getting him on horseback, with such negligence of their own safety, that they could scarcely find their horses to escape themselves. This loss of time, and the alarms of the keepers, having attracted people and troops, Huger was immediately secured. La Fayette, separated from Boleman, was seized eight leagues from Olmutz, and with the less difficulty, as he had no arms. Boleman reached the Prussian territories,

but the king of Prussia had the barbarity to deliver him up to the Austrians.

“From this time the captivity of La Fayette was more rigorous, and his illness became more serious; he was left without relief, with an unremitting fever, during a remarkably severe winter, deprived of light, and not even allowed the linen which his situation rendered necessary.

“To increase his suffering, he was constantly made to believe that his companions had perished on the scaffold.

“The care that had been taken to keep La Fayette from the knowledge of every thing that might serve to inform him of the fate of his family is remarkable in the following anecdote.

“Latour Maubourg, having at length obtained permission to dispatch letters to his relations, learnt that madame de la Fayette was alive; he requested the commandant to allow his friend to be told that his wife yet lived: the commandant, after answering ‘that his orders in this respect were too express,’ from that time suppressed all the letters in which madame de la Fayette was mentioned, and did not deliver them to him till near a year afterwards, when he quitted Olmutz.

“Whilst La Fayette, reserved for the scaffold, was tortured in the prisons of Olmutz, his wife, uncertain of his existence, and condemned to perpetual grief in the prisons of Paris, daily expected to be led to execution, as had happened to the greater part of her family. The fall of the tyrant saved her life; but she did not, till long after his death, regain her liberty and strength sufficient to execute

cute her designs. Having landed at Altona the 9th of September 1795, she set out for Vienna under the name of Mottier, with an American passport; and arrived at Vienna before the court could be informed of her purpose, or prepared against her application.

"The prince de Rosenberg, affected with her virtues, obtained for her and her daughters an audience of the emperor, some detail of which it may be proper to give.

"Madame de la Fayette claiming the liberty of her husband, in the name of justice and humanity, that prince answered her, 'This affair is complicated; my hands are tied respecting it; but I grant with pleasure all that is in my power, by permitting you to join M. de la Fayette: I should act as you do, were I in your place. M. de la Fayette is well treated, but the presence of his wife and daughters will be an additional indulgence.'

"Madame de la Fayette spoke of other prisoners, and particularly of La Fayette's servants, who she knew had suffered much, and whose affair could not be complicated. The emperor very graciously permitted her to write respecting those from Olmutz, and to address her applications directly to his imperial majesty; and madame de la Fayette, re-assured by the reception she had met with, then wrote on the road from Vienna to Olmutz, that she was astonished to find herself yet susceptible of all the happiness she was beginning to enjoy. But it was not long before sad experience convinced her that the emperor was deceived, and was ignorant of the cruel and tyrannical abuse his bar-

barous agents made of his name and authority.

"Mesdames de Maubourg and de Puzy, inspired by the same sentiments, wished also to partake the chains of their husbands; but they were never permitted to enter the Austrian dominions.

"It is easy to imagine the impression La Fayette must have experienced at the sudden appearance of his wife and his children, whose existence had long been to him an object of fear and uncertainty, and that which his affectionate daughters and their mother must have felt at the sight of his emaciated figure and pale countenance; but they did not expect that their embraces would be interrupted, by the jailers' robbing the travellers of all they had brought with them.

"They took their purse, very ill supplied, and eagerly seized three forks, considered as instruments of suicide; for they well knew the temptation to it they had inspired. On this unexpected treatment, madame de la Fayette desired to speak to the commandant; they answered, that he was forbidden to see her, but that she might write to him. She desired to write to the emperor, conformably to the permission he had granted her; this they refused, telling her that her applications to the commandant would be forwarded to Vienna. They consisted in attending mass on Sunday, having a soldier's wife to wait on her daughters, and being, as well as La Fayette, waited on by one of his domestics. She received no answer to all these demands, nor to an application she some time afterwards addressed to the minister of war, to see La-

tour

ur Maubourg, and Puzy, except
is, 'Madame de la Fayette has
submitted to share the captivity
of her husband.'

"At length the health of this
unfortunate lady, impaired by six-
teen months' imprisonment, and
readful vexation, in France, di-
playing symptoms which denoted
tendency of the fluids to putres-
cence, she thought it her duty to
attempt some means for her pre-
servation, and wrote to the empe-
ror to solicit permission from him
to pass a week at Vienna, there to
respire salubrious air, and consult
a physician. After two months of
silence, which supposes the ne-
cessity of medical advice as of no
consequence, the commandant, till
then unknown to the prisoners, en-
tered their apartment, ordered,
without giving any reason, the
young ladies to retire to a separate
room, signified to madame de la
Fayette the emperor's refusal for
her ever to enter Vienna, and gave
her permission to go out, on condi-
tion of never returning: he de-
sired her to write, and sign her
option; she wrote:

" 'I considered it a duty to my
' family and friends to desire the
' assistance necessary for my
' health; but they well know that it
' cannot, at the price attached to
' it, be accepted by me. I cannot
' forget, that whilst we were on the
' point of perishing, myself by the
' tyranny of Robespierre, and my
' husband by the physical and mo-
' ral sufferings of captivity, I was
' not permitted to obtain any intel-
' ligence of him, nor to acquaint
' him that his children and myself
' were yet alive; and I shall not
' expose myself to the horrors of
' another separation. Whatever
' then may be the state of my

' health, and the inconveniences of
' this abode for my daughters, we
' will gratefully avail ourselves of
' his imperial majesty's generosity,
' in permitting us to partake this
' captivity in all its circumstances.

(Signed)

' NOAILLES LA FAYETTE.'

"From this moment no com-
plaint was expressed, and this ill-
fated pair respired in their cham-
bers, or, more properly speaking,
dungeons, an air so fetid from the
exhalations of a sewer, and of the
privies of the garrison placed near
Fayette's window, that the soldiers
who brought their food held their
nose on opening the door.

"The constant answer of the
persons of power or interest, who
heard their barbarities exclaimed
against, was, 'Madame de la Fay-
' ette has chosen to share the lot
' of her husband; she has no right
' to complain.' They might as
well have said: 'Every thing is
' allowable against La Fayette;
' the life of his wife and children
' is not worth arresting our venge-
' ance for a moment.'

"The three prisoners, Mau-
bourg, La Fayette, and Puzy, had
been confined for three years and
five months in the same corridor,
without seeing each other, or their
keepers' giving them the least in-
telligence of each other's exist-
ence. When general Bonaparte
and the French government testi-
fied an intention, conformably to
the national wish, of restoring them
to liberty, they experienced the
strongest opposition. At last, an
aid-de-camp of the conqueror of
Italy succeeded, after several
months' tergiversation, in obtain-
ing from the court of Vienna this
deliverance."

On

ON ANCIENT CASTLES and CHURCHES.

[From COXE'S HISTORICAL TOUR in MONMOUTHSHIRE.]

AMONG the principal objects of historical importance, the castles arrest the attention of the curious traveller. From the want of authentic documents, and the doubtful characters of our ancient architecture, it is not easy to ascertain the precise æra of their construction, and to distinguish their different proprietors. Stone castles were undoubtedly used by the Romans, and occupied on their departure by the Britons, who had been trained under their military discipline. The Saxons, in their gradual conquest of England, obtained possession of these strong holds, and constructed others in various parts of the country. The roundness of the arches, and other leading characters of Roman architecture, were still preserved: but the simplicity and elegance were lost in a more ponderous style; their buildings were loaded with rude and fantastic ornaments; and as the arts of war changed, new modes of defence were introduced, particularly during the contest between the Saxons and Danes. It is, however, acknowledged that these castles were few in number, and much dilapidated at the time of the Conquest—a circumstance which principally contributed to the success of the Norman invasion.

“From the necessity of retaining the natives in subjection, the conquerors repaired the old fortresses, and constructed new castles in different parts of the kingdom. These strong holds became so numerous, that in little more than a century

their number exceeded eleven hundred.

“On their first arrival the Normans employed the same mode of architecture as the Saxons, but with larger dimensions, and perhaps with a greater number of capricious ornaments; and hence arises the great difficulty of distinguishing a Saxon from a Norman building erected at this period.

“Towards the commencement of the twelfth century a criterion of distinction was derived from the introduction of the pointed, or, as it is usually called, the Gothic arch, which probably owed its origin to the intersection of the semicircular arches in the ornamental parts of the Saxon or Norman buildings. It was at first sparingly employed; but was gradually intermixed with the Saxon or Norman style, until it came into general use, before the latter end of the same century.

“At its first appearance, which seems to be earlier than is generally supposed, the Gothic architecture was plain and unadorned, but was gradually distinguished by slender and clustered columns, lightness of the walls, numerous buttresses, and by a profusion of ornaments. In the age of Henry VI. it reached its highest perfection, as may be seen in the beautiful specimen of King's College in the university of Cambridge. Soon after that period the arch became wider and less pointed, and gradually tended to a circular form. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, a whimsical intermixture of Roman, Saxon, Norman,

Norman, and Gothic architecture was introduced, and retained until the adoption of the Palladian style.

“Most of these styles are observable in the castles, churches, and other ancient buildings of Monmouthshire. Few Roman remains exist; and the Saxons, being never possessors of the whole country, could leave but few specimens of their architecture, and those of a period when it is difficult to distinguish it from that of the early Normans; but the Gothic is most prevalent. From these circumstances, as well as from historical evidence, it is probable that the greater part of the castles in this country owed their origin to the Normans, and were built or repaired after the introduction of Gothic architecture: none, perhaps, except Scenfreth, are wholly Saxon or early Norman; a few exhibit an intermixture of the Norman and Gothic; and the rest are entirely Gothic.

“The churches are singularly picturesque, from their situation, form, and appearance. They stand in the midst of the fields, and on the banks of the rivers; are often embowered in trees, and generally at a considerable distance from any habitation.

“A whimsical and not unpleasant effect is sometimes produced by the coat of plaster or lime with which they are covered. The body of the church is usually whitened—occasionally also the tower: in some instances the tower is uncoloured, and in others the battlements only are whitewashed. This intermixture of colours is ingeniously accounted for by Essex in his remarks on ancient brick and stone buildings in England: ‘The
‘Normans frequently raised large
‘buildings with pebbles only, and
‘sometimes with pebbles intermixt

‘with rag-stones. As this rough
‘manner of building with rag-
‘stones and other irregular mate-
‘rials, required a coat of plastering
‘to make them fair without and
‘neat within, we find that those
‘small churches and other build-
‘ings which were built in this
‘manner, were always plastered
‘in the inside, and frequently on
‘the outside, with a composition
‘of lime and sand, the remains of
‘which may be traced in many of
‘the Saxon and Norman churches,
‘and in some more modern.’

“These churches exhibit different styles of architecture. Many of them, particularly in the mountainous districts, are very ancient; and it is probable that a few were constructed by the Britons, some by the Saxons, and several at an early period of the Norman monarchy, as is evident from the rounded arches and mouldings peculiar to those styles; but the far greater part were built since the introduction of Gothic architecture.

“The first are generally of a simple form, of small dimensions, shaped like a barn, without any distinction in the breadth or height between the nave and the chancel, and without a belfry.

“The second species is of somewhat later date: the chancel is narrower and less lofty than the church; a small belfry is also placed over the roof, at the western extremity, with one or two apertures for bells, the ropes of which descend into the church.

“The third species consists of a nave, a chancel, and a tower or belfry, which is sometimes placed at the western extremity, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the side. The tower was at first rude and massive; afterwards increased

creased in height and lightness, was ornamented with battlements; and in later times with pinnacles. A few, particularly those in the eastern parts of the county, are provided with steeples, and are scarcely earlier than the thirteenth century.

"Many of the churches have undergone little change since the æra of the Reformation, and exhibit traces of the Roman-catholic worship, particularly in the niches for saints, the receptacles for holy water, and sometimes in the vestiges of the confessional chair.

"Many also contain remains of the rood loft; almost all of the doorway and side staircase which led to it. In several churches I observed the transverse beams from which the cross was suspended, and in that of Bettws Newydd almost the whole loft remains. In many parts of this county the poor of every persuasion still retain the custom of begging bread for the *souls of the departed* on All-Souls'

day: the bread then given is called *bara ran*, or dole bread.

"The fonts are in general remarkable for size and rudeness of workmanship — circumstance which bespeak antiquity, and prove that they were formed when baptism was performed by immersion, and not by sprinkling.

"A remarkable custom, of high antiquity, which greatly disfigures the churches, is prevalent in these parts. The inside of the church is often the common place of sepulture. When a corpse is buried, the pavement is taken up, a grave raised in the same manner as in common church-yards, and this heap of earth strewn with flowers and evergreens. As this custom is annually repeated, and considered as a testimony of remembrance, the stones are seldom replaced, the faded plants rot on the surface of the grave, the floor is damp and dirty; and these tributes of affection, though pleasing objects in the church-yards, become offensive and disgusting."

The LORD of MISRULE—the KING of CHRISTMAS—the FESTIVAL of FOOLS—the BOY BISHOP.

[FROM STRUTT'S SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.]

"IT is said of the English, that formerly they were remarkable for the manner in which they celebrated the festival of Christmas; at which season they admitted variety of sports and pastimes not known or little practised in other countries. The *mock prince*, or *lord of misrule*, whose reign extended through the greater part of the holy-days, is particularly remarked by foreign writers, who

consider him as a personage rarely to be met with out of England; and, two or three centuries back, perhaps, this observation might be consistent with the truth: but I trust we shall, upon due examination, be ready to conclude, that anciently this frolicsome monarch was well known upon the continent, where he probably received his first honours. In this kingdom his powers and his dignities suffered

ferred no diminution, but on the contrary were established by royal authority, and continued after they had ceased to exist elsewhere. But even with us his government has been extinct for many years, and his name and his officers are nearly forgotten. No doubt, in many instances, the privileges allowed to this merry despot were abused, and not unfrequently productive of immorality: the institution itself, even if we view it in its most favourable light, is puerile and ridiculous, adapted to the ages of ignorance, when more rational amusements were not known, or at least not fashionable.

“ ‘At the feast of Christmas,’ says Stowe, ‘in the king’s court, wherever he chanced to reside, there was appointed a *lord of misrule*, or *master of merry disports*: the same merry fellow made his appearance at the house of every nobleman and person of distinction; and among the rest the lord mayor of London and the sheriffs had severally of them their *lord of misrule*, ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. This pageant potentate began his rule at All-hallow eve, and continued the same till the morrow after the feast of the Purification; in which space there were fine and subtle disguisings, masks, and mummeries.’

“ This master of merry disports was not confined to the court, nor to the houses of the opulent, he was also elected in various parishes, where, indeed, his reign seems to have been of shorter date. A writer, who lived at the close of the sixteenth century, places this whimsical personage, with his followers, in a very degrading point of view.

1801.

I shall give the passage in the author’s own words, and leave the reader to comment upon them.

‘ First of all, the wilde heades of the parish, flocking together, chuse them a graund captaine of mischife, whom they innoble with the title of *lord of misrule*; and him they crowne with great solemnity, and adopt for their king. This *king annoynted* chooseth forth twentie, fourty, threescore, or an hundred lustie guttes, like to himself, to waite upon his lordly majesty, and to garde his noble person. Then every one of these men he investeth with his liveries of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; and, as though they were not gawdy ynough, they bedecke themselves with scarffes, ribbons, and laces, hanged all over with gold ringes, pretious stones, and other jewels. This done, they tie aboute either legge twentie or fourtie belles, with riche handkerchiefes in their handes, and sometimes laide acrossse over their shoulders and neckes, borrowed, for the most part, of their pretie mopsies and loving Bessies. Thus all thinges set in order, then have they their *hobby horses*, their *dragons*, and other antiques, together with their baudie pipers, and thundring drummers, to strike up the devil’s daunce with all. Then march this heathen company towards the church, their pypers pyping, their drummers thundring, their stumpes dauncing, their belles jyncling, their handkerchiefes fluttering aboute their heades like madde men, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng: and in this sorte they go to the church, though the minister be at prayer or preaching, dauncing

N

‘ and

' and singing like devils incarnate,
 ' with such a confused noise that
 ' no man can heare his own voyce.
 ' Then the foolish people they
 ' looke, they stare, they laugh, they
 ' fleere, and mount upon the formes
 ' and pewes to see these goodly
 ' pageants solemnized. Then after
 ' this, aboute the church they goe
 ' againe and againe, and so fourthe
 ' into the churche yard, where they
 ' have commonly their sommer-
 ' halls, their bowers, arbours, and
 ' banquetting-houses, setup, where-
 ' in they feast, banquet, and daunce
 ' all that day, and *paradventure* all
 ' that night too; and thus these
 ' terrestrial furies spend the sab-
 ' bath day. Then, for the further
 ' innobling of this honourable *lar-*
 ' *dane*, lord I should say, they have
 ' certaine papers wherein is painted
 ' some babelerie * or other of ima-
 ' gerie worke, and these they call
 ' my Lord of Misrule's badges of
 ' cognizances. These they give to
 ' every one that will give them
 ' money to maintain them in this
 ' their heathenish devilrie;—and
 ' who will not show himself buxome
 ' to them and give them money,
 ' they shall be mocked and flouted
 ' shamefully; yea, and many times
 ' carried upon a cowlstafie, and
 ' dived over heade and eares in
 ' water, or otherwise most horribly
 ' abused. And so besotted are
 ' some, that they not only give
 ' them money, but weare their
 ' badges or cognizances in their
 ' hats or cappes openly. Another
 ' sorte of fantastickall fooles bring to
 ' these *helhounds*, the Lord of Mis-
 ' rule and his complices, some bread,
 ' some good ale, some new cheese,
 ' some old cheese, some custardes,
 ' some cracknels, some cakes, some
 ' flauns, some tartes, some creame,

' some meat, some one thing, and
 ' some another.'

" The society belonging to Lin-
 coln's-Inn had anciently an officer
 chosen at this season, who was
 honoured with the title of *King of*
Christmas-Day, because he presided
 in the hall upon that day. This
 temporary potentate had a marshal
 and a steward to attend upon him.
 The marshal, in the absence of the
 monarch, was permitted to assume
 his state; and upon New Year's-
 day he sat as king in the hall, when
 the *master of the revels*, during the
 time of dining, supplied the mar-
 shal's place. Upon Childermas-day
 they had another officer, denomi-
 nated the *King of the Cockneys*,
 who also presided on the day
 of his appointment, and had his
 inferior officers to wait upon
 him †.

" Selden asserts, and in my opi-
 nion with great justice, that all
 these whimsical transpositions of
 dignity, are derived from the an-
 cient *Saturnalia*, or *Feasts of Saturn*,
 when the masters waited upon
 their servants, who were honoured
 with mock titles, and permitted to
 assume the state and deportment
 of their lords. These fooleries
 were exceedingly popular, and
 continued to be practised long after
 the establishment of Christianity,
 in defiance of the threatenings and
 the remonstrances of the clergy,
 who, finding it impossible to divert
 the stream of vulgar prejudice,
 permitted them to be exercised,
 but changed the primitive object
 of devotion; so that the same un-
 hallowed orgies, which had dis-
 graced the worship of a heathen
 deity, were dedicated, as it was
 called, to the service of the true
 God, and sanctioned by the appo-

* "Childish, trifling."

† "Dugdale's Origines Juridicales, fol. 247."

lation of a Christian institution. From this polluted stock branched out variety of unseemly and immoral sports; but none of them more daringly impious, and outrageous to common sense, than the *festival of fools*, in which the most sacred rites and ceremonies of the church were turned into ridicule, and the ecclesiastics themselves participated in the abominable profanations. The following outlines of this absurd diversion will no doubt be thought sufficient.

“ In each of the cathedral churches there was a *bishop*, or an *archbishop of fools*, elected; and in the churches immediately dependent upon the papal see a *pope of fools*. These mock pontiffs had usually a proper suite of ecclesiastics who attended upon them, and assisted at the divine service, most of them attired in ridiculous dresses, resembling pantomimical players and buffoons; they were accompanied by large crowds of the laity, some being disguised with masks of a monstrous fashion, and others having their faces smutted; in one instance to frighten the beholders, and in the other to excite their laughter: and some, again, assuming the habits of females, practised all the wanton airs of the loosest and most abandoned of the sex. During the divine service this motley crowd were not contented with singing of indecent songs in the choir, but some of them ate, and drank, and played at dice, upon the altar, by the side of the priest who celebrated the mass. After the service they put filth into the censers, and ran about the church, leaping, dancing, laughing, singing, breaking obscene jests, and exposing themselves in the most unseemly attitudes with

shameless impudence. Another part of these ridiculous ceremonies was, to shave the *precentor of fools* upon a stage erected before the church, in the presence of the populace; and, during the operation, he amused them with lewd and vulgar discourses, accompanied by actions equally reprehensible. The *bishop*, or the *pope of fools*, performed divine service habited in the pontifical garments, and gave his benediction to the people before they quitted the church. He was afterwards seated in an open carriage, and drawn about to the different parts of the town, attended by a large train of ecclesiastics and laymen promiscuously mingled together; and many of the most profligate of the latter assumed clerical habits, in order to give their impious fooleries the greater effect; they had also with them carts filled with ordure, which they threw occasionally upon the populace assembled to see the procession. These spectacles were always exhibited at Christmas-time, or near to it, but not confined to one particular day. When the ceremony took place upon St. Stephen's-day, they sang, as part of the mass, a burlesque composition, called *The Prose of the Ass*, or *The Fool's Prose*. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an ass. Upon the festival of St. John the Evangelist they had another arrangement of ludicrous sentences, denominated *The Prose of the Ox*, equally reprehensible.

“ Grotesque ceremonies, something similar to those above mentioned, certainly took place in England; but probably they were not carried to that extent of im-

piety, nor so grossly offensive to decency. We had a *king of the fools*, but his office was suppressed at an early period, and not, that I remember, revived in the succeeding times. The election and the investment of the *boy-bishop* was certainly derived from the *festival of fools*. In all the collegiate churches, at the feast of St. Nicholas, or of the Holy Innocents, and frequently at both, it was customary for one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, to bear the title and state of a bishop. He exacted a ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who, being dressed like priests, took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices which might have been celebrated by a bishop and his prebendaries. Colet, dean of St. Paul's, who, though he was 'a wise and good man,' countenanced this idle farce; and, in the statutes for his school at St. Paul's, expressly orders that the scholars 'shall, every Childermas, that is, Innocent's-day, come to Paule's church, and hear the *childe byshop's* sermon, and after be at hygh masse, and each of them offer a penny to the *childe byshop*; and with them the maisters and surveyors of the schole *.' After having performed the divine service, the bishop and his associates went about to different parts of the town, and visited the religious houses, collecting money. These ceremonies and processions were formally abrogated by proclamation from the king and council,

in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII.; the concluding clause of the ordinance runs thus: 'Whereas heretofore dyvers and many superstitious and chydyshe observances have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept in many and sundry places of this realm upon St. Nicholas, St. Catherine's, St. Clement's, and Holy Innocents, and such like holy-daies; children be strangely decked and apparayled to counterfeit priests, bishops, and women, and so ledde with songs and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money; and boyes do sing masse, and preache in the pulpits, with such other unfitting and inconvenient usages, which tend rather to derysyon than ende true glorie to God, or honour of his sayntes.' This idle pageantry was revived by his daughter Mary; and in the second year of her reign an edict was issued from the bishop of London to all the clergy of his diocese, to have a boy-bishop in procession. The year following, the child bishop, of Paule's church, with his company, were admitted into the queen's privy-chamber, where he sang before her on St. Nicholas'-day and upon Holy Innocents-day. Again the next year, says Strype, 'On Saint Nicholas-even, *Saint Nicholas*, that is, a boy habited like a bishop in pontificalibus, went abroad in most parts of London, singing after the old fashion; and was received with many ignorant but well-disposed people into their houses, and had as much good cheer as

* "Knight's Life of Colet, p. 362; to which Warton adds, "I take this opportunity of intimating, that the custom at Eton of going *ad monem*, originated from the ancient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies." Hist. Poet. ut supra."

‘ever was wont to be had before *.’ mummery was totally discontinued.
After the death of Mary this silly

ACCOUNT of SOHO, BIRMINGHAM.

[From SHAW'S HISTORY of STAFFORDSHIRE, Vol. III. Part I.]

“SOHO is the name of a hill in the county of Stafford, about two miles from Birmingham; which, a very few years ago, was a barren heath, on the bleak summit of which stood a naked hut, the habitation of a warrener.

“The transformation of this place is a recent monument of the effects of trade on population. A beautiful garden, with wood, lawn, and water, now covers one side of this hill; five spacious squares of building, erected on the other side, supply workshops, or houses, for above six hundred people. The extensive pool at the approach to this building is conveyed to a large water-wheel in one of the courts, and communicates motion to a prodigious number of different tools. And the mechanic inventions for this purpose are superior in multitude, variety, and simplicity, to those of any manufactory (I suppose) in the known world.

“Toys, and utensils of various kinds, in gold, silver, steel, copper, tortoise-shell, enamels, and many vitreous and metallic compositions, with gilded, plated, and inlaid works, are wrought up to the highest elegance of taste, and

perfection of execution, in this place.

“Mr. Boulton, who has established this great work, has joined taste and philosophy with manufacture and commerce; and, from the various branches of chemistry, and the numerous mechanic arts he employs, and his extensive correspondence to every corner of the world, is furnished with the highest entertainment as well as the most lucrative employment.

“About the year 1745, Mr. Boulton, then of Birmingham, invented, and afterwards brought to great perfection, the inlaid steel buckles, buttons, watch-chains, &c. which Dr. Johnson mentions in one of his papers in ‘The World’ as becoming fashionable in this country; whilst they were re-purchased from France, under the idea of their being the production of that kingdom.

“In the year 1757, John Wyrley, of Hamstead, esq. lord of the manor of Handsworth, granted a lease to Messrs. Edward Ruston and Eaves, of these tracts of common; viz. Handsworth-heath, Money-bank-hill, Crabtree-bank warrens, for ninety-nine years, with certain inclosed lands; with liberty to make

* “We may observe that most of the churches in which these mock ceremonies were performed, had dresses and ornaments proper for the occasion, and suited to the size of the wearers, but in every other respect resembling those appropriated to the real dignitaries of the church; hence it is we frequently meet with entries of diminutive habits and ornaments in the church inventories, as *una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum*, that is, a small mitre with jewels for the bishop of the boys. Invent. York Cathedral. See also Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 205.”

some additions to the same, and to make a cut for the turning of Hockley-brook, to make a pool, with powers to build a water-mill. In consequence of which a small house and feeble mill were erected, for the purpose of rolling metal. On Lady-day 1762, Mr. Boulton purchased the aforesaid lease, with all the premises and appurtenances, to apply the same to such branches of the manufactory established at Birmingham as would tend to diminish expense and labour.

“ In order to prosecute his designs and improvements, he soon after enlarged and rebuilt those premises, and then transplanted the whole of his manufactory from Birmingham to Soho; and, though he had made very considerable additions to these buildings, he found them not sufficient for his great designs: he therefore, in 1764, laid the foundation of the present superb manufactory, which was finished in the following year, at the expense of 9000*l*. From that period he began to turn his attention to the different branches of manufactory; and, in conjunction with Mr. Fothergill, then his partner, established a mercantile correspondence throughout Europe; by which means the produce of their various articles was greatly extended, and the manufacturer, by becoming his own merchant, eventually enjoyed a double profit. Impelled by an ardent attachment to the arts, and by the patriotic ambition of bringing his favourite Soho to the highest degree of perfection, the ingenious proprietor soon established a seminary of artists for drawing and modelling; and men of genius were now sought for and liberally patronised, which shortly led to a successful imitation of the Or Molu. These metallic

ornaments, consisting of vases, tripods, candelabras, &c. by the superior skill and taste bestowed upon them here, soon found their way, not only to the admiration of his majesty, and to the chimney-pieces and cabinets, &c. of the nobility and curious of this kingdom; but likewise to France, and almost to every part of Europe. From this elegant branch of the business the superior skill of Mr. Boulton led his artists, by a natural and easy transition, to that of the wrought silver; upon which he soon found the necessity of applying to parliament for, and establishing, in 1773, an assay office at Birmingham. About this time that ingenious art of copying pictures in oil-colours, by a mechanical process, was invented at Soho; and, under the patronage of the above proprietor, was brought to such a degree of perfection as to be taken for originals by the most experienced connoisseurs. This extraordinary piece of art was principally conducted by the ingenious Mr. F. Eginton, which led him to that of painting upon glass, now carried on at his neighbouring manufactory.

“ Mr. Boulton, finding from experience that the stream of water which had induced him to build a mill, and transplant his manufactory to Soho, was insufficient for its purposes, applied horses, in conjunction with his water-mill; but finding that both troublesome, irregular, and expensive, in 1767 he made a steam-engine, on Savery's plan, with the intention of returning and raising his water about twenty-four feet high; but, this proving unsatisfactory to him, he soon after formed an acquaintance with his present partner and friend, Mr. James Watt of Glasgow, who

in 1765 had invented several valuable improvements upon the steam-engine, which in fact made it a new machine.

“ The application of this improved steam-engine at Soho, to raise and return the water, extended the powers of the water-mill; which induced Mr. Boulton to rebuild it a second time, upon a much larger scale; and several engines were afterwards erected at Soho for other purposes, by which the manufactory was greatly extended, the source of mechanical power being thus unlimited.

“ Amongst the various applications of the steam-engine, that of coining seems to be of considerable importance, as by its powers all the operations are concentrated on the same spot; such as rolling the cakes of copper hot into sheets; 2dly, fine-rolling the same cold in steel polished rollers; 3dly, cutting out the blank pieces of coin, which is done with greater ease and rapidity by girls than could possibly be done by strong men; 4thly, the steam-engine also performs other operations, such as shaking the coin in bags; and, 5thly, it works a number of coining machines, with greater rapidity and exactness, by a few boys of twelve or fourteen years of age, than could be done by a great number of strong men, without endangering their fingers, as the machine itself lays the blanks upon the die perfectly concentric with it, and when struck displaces one piece and replaces another.

“ The coining-mill, which was erected in 1788, and has since been greatly improved, is adapted to work eight machines, and each is capable of striking from seventy to eighty-four pieces of money per minute, the size of a guinea, which

is equal to between 30,000 and 40,000 per hour; and at the same blow which strikes the two faces, the edge of the piece is also struck, either plain or with an inscription upon it, and thus every piece becomes perfectly round, and of equal diameter; which is not the case with any other national money ever put into circulation.

“ Such a coining-mill, erected in the national mint, would, in cases of emergency, be able to coin all the bullion in the bank of England, at a short notice, without the necessity of putting dollars, or other foreign coin, into circulation; and by erecting double the number of presses a double quantity may be coined.

“ It is worthy observation, that the ground of the silver money coined by this machine has a much finer and blacker polish than the money coined by the common apparatus.

“ In consequence of Mr. Boulton's money being perfectly round, and of equal diameter, he proposed the following coincidence between money, weights, and measures, in the copper coin, part of which he hath lately executed for the British government; viz. a two-penny piece to weigh two ounces; and fifteen of them to measure two feet, when laid flat in a straight line: one penny piece to weigh one ounce; and seventeen of them to measure two feet: a half-penny to weigh half an ounce; and ten of them to measure one foot: a farthing to weigh a quarter of an ounce; and twelve to measure one foot. This plan of coincidence was prevented from being put into execution by the sudden advance of the price of copper.

“ In the year 1788 Mr. Boulton struck a piece of gold, the size of
N + a guinea,

a guinea, as a pattern (similar to those in copper); the letters were indented instead of in relief; and the head, and other devices (although in relief), were protected from wear by a broad flat border; and, from the perfect rotundity of shape, &c. with the aid of a steel gage it may, with great ease and certainty, be distinguished from any base metal. Previous to Mr. Boulton's engagement to supply government with copper pence, in order to bring his apparatus to the greatest perfection, he exercised it in coining silver money for Sierra Leona and the African company, and copper for the East-India company and Bermudas. Various beautiful medals of our celebrated naval and other officers, &c. have likewise been struck here from time to time, by Mr. Boulton; for the purpose of employing and encouraging ingenious artists to revive that branch of sculpture, which had been upon the decline in this kingdom since the death of Symons, in the reign of Charles II.

"In order to obtain the desired degree of perfection in the manufactory of steam-engines, Messrs. Boulton and Watt found it necessary to erect and establish an iron-foundry for that purpose; and they have accordingly, in partnership with their sons (to whose activity, genius, and judgment, it must be attributed that this great work was begun and finished in the course of three winter months), erected, at a convenient distance and contiguous to the same stream, at Smethwick, a great and complete manufactory and foundry, into which a branch from the Birmingham canal enters; and thereby the coals, pig-iron, bricks, sand, &c. are brought; and their engines, or other

heavy goods, are transported in boats to every part of the kingdom, there being a wet-dock within their walls for four boats to lie.

"The plan of this work being well digested and settled previous to laying the first stone, the whole is thereby rendered more complete than such works as generally arise gradually from disjointed ideas. And, from the great experience of the proprietors, they have applied the power of steam to the boring of cylinders, pumps, &c.; to drilling, to turning, to blowing their melting furnaces, and whatever tends to abridge human labour, and obtain accuracy; for, by the superiority of all their tools, they are enabled to attain expedition and perfection in a higher degree than heretofore.

"In a national view, Mr. Boulton's undertakings are highly valuable and important. By collecting around him artists of various descriptions, rival talents have been called forth, and by successive competition have been multiplied to an extent highly beneficial to the public. A barren heath has been covered with plenty and population; and these works, which in their infancy were little known and attended to, now cover several acres, give employment to more than 600 persons, and are said to be the first of their kind in Europe.

"Every precaution has been always taken, and in the most judicious manner, by the proprietors, to diminish the poor's levies, and keep their numerous workmen from becoming troublesome to the parish, &c. One great instance of which is a long-established society for the sick and lame, &c. for the better management of which are printed, on a large sheet,

" Rules

“ Rules for conducting the Insurance Society belonging to the Soho Manufactory.

“ These consist of twenty-five articles: some of which are these:

“ I. That every person employed in the Soho manufactory shall be a member of this society, who can earn from 2s. 6d. per week, or upwards.

“ II. Each member shall pay to the treasure-box, agreeable to the following table, which is divided into eight parts; viz. the member who is set down at 2s. 6d. per week shall pay one half-penny per week; 5s. one penny; and so on, in like proportion, to 20s. four pence; and none to exceed that sum.

“ VI. If any member is sick, lame, and incapable of work, he shall receive, after three days' notice to the committee, as follows, during his illness; viz. if he pays in the box, for 2s. 6d. he shall receive two shillings per week; and for 5s. four shillings; and so on in like proportion, &c.

“ The rules of this manufactory have certainly been productive of the most laudable and salutary effects. And, besides the great attention to cleanliness and wholesome air, &c. this manufactory has always been distinguished for its order and good behaviour, and

particularly during the great riots at Birmingham.

“ No expense has been spared to render these works uniform and handsome in architecture, as well as neat and commodious. The same liberal spirit and taste has the great and worthy proprietor gradually exercised in the adjoining gardens, groves, and pleasure-grounds, which, at the same time that they form an agreeable separation from his own residence, render Soho a much admired scene of picturesque beauty. Wandering through these secluded walks, or on the banks of the several fine lakes and water-falls which adorn them, we may here enjoy the sweets of solitude and retirement, as if far distant from the busy hum of men.

“ In scenes like these the studious and philosophic mind occasionally finds a most agreeable and salutary asylum.

“ That the poet has likewise felt their influence appears by the following tribute to the memory of a departed friend:

“ At the termination of the walk beyond the cottage, in the secluded grove, where nothing intrudes upon the eye but the new church at Birmingham, where Dr. Small was buried, is erected a tribute to his memory, on which are the following elegant lines by Dr. Darwin:

‘ M. S.

GULIELMI SMALL, M. D.

QUI OB. FEB. XXV.

M.DCC.LXXV.

‘ Ye gay and young, who, thoughtless of your doom,
Shun the disgusting mansions of the dead,
Where Melancholy broods o’er many a tomb,
Mould’ring beneath the yew’s unwholesome shade;
If chance ye enter these sequester’d groves,
And Day’s bright sunshine for a while forego,

Oh!

Oh ! leave to Folly's cheek the laughs and loves,
 And give one hour to philosophic woe !
 Here, while no titled dust, no sainted bone,
 No lover weeping over beauty's bier,
 No warrior frowning in historic stone,
 Extorts your praises, or requests your tear ;
 Cold *Contemplation* leans her aching head,
 On human woe her steady eye she turns,
 Waves her meek hand, and sighs for Science dead,
 For Science, Virtue, and for SMALL, she mourns !

" This is in one of the oldest groves between the house and manufactory. Let us now turn our attention to the more recent improvements on the opposite side ; where, in the extensive new plantations, we see the most extraordinary effects produced by irrigation, with the powerful aid of the steam-engine, which, when at liberty from its other labours, forces up water by pipes to the summit of these grounds ; so that, in the dryest season, when all other vegetation was perishing for want of rain and water, these plantations were amply supplied, and now as amply reward the ingenious contriver by their flourishing foliage. Here also we see the new hydraulic ram, which is a self-moving water-work

applicable to agricultural purposes, and constructed with great ingenuity and simplicity.

" The house, which was before much too small for the hospitable purposes of its generous owner, has been lately enlarged. At the top of the roof, which is made very neat and commodious, either for common or telescopic observations, the prospect is extensive and beautiful, commanding an agreeable view of the principal part of Birmingham to the south ; the ancient Gothic splendour of Aston-hall eastward ; with Barr Beacon, and all the rich scenery of the intermediate valleys, towards the north ; Sandwell-park, and the new foundery at Smethwick, &c. to the west."

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

FROM delug'd Earth's usurp'd domain,
 When Ocean sought his native bed,
 Emerging from the shrinking main,
 Rear'd many a mountain isle its head,
 Encircled with a billowy zone,
 Fair Freedom mark'd them for her own:
 " Let the vast Continent obey
 A ruthless master's iron sway,
 Uncheck'd by aught from pole to pole,
 Where swoln Ambition's torrents roll;
 Those seats to tyrants I resign,
 Here be my blest abode, the island reign be mine."

Hating the fane where Freedom sat enshrin'd,
 Grasping at boundless empire o'er mankind,
 Behold from Susa's distant towers
 The Eastern despot sends his mighty powers;
 Grecia through all her rocky coast,
 Astonish'd views the giant host;
 Not the fam'd Strait by bleeding heroes barr'd,
 Nor Cecrops' walls, her hallow'd altars guard;
 While each bold inmate of the Isles
 On Inroad's baffled effort smiles,
 From every port, with cheering sound,
 Swells the vindictive Pæan round,
 And Salamis, proud from her sea-girt shore,
 Sees o'er the hostile fleet th' indignant surges soar.

Fiercer than Persia's sceptred lord,
 More numerous than th' embattled train,
 Whose thirsty swarms the sea-broad rivers drain,
 Lo! Gallia's plains disgorge their maddening hord!

Wide

Wide o'er Europa's trembling lands
 Victorious speed the murderous bands;
 Where'er they spread their powerful sway,
 Fell Desolation marks their way;
 Unhurt, amid a warring world, alone
 Britannia sits secure, firm on her island throne.

When thunders roar, when lightnings fly,
 When howling tempests shake the sky,
 Is more endear'd the sheltering dome,
 More sweet the social joys of home;
 Fondly her eye, lo! Albion throws
 On the tried partner of her weal and woes,
 Each tie to closer union draws,
 By mingled rights and mingled laws;
 Then turns averse from Gallia's guilty field,
 And tears with generous pride the lilies from her shield.

Albion and Erin's kindred race,
 Long as your Sister Isles the seas embrace;
 Long as the circling tides your shores that lave,
 Waft your united banners o'er the wave;
 Wide thro' the deep commercial wealth to spread,
 Or hurl destruction on th' oppressor's head!
 May Heaven on each unconquer'd nation shower
 Eternal concord, and increasing power:
 And as, in History's awful page,
 Immortal virtue shall proclaim
 To every clime, thro' every age,
 Imperial George's patriot fame,
 That parent care shall win her warmest smiles,
 Which rear'd 'mid Ocean's reign the Empire of the Isles.

F R I E N D S H I P.

[From POEMS translated from the FRENCH of MADAME DE LA MOTHE
 GUION, by the late WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.]

WHAT virtue or what mental grace
 But men unqualified and base
 Will boast it their possession?
 Profusion apes the noble part
 Of liberality of heart,
 And dulness of discretion.

If ev'ry polish'd gem we find
 Illuminating heart or mind,
 Provoke to imitation;
 No wonder friendship does the same,
 That jewel of the purest flame,
 Or rather constellation.

No knave but boldly will pretend
The requisites that form a friend,
A real and a sound one,
Nor any fool he would deceive,
But prove as ready to believe,
And dream that he had found one.

Candid and generous and just
Boys care but little whom they trust,
An error soon corrected—
For who but learns in riper years,
That man when smoothest he appears
Is most to be suspected ?

But here again a danger lies,
Lest having misapply'd our eyes
And taken trash for treasure,
We should unwarily conclude
Friendship a false ideal good,
A mere Utopian pleasure.

An acquisition rather rare,
Is yet no subject of despair ;
Nor is it wise complaining,
If either on forbidden ground,
Or where it was not to be found,
We sought without attaining.

No friendship will abide the test
That stands on sordid interest
Or mean self-love erected ;
Nor such as may awhile subsist
Between the sot and sensualist
For vicious ends connected.

Who seeks a friend, should come dispos'd
T' exhibit in full bloom disclos'd
The graces and the beauties
That form the character he seeks ;
For 'tis an union that bespeaks
Reciprocated duties.

Mutual attention is implied,
And equal truth on either side,
And constantly supported ;
'Tis senseless arrogance t' accuse
Another of sinister views,
Our own as much distorted.

But

But will sincerity suffice?
 It is indeed above all price,
 And must be made the basis;
 But every virtue of the soul
 Must constitute the charming whole,
 All shining in their places.

A fretful temper will divide
 The closest knot that may be tied,
 By ceaseless sharp corrosion;
 A temper passionate and fierce
 May suddenly your joys disperse
 At one immense explosion.

In vain the talkative unite
 In hopes of permanent delight—
 The secret just committed,
 Forgetting its important weight,
 They drop through mere desire to prate,
 And by themselves outwitted.

How bright soe'er the prospect seems,
 All thoughts of friendship are but dreams
 If envy chance to creep in:
 An envious man, if you succeed,
 May prove a dang'rous foe indeed,
 But not a friend worth keeping.

As Envy pines at good possess'd,
 So Jealousy looks forth distress'd
 On good that seems approaching;
 And if success his steps attend,
 Discerns a rival in a friend,
 And hates him for encroaching.

Hence authors of illustrious name,
 Unless belied by common fame,
 Are sadly prone to quarrel,
 To deem the wit a friend displays
 A tax upon their own just praise,
 And pluck each others laurel.

A man renown'd for repartee
 Will seldom scruple to make free
 With friendship's finest feeling,
 Will thrust a dagger at your breast,
 And say he wounded you in jest,
 By way of balm for healing.

Whoever keeps an open ear
 For tatlers, will be sure to hear
 The trumpet of contention :
 Aspersion is the babble's trade ;
 To listen is to lend him aid,
 And rush into dissension.

A friendship that in frequent fits
 Of controversial rage emits
 The sparks of disputation,
 Like hand-in-hand insurance plates,
 Most unavoidably creates
 The thought of conflagration.

Some fickle creatures boast a soul
 True as a needle to the pole,
 Their humour yet so various—
 They manifest their whole life through
 The needle's deviations too,
 Their love is so precarious.

The great and small but rarely meet
 On terms of amity complete,
 Plebeians must surrender
 And yield so much to noble folk,
 It is combining fire with smoke,
 Obscurity with splendour.

Some are so placid and serene
 (As Irish bogs are always green)
 They sleep secure from waking ;
 And are indeed a bog that bears
 Your unparticipated cares
 Unmov'd and without quaking.

Courtier and patriot cannot mix
 Their heterogeneous politics,
 Without an effervescence
 Like that of salts with lemon juice,
 Which does not yet like that produce
 A friendly coalescence.

Religion should extinguish strife,
 And make a calm of human life ;
 But friends that chance to differ
 On points which God has left at large,
 How freely will they meet and charge !
 No combatants are stiffer.

To prove at last my main intent
 Needs no expense of argument,
 No cutting and contriving—
 Seeking a real friend we seem
 T' adopt the chemist's golden dream,
 With still less hope of thriving.

Sometimes the fault is all our own,
 Some blemish in due time made known
 By trespass or omission ;
 Sometimes occasion brings to light
 Our friend's defect long hid from sight,
 And even from suspicion.

Then judge yourself, and prove your man
 As circumspectly as you can ;
 And, having made election,
 Beware no negligence of yours,
 Such as a friend but ill endures,
 Enfeeble his affection.

That secrets are a sacred trust,
 That friends should be sincere and just,
 That constancy befits them,
 Are observations on the case.
 That savour much of common place,
 And all the world admits them.

But 'tis not timber, lead, and stone,
 An architect requires alone
 To finish a fine building—
 The palace were but half complete,
 If he could possibly forget
 The carving and the gilding.

The man that hails you, Tom or Jack,
 And proves by thumps upon your back
 How he esteems your merit,
 Is such a friend, that one had need
 Be very much his friend indeed
 To pardon or to bear it.

As similarity of mind,
 Or something not to be defin'd,
 First fixes our attention ;
 So manners decent and polite,
 The same we practis'd at first sight,
 Must save it from declension.

Some act upon this prudent plan,
 " Say little and hear all you can—"
 Safe policy, but hateful—
 So barren sands imbibe the show'r,
 But render neither fruit nor flow'r,
 Unpleasant and ungrateful.

The man I trust, if shy to me,
 Shall find me as reserv'd as he,
 No subterfuge or pleading
 Shall win my confidence again,
 I will by no means entertain
 A spy on my proceeding.

These samples—for, alas! at last
 These are but samples and a taste
 Of evils yet unmention'd—
 May prove the task a task indeed,
 In which 'tis much if we succeed
 However well-intention'd.

Pursue the search, and you will find
 Good sense and knowledge of mankind
 To be at least expedient,
 And after summing all the rest,
 Religion ruling in the breast
 A principal ingredient.

The noblest friendship ever shown
 The Saviour's history makes known,
 Though some have turn'd and turn'd it,
 And whether being craz'd or blind,
 Or seeking with a bias'd mind,
 Have not, it seems, discern'd it.

Oh Friendship! if my soul forego
 Thy dear delights while here below;
 To mortify and grieve me,
 May I myself at last appear
 Unworthy, base, and insincere,
 Or may my friend deceive me!

The VIGIL of ELVA.

[From The MAID of LOCHLIN, and other POEMS; by WM. RICHARDSON, A. M. PROFESSOR of HUMANITY in the UNIVERSITY of GLASGOW.]

I.

WEARY with the toils of war,
From his native valley far,
Underneath a secret shade,
By his wedded Elva laid,
With mail unclasp'd, his morion lying near,
And leaning on a rock his massy spear,
Edwald all unconscious slept;
While Elva heav'd the tuneful sigh, and wept.

II.

“ Softly, very softly blow,
Gales the woody wild that sweep!
Gently, very gently flow,
Surges of the adjoining deep!
May no din, nor tumult rude,
On this lone recess intrude!
And now beneath the moon-light ray,
The languid gale slow panting dies away:
With ebbing pause, and hollow groan, the wave
Murmurs expiring in a distant cave.

III.

“ And now, while not a vagrant sound
Strays on hill or dale around,
Gentle Sleep! on downy wing,
Thy opiate essences and balsams bring:
From thy plumes of dusky hue
Softly shake the fragrant dew;
And to Edwald's ravish'd sense
Thy mildest influence dispense.

IV.

“ Anon, with animated bloom,
In youthful glow let Fancy come:
And, bright with many an orient gem,
Let a blazing diadem
Press her auburn locks, that flow
O'er a bosom white as snow:
And let her gorgeous vesture, hem'd with gold,
A thousand hues in mingling flowers unfold.

V.

“ O, at this solemn, silent hour,
 May she wave her rod of power;
 And to Edwald's mental eyes
 Bid domestic scenes arise!
 High let the castle's banner'd brow
 In vision guard the furrow'd vale below;
 Where in slow state, to meet th' Hibernian deep,
 Sabrina's mighty waters sweep.
 Flowing from the Cambrian wire,
 Let Music's melting voice conspire
 With Love's soft accent, while he seems,
 Rapt in the transport of ecstatic dreams,
 Again to tread, and with endearment sweet,
 His hospitable threshold greet.

VI.

“ O while around his thrilling knees
 The blooming pledges of our love he sees,
 Gushing from the well-spring clear
 Of pure affection, let th' ingenuous tear
 Quench the wild lightning of his ardent eye;
 And every vengeful wish within him die.

VII.

“ Gentle dreams! with lenient charm,
 Th' impatience of his soul disarm;
 With kindly influence assuage
 The tumult of vindictive rage:
 O let no form of injury intrude
 On the soft calm of his forgiving mood;
 But let him wake to peace of mind restor'd;
 And sheathe the fury of his fiery sword!”

ELEGIAC VERSES ON THE PROSPECT OF LEAVING BRITAIN.
 Written at ETON COLLEGE.

[From the Same.]

I.

TO thee my filial bosom beats,
 On thee may heaven indulgent smile;
 And glad thy innocent retreats,
 And bless thee, lovely Aberfoyle*!

* A picturesque valley in the most southern district of Perthshire, from which issues the river Forth, called in the Gælic language, which is still spoken there, Avon-dow, or Black-river, in allusion, perhaps, to the colour it receives from an extensive morass, through which it passes in its way to Stirling, and the Lothians.

How pleasing to my pensive mind,
 The memory of the bold cascade !
 Thy green-woods waving to the wind !
 And streams in every vocal glade !

II.

The simple church, the school-house-green,
 The gambols of the school-boy crew,
 Meadows, and pools that gleam between,
 Rush on my recollective view ;
 Shades too, and lanes, by old-age sought
 To wander in at close of day,
 To ruminate the pious thought,
 And pray for children far away.

III.

Timely descend, ye fost'ring showers !
 With plenty bless that humble vale :
 And fair arise, ye fragrant flowers !
 And healthful blow, thou western gale !
 And there, meand'ring Avendow,
 By no invidious fen defil'd,
 Clear may thy youthful current flow,
 And love to linger in the wild !

IV.

I see thee 'mid thy Grampian hills,
 I see thy youthful current clear ;
 While tender recollection fills
 My rapt eye with a silent tear.
 Far from that inland vale along
 Etonia's classic ground I stray,
 Where list'ning to melodious song,
 Their speed the Naïd nymphs delay.

V.

Hail, Windsor, hail ! a stranger greets
 Thy lofty towers, thy lawns, and groves :
 Freedom reveres thy gay retreats ;
 The Muse thy sylvan shelter loves.
 And must I leave th' enchanting scene,
 To hear the prison'd Baltic roar ?
 And Thames's willow'd margin green
 Relinquish, for a Scythian shore ?

VI.

Where Dago, hideous isle, and steep,
 With no refreshing verdure crown'd,
 Frowns dark and dismal o'er the deep,
 That raves with canine ire around !

Where Neva flows, but flows in vain,
To bless a land of savage slaves;
Nor ever heard the native strain
Of Freedom soothe his swelling waves!

VII.

Where wintry winds fierce battle wage,
And Nature's lovely form deface:
And lawless power, with fiercer rage,
Dares to degrade the human race!—
Ah! must I leave thee, peerless queen
Of isles, to hear the Baltic roar?
And Thames's willow'd margin green
Relinquish, for a Scythian shore?

VIII.

Yet still presiding in my breast,
May soothing peace of mind remain!
With smile serene, that heavenly guest
Preserves th' untainted heart from pain.
Alike secure from anxious fear,
And th' angry jealousies of pride,
That coy divinity will ne'er
With selfishness or guile abide,

IX.

From innocent and gentle hearts
She wards the flying shafts of woe;
And bliss more exquisite imparts
Than arrogating monarchs know,
Tho' peers and princes round them wait;
Tho' fawning minions prostrate bend;
Tho' partial Fame proclaim them great;
And nations on their nod depend,

X.

O blind to Truth's unerring light,
Who tread the paths of guilty Care;
Who climb Ambition's giddy height;
And think that Peace may sojourn there!
She dwells not on the mountain's brow,
Tho' crown'd with many a fulgent tower:
Sequester'd in the vale below,
She weaves unseen her sylvan bower.

XI.

O Virtue, guided by thy ray,
My wishes by thy power refin'd,
Still may I hold the onward way,
And so enjoy sweet peace of mind!

And when my wand'ring days are fled,
 I'll seek again my native stream;
 If kind affection be not dead,
 And Fancy yield no pleasing dream.

XII.

For oft the world's untoward ways
 Have power the glowing heart to chill;
 To quench Imagination's blaze;
 And Hope's unwary blossom kill.
 Deign to preserve me, Virtue, deign
 To save me from desponding care;
 Till, duly disciplin'd, I gain
 The palm thy faithful servants wear.

IDYLLION, occasioned by the DRAWING of a CASCADE in STIRLING-
 SHIRE, executed by a LADY of distinguished RANK.

[From the Same.]

I.

BENEATH the overflowing deep,
 Amid their coral groves,
 Their lyres the tuneful Nereids sweep,
 And chaunt their happy loves:
 While rolling o'er their crystal-pillar'd arch,
 In rude array th' enormous billows march.

II.

And Naïds too, that duly bring
 Their tribute to the main,
 With rapture smite the vocal string,
 And pour the festive strain:
 Or trim with glitt'ring spar their mossy cells,
 Or in the grotto range their speckled shells;

III.

And glory in the various songs
 That celebrate their course:
 And tell what praise to them belongs;
 What dignity of source;
 What peerless dame, fair maid, or sage serene,
 Or poet, ever pac'd their margin green.

IV.

Fair Leven, in soft-flowing verse,
 Exults in Smollet's name;
 Nor fails triumphant, to rehearse
 The islands whence she came;

The woody islands, the resounding caves,
And rocks that Lomond's hoary billow laves*.

V.

Th' Endrick in wildly-lyric mood
Displays her laurel crown;
And tells, that, musing by her flood,
Sage Napier earn'd renown:
That oft she paus'd, and mark'd at midnight hour,
The pale lamp glimm'ring in his ivy'd tower.

VI.

Triumphant ev'n the yellow Blane,
Tho' by a fen defac'd,
Boasts that Buchanan's early strain
Consol'd her troubled breast:
That often, muse-struck, in her loneliest nook,
The orphan boy por'd on some metred book.

VII.

Poor Dowalt grieves: no joyful strains
Flow from her trembling wire:
All unrenown'd the Naïd plains
Amid her sister choir:
Yet who can boast of dells so sweetly wild,
Or ivy'd grey-rocks more abruptly pil'd!

VIII.

How deeply-ton'd the white cascade,
Whirl'd by her rapid streams,
That roars amid the cavern'd glade,
And thro' the green-wood gleams!
Yet mid the nightly gloom the sobbing gale
Swells with the murmur of her lonely wail.

IX.

Her heath-crown withers on her brow;
And uninscrib'd her urn.—
Change, Naïd, change thy tone of woe;
Cease, Naïd, cease to mourn!
Soon to thy sister nymphs wilt thou proclaim,
That thou hast earn'd an equal share of fame.

* On the side of the Leven is erected a pillar near the birth-place of Dr. Smollet. This river issues from Loch Lomond, into which falls the river Endrick, running through Strath Endrick, close to the ruins of an old castle, in which Napier of Merchiston is said to have resided when he invented the Logarithms. This river receives the Blane, on the side of which the celebrated George Buchanan was born, and near which an obelisk has been erected to his memory. Having lost his parents in his infancy, Buchanan was educated by G. Heriot, his maternal uncle. The Dowalt enters the Blane near its junction with the Endrick.

X.

For M** with eye of taste
 Hath seen ; with touch of skill
 Hath seiz'd thee, mid thy woody waste,
 And rushing down thy hill :
 Hath seen thy dewy tresses wave aloft ;
 Surpris'd, and held thee by compulsion soft :

XI.

Hath seen thy white robe, gem'd with pearl,
 Flow from the rugged steep ;
 Where Dryads their green flags unfurl,
 And thro' the valley sweep :
 Stay, Naïd, at her powerful bidding stay !
 And well I ween, thou wilt not haste away.

XII.

For by her pencil's magic power
 She bids thy beauty live :
 Now, Dowalt, bless th' auspicious hour !
 Now, Dowalt, cease to grieve ;
 But to the choir of elder nymphs proclaim,
 That noble M*** hath given thee fame.

ON AN UNFORTUNATE AND BEAUTIFUL WOMAN.

[From the second Volume of POEMS by the Rev. WM. LISLE BOWLES.]

OH! ****, when distress and anguish came,
 And slow disease prey'd on thy wasted frame ;
 When every friend, e'en like thy bloom, was fled,
 And want bow'd low thy unsupported head ;
 Sure sad Humanity a tear might give,
 And Virtue say, " Live beauteous sufferer, live !"

But should there one be found, (amidst the few,
 Who with compassion thy last pangs might view)
 One who beheld thy errors with a tear,
 To whom the ruins of thy heart were dear,
 Who fondly hop'd, the ruthless season past,
 Thy faded virtues might revive at last ;
 Should such be found——Oh! when he saw thee lie,
 Closing on ev'ry earthly hope thine eye ;
 When he beheld despair, with rueful trace,
 Mark the strange features of thy alter'd face ;
 When he beheld, as painful death drew nigh,
 Thy pale, pale cheek, thy feebly-lifted eye,

Thy chill shrunk hand, hung down as in despair,
 Or slowly rais'd with many a mutter'd pray'r ;
 When thus, in early youth, he saw thee bend
 Poor to the grave, and die without a friend ;
 Some sadder feelings might unbidden start,
 And more than common pity touch his heart !

Th' eventful scene is clos'd—with pausing dread
 And sorrow, I drew nigh the silent bed—
 Thy look was calm—thy heart was cold and still,
 As if the world had never us'd it ill :
 Methought the last faint smile, with traces weak,
 Still seem'd to linger on thy faded cheek :
 Poor **** ! though most beauteous in thy face
 Ere sorrow touch'd it, beam'd each lovely grace ;
 Yet, oh, thy living features never wore
 A look so sweet, so eloquent before ;
 As this, which bids all human passions cease,
 And tells my pitying heart, " YOU DIED IN PEACE !"

SUMMER EVENING at HOME.

[From the Same.]

COME, lovely Evening, with thy smile of peace
 Visit my humble dwelling, welcom'd in
 Not with loud shouts, and the throng'd city's din,
 But with such sounds as bid all tumult cease
 Of the sick heart ; the grasshopper's faint pipe
 Beneath the blades of dewy grass unripe,
 The bleat of the lone lamb, the carol rude
 Heard indistinctly from the village green,
 The bird's last twitter from the hedge-row scene,
 Where, just before, the scatter'd crumbs I strew'd,
 To pay him for his farewell song—all these
 Touch soothingly the troubled ear, and please
 The stilly-stirring fancies—though my hours
 (For I have droop'd beneath life's early show'rs)
 Pass lonely oft, and oft my heart is sad,
 Yet I can leave the world, and feel most glad
 To meet thee, Evening, here—here my own hand
 Has deck'd with trees and shrubs the slopes around,
 And whilst the leaves by dying airs are tam'd,
 Sweet to my spirit comes the farewell sound,
 That seems to say—" Forget the transient tear,
 Thy pale youth shed—Repose and Peace are here."

WINTER EVENING at HOME.

[From the Same.]

FAIR Moon, who at the chilly day's decline
 Of sharp December, through my cottage pane
 Dost lovely look, smiling, though in thy wane;
 In thought, to scenes, tranquil and bright as thine,
 Wanders my heart, whilst I by turns survey
 Thee slowly wheeling on thy ev'ning way;
 And this my fire, whose dim, unequal light,
 Just glimmering, bids each shadowy image fall
 Sombrous and strange upon the dark'ning wall,
 Ere the long Evening sets in deepest night!
 Yet thy still orb, seen through the freezing haze,
 Shines calm and clear without: and whilst I gaze,
 I think—around me in this twilight room—
 I but remark mortality's sad gloom;
 Whilst hope, and joy, cloudless and soft appear
 In the sweet beam that lights thy distant sphere!

MONODY on the DEATH of DR. WARTON.

[From the Same.]

OH! I should ill thy gen'rous cares requite,
 Thou who didst first inspire my timid muse,
 Could I one tuneful tear to thee refuse,
 Now that thine aged eyes are clos'd in night,
 Poor WARTON!—Thou hast strok'd my stripling head;
 And sometimes, mingling kind reproof with praise,
 My path hast best directed through the maze
 Of thorny life—by thee my steps were led
 To that romantic valley, high o'erhung
 With sable woods, where many a minstrel rung
 His bold harp to the sweeping waterfall,
 Whilst Fancy lov'd around each form to call
 That fill the poet's dream: to this retreat
 Of Fancy, (won by whose enticing lay
 I have forgot how sunk the summer's day)
 Thou first didst guide my not unwilling feet;
 Meantime inspiring the gay breast of youth
 With love of taste, with science, and with truth.

The first inciting sounds of human praise,
 A parent's love excepted, came from THEE;
 And but for thee, perhaps, my boyish days
 Had all pass'd idly, and whate'er in me
 Now live of hope, been buried.

I was one,
 Long bound by cold Dejection's numbing chain,
 As in a torpid trance, that deem'd it vain
 To struggle; nor my eye-lids to the sun
 Uplifted—but I heard thy cheering voice!—
 I shook my deadly slumber off;—I gaz'd
 Delighted round—awak'd, inspir'd, amaz'd,
 I mark'd another world, and in my choice
 Lov'lier, and deck'd with light!—On fairy ground
 Methought I buoyant trod, and heard the sound
 As of enchanting melodies, that stole,
 Stole gently, and intranc'd my captive soul.
 Then all was life and hope! 'Twas thy first ray,
 Sweet Fancy, on the heart—as when the day
 Of spring, along the melancholy tract
 Of wintry Lapland, dawns; the cataract,
 From ice dissolving on the silent side
 Of some white precipice, with paly gleam
 Descends, while the cold hills a slanting beam
 Faint tinges: till, ascending in his pride,
 The great Sun from the red horizon looks,
 And wakes the tuneless birds, the stagnant brooks,
 And sleeping lakes! So on my mind's cold night
 The ray of Fancy shone, and gave delight
 And hope, past utterance....

Thy cheering voice,
 O WARTON! bid my silent heart rejoice,
 And wak'd to love of Nature: every breeze,
 On Itchin's brink, was melody: the trees
 Wav'd in fresh beauty; and the wind and rain,
 That shook the battlements of Wykeham's fane,
 Not less delighted, when with random pace
 I trod the cloister'd aisles: and, witness thou,
 Catharine*, upon whose foss-encircled brow
 We met the morning, how I lov'd to trace
 The prospect spread around—the rills below,
 That shone irriguous in the fuming plain;
 The river's bend, where the dark barge went slow,
 And the pale light on yonder time-worn fane†.

So pass'd my days with new delight—meantime,
 To Learning's tender eye thou didst unfold
 The classic page, and what high bards of old,
 With solemn notes, and minstrelsy sublime,
 Have chaunted, we together heard; and thou,
 WARTON! wouldst bid me listen, till a tear
 Sprung to mine eye: now the bold song we hear

* Catherine-Hill. † St. Cross Hospital.

Of Greece's sightless master-bard * : the breast
 Beats high,—with stern PELIDES to the plain
 We rush ; or o'er the corpse of HECTOR slain
 Hang pitying ;—and lo ! where pale, opprest
 With age and grief, sad PRIAM comes † ; with beard
 All white, he bows, kissing the hands besmear'd
 With his last hope's best blood !

The oaten reed ‡

Now from the mountain sounds ; the sylvan muse,
 Reclin'd by the clear stream of Arethuse,
 Wakes the Sicilian pipe ;—the sunny mead
 Swarms with the bees, whose drowsy lullaby
 Soothes the reclining ox with half-clos'd eye ;
 While in soft cadence to the madrigal,
 From rock to rock the whispering waters fall !

But who is he §, that, by yon wretched cave,
 Bids heav'n and earth bear witness to his woe ?
 And hark ! how hollowly the ocean-wave
 Echoes his plaint, and murmurs deep below !—
 “ Haste—let the tall ship stem the tossing tide,
 That he may leave his cave, and hear no more
 The Lemnian surges unrejoicing roar—
 And be Great Fate thro' the dark world thy guide,
 Sad PHILOCTETES ! ”

So Instruction bland,

With young-eyed Sympathy, went hand in hand
 O'er classick fields ; and let my heart confess
 Its holier joy, when I essay'd to climb
 The lonely heights, where SHAKESPEARE sat sublime,
 Lord of the mighty spell : around him press
 Spirits and fairy-forms :—He, ruling wide
 His visionary world, bids terror fill
 The shiv'ring breast, or softer pity thrill
 E'en to the inmost heart : within me died
 All thoughts of this low earth, and higher pow'rs
 Seem'd in my soul to stir—till, strain'd too long,
 The senses sunk :—

Then, OSSIAN, thy wild song

Haply beguil'd th' unheeded midnight hours,
 And, like the blast that swept Berrathron's tow'rs,
 Came ‘ pleasant and yet mournful ’ to my soul !
 “ See ! o'er th' autumnal heath the grey mists roll !—
 Hark ! to the dim ghosts' faint and feeble cry,
 As on the cloudy tempest they pass by !—

* Homer.

† See the last book.

‡ Theocritus.

§ Philoctetes, see Sophocles.—Youthful impressions on first reading it.

Saw ye huge LAGO's spectre-shape advance,
Through which the stars look pale!"....

Nor ceas'd the trance
Which bound the erring fancy, till dark night
Flew silent by, and at my window-grate
The morning bird sung loud—nor less delight
The spirit felt, when still and charm'd I sate
Great MILTON's solemn harmonies to hear,
That swell from the full chord, and strong and clear,
(Beyond the tuneless couplets' weak control)
Their long-cominingling diapason roll,
In numerous sweetness,

Nor, amidst the quire
Of pealing minstrelsy, was thy own lyre,
WARTON, unheard;—as Fancy pour'd the song,
The measur'd music flow'd along,
Till all the heart and all the sense
Felt her divinest influence,
In throbbing sympathy:—"Prepare the car*,
And whirl us, goddess, to the war,
Where crimson banners fire the skies,
Where the mingled shouts arise,
Where the steed, with fetlock red,
Tramples 'the dying and the dead;'
And amain, from side to side,
Death his pale horse is seen to ride!—
Or rather, sweet enthusiast, lead
Our footsteps to the cowslip mead,
Where (as the magic spell is wound)
Dying music floats around:—
Or seek we some grey ruin's shade,
And pity the cold beggar† laid
Beneath the ivy-rustling tow'r,
At the dreary midnight hour,
Scarce shelter'd from the drifting snow;
While her dark locks the bleak winds blow
O'er her 'sleeping infant's' cheek!
Then let the shrilling trumpet speak,
And pierce in louder tones the ear,
Till, while it peals, we seem to hear
The sounding march, as of the Theban's song‡;
And varied numbers, in their course,
With gath'ring fullness, and collected force,
Like the broad cataract, swell and sweep along!"

* See Warton's Ode to Fancy.

† Alluding to some pathetic lines in Warton's Ode to Fancy.

‡ See Warton's Ode on West's Translation of Pindar.

Struck by the sounds, what wonder that I laid,
 As thou, O WARTON, didst the theme inspire,
 My inexperienc'd hand upon the lyre,
 And soon with transient touch faint music made,
 As soon forgotten.

So I lov'd to lye
 By the wild streams of Elfin poesy,
 Rapt in strange musings: but when life began
 I never roam'd, a visionary man,
 (For taught by thee, I learnt with sober eyes
 To look on life's severe realities)
 I never made (a dream-distemper'd thing)
 Poor Fiction's realm, my world; but to cold truth
 Subdu'd the vivid shapings of my youth;
 Save when the drisly woods were murmuring,
 Or some hard crosses had my spirit bow'd,
 Then I have left, unseen, the careless crowd,
 And sought the dark sea roaring, or the steep
 That brav'd the storm; or in the forest deep,
 As all its grey leaves rustled, wooed the tone
 Of the lov'd lyre, that, in my spring-tide gone,
 Wak'd me to transport:

Eighteen summers now
 Have smil'd on Itchin's margin, since the time
 When these delightful visions of our prime
 Rose on my view in loveliness.—And thou,
 Friend of my muse, in thy death-bed art cold,
 Who, with the tenderest touches, didst unfold
 The shrinking leaves of fancy, else unseen
 And shelterless: therefore to thee are due
 Whate'er their summer sweetness; and I strew,
 Sadly, such flow'rets as on hillocks green,
 Or mountain-slope, or hedge-row, yet my hand
 May cull, (with many a recollection bland,
 And mingled sorrow) WARTON, ON THY TOMB,
 TO WHOM, IF BLOOM THEY BOAST, THEY OWE THEIR BLOOM!

ODE to MORNING.

[FROM GRESWELL'S MEMOIRS OF LITERARY CHARACTERS.]

IN blushing beams of soften'd light
 Aurora steals upon the sight:
 With chaste effulgence dart from far
 The splendors of her dewy car;
 Cheer'd with the view, I bless the ray
 That mildly speaks returning day.

Retire,

Retire, ye gloomy shades, to spread
 Your brooding horrors o'er the dead !—
 Bane of my slumbers, spectres gaunt,
 Forbear my frightened couch to haunt !
 Phantoms of darkness, horrid dreams,—
 Begone ! for lo ! fair Morning beams.

Emerging from the incumbent shade,
 Her lustre cheers the brilliant mead :—
 Haste, boy,—the tuneful lyre,—I long
 To meet the goddess with a song ;—
 Haste, while the Muse exerts her powers,
 And strew her smiling path with flowers.

The violet charg'd with early sweets,
 Fair Morn ! thy cheerful presence greets ;
 The crocus lifts her saffron head,
 And bloomy shrubs their odours shed ;
 Ah ! deign our incense to inhale
 Borne on the gently-swelling gale.

When Morning's charms the song inspire,
 Be mine to wake the warbling lyre ;
 Oh, waft, ye breezes, to her ear
 The mingled strains of praise and prayer ;
 Bid her approve our faint essays,
 And teach the offer'd gift to please.

For, ah ! thy beauties to pourtray,
 Fair mother of the infant day,—
 What time in mildest splendors drest
 Thy lucid form appears confest,—
 Still must the admiring bard despair,—
 O Nymph—superlatively fair !

Thy crimson cheeks a blush disclose
 More vivid than the opening rose ;
 Thy softly-waving locks unfold
 More lustre than the burnish'd gold ;
 The envious stars their lights resign,
 And Luna's beam is lost in thine.

Mortals had lain, without thine aid,
 Ingulph'd in night's perpetual shade :
 The brightest colours but display
 A lustre borrow'd from thy ray ;
 And every grace that art can boast,
 Without thy genial help were lost.

Fast bound in Lethe's dull embrace,
 'Tis thine the sluggard to release ;

Thou

Thou wak'st to life the torpid mind,
 To deathful slumbers else consign'd :
 And pleas'd to share thy tranquil smile,
 Man with new vigour meets his toil.

Betimes the sprightly traveller wakes :
 The sturdy ox his stall forsakes,
 Patient his sinewy neck to bow,
 And bear the yoke, and drag the plough ;
 His fleecy charge the shepherd leads
 To graze beneath the sylvan shades.

Lull'd in his fair one's gentle arms,
 The lover if thy voice alarms ;
 If with regret the attractive couch
 He leaves, and blames thy near approach,
 Still let him deem thy call unkind,
 And cast the ' lingering look behind.'

His be the illusive joys of night ;
 My boast shall be the cheerful light :
 Give me to watch the orient ray,
 And hail the glad return of day ;—
 And long, oh long—ye Pow'rs divine,
 May such reviving joys be mine !

THE RESOLVE. (Supposed to be written by SAPPHO *.)

[From Mr. G. DYER'S POEMS.]

YES ! I have lov'd : yet often have I said,
 Love in thy breast shall never revel more ;
 But I will listen to wild Ocean's roar ;
 Or, like some outcast solitary shade,
 Will cling upon the howlings of the wind,
 Till I grow deaf with list'ning, cold and blind.
 But ah ! enchantress, cease that tender lay,
 Nor tune that lyre to notes thus softly slow ;
 Those eyes, oh ! take those melting eyes away,
 Nor let those lips with honey'd sweets o'erflow ;
 Nor let meek Pity pale that lovely cheek,
 Nor weep, as wretches their long suffering speak :
 With forms so fair endow'd, oh ! Venus, why
 Are Lesbian maids, or with such weakness I ?
 Do Lesbian damsels touch the melting lyre ;
 My lyre is mute, and I in silence gaze ;

* See her celebrated ode in Longinus.

As tho' the Muse did not this breast inspiré,
 I lose in tenderer loves the love of praise.
 Oh! Sappho, how art thou imprison'd round,
 Beauty's weak captive, fast-enchain'd with sound,
 Frail, frail resolve, vain promise of a day!
 I see, I hear, and feel, and melt away.

PERAMBULATORY MUSINGS from **BLenheim House, in OXFORD-
 SHIRE, to TITLEY, Herefordshire** *.

[From the Same.]

WHERE Blenheim's turrets rise to view,
 And where, at length to Nature true,
 Grave Vanbrugh, wearying long his head,
 Soften'd down his house of lead †,
 And where, as bends the spacious dome,
 The rival arts of Greece and Rome
 Still live in Rysbrac's free design,
 And still in Rubens' colouring shine;
 Where Marlborough's valour, Marlborough's praise,
 The fair-wrought tapestry displays,
 Mid varying pleasure through the day,
 Who might not linger life away?
 Or now, as spreads the fair domain,
 O'er lake or lawn, o'er hill or plain,
 Thro' woods, and groves, or vista clear,
 The crystal riv'let sparkling near,
 Still loit'ring idly gay along,
 Muse, as inspir'd, the sylvan song ‡?

How vain the wish! how quick the change!
 Thro' simpler scenes my footsteps range,
 Where Nature smiles in peerless grace,
 And Art but claims the second place;

* This poem intends to show the effect of variety on the human mind, as well as the pleasure of female society, and not to compare together with the most discriminating accuracy the different places alluded to, though discrimination is not entirely overlooked.

† The general style of Vanbrugh is here alluded to, and not the character of this particular building. After some observations on the Greek and Roman architecture, Gilpin well remarks of Blenheim, "Vanbrugh's attempt seems to have been an effort at genius; and if we can keep the imagination apart from the five orders, we must allow, that he has created a *magnificent whole*, which is invested with an air of grandeur, seldom seen in a more regular kind of building. What made Vanbrugh ridiculous, was his applying to small houses a style of architecture, that could not possibly succeed but in a large one." Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, part ii. chap. iii.

‡ The scenery, on entering the great gate from Woodstock, is the master-piece of the great improver Brown, who used to say, alluding to the lake, "the Thames would never forgive what he had done at Blenheim." Price, however, in his Essay on the Picturesque, has minutely criticised it.

Scenes, trimm'd by Shenstone, neat and gay,
 Where Faunus' self might pipe all day :
 So simple, too, that not a swain
 But there might wake his rudest strain.
 Hail, Leasowes * ! now I climb thy hill,
 Now bless the babbling of each rill,
 Now wander down the fairy glade,
 Till rous'd I hear the hoarse cascade,
 And glows again thro' ev'ry grove
 The soul of Poesy and Love ;
 Then soft I sigh in pastoral strain †,
 Nor dream of Blenheim-house again.

Sometimes sad, and sometimes gay,
 Like careless pilgrim still I stray,
 Till soon arriv'd at Hagley bow'r ‡,
 I sigh to linger there an hour :
 Where Lyttelton, in learned ease,
 Polish'd his verse, and prun'd his trees ;
 Where Pope, the tuneful groves among,
 Soft, as at Twickenham, pour'd the song :
 And Thomson fix'd in colours clear
 The changeful seasons of the year.
 Hail, classic scenes ! the willing Muse
 Her flowers of many-mingling hues
 Might here entwine, and once again
 Hagley bloom forth in cheerful strain.
 Then farewell Shenstone's simpler scene ;
 The rustic seat, the meadow green,
 Willows that near the riv'let weep,
 The murm'ring bees, the milk-white sheep ;
 When Hagley's beauties rise to view,
 Yes ! I could bid you all adieu § !

Ever musing, ever ranging,
 Ever pleas'd, yet ever changing,
 Murm'ring onward still I go,
 As brooks thro' winding valleys flow,
 That sparkle still, and still complain,
 That ev'ry rude restraint disdain,

* The residence, properly the *adorned farm*, of the late William Shenstone, the poet.

† It was intended somewhat to characterise Shenstone's poetry in these lines. It has been well done by Gray. " But then there is Mr. Shenstone, who trusts to nature, and simple sentiment ;—why does he not do better ? He goes on hopping about his own gravel walks ; and never deviates from the beaten paths, for fear of being lost." Gray's Letter to Warton, in Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Gray*.

‡ The seat of lord Lyttelton.

§ The design however at Hagley is allowed to be more obscure, minute, and trifling, as well as possessed of less variety, than the Leasowes :—the author's object should be kept in view, which is to delineate the effect of variety on the mind.

And, gliding on some latent ore,
Steal something not possess'd before;
Then flow along in headlong haste,
And babble, o'er the ferny waste.

Ah! then does Nature deck in vain
The hill and vale, the grove and plain?
And can her curious hand supply
Nothing to fix this vagrant eye?
Shall art still vary, still improve
The winding walk, the tapering grove,
And yet man's restless heart implore
With miser-mutt'rings something more?

Thus onward slow I bend my way,
Till soon to Titley-house I stray;
And now delights me most of all
The fair retreat of Titley-hall,
Where near fair Eywood's seat is seen,
And Oxford * smiles like Beauty's queen,
Where Shobden's terrace glitters high,
And varying mountains meet the sky.
But when such num'rous charms invite,
Why most does Titley-house delight?
Eliza there, melodious maid,
Such measures to my ear convey'd,
As, had Cecilia been but near,
Cecilia had not scorn'd to hear;
Softly sad, or sweetly strong,
She directs the varied song,
To native scenes new charms can give,
And bid the breathing landscape live;
Or, as the sports and loves inspire,
Wakes the soul-subduing lyre:—
Hence I welcom'd most of all
The fair retreat of Titley-hall.

Vocal groves, and tuneful streams,
Kindling wild poetic dreams,
Where Dryad nymphs are wont to stray,
Or Naiads swim in wanton play;
Mounts that climb Jove's vaulted sky,
While Ocean's god rolls thundering by;
Valleys rich, and meadows fair,
Touch'd with Flora's pencil rare,
Rare, as when the nymph was led
By Zephyrus to his bridal bed,

* The seat of the earl and countess of Oxford.

(Then pencil'd did the fields appear
 In all the glories of the year :)
 Widest glens, and deepest glades,
 Curving walks, and hoarse cascades,
 All that Nature loves t' impart,
 Or owns the plastic charm of Art;
 All that Fancy durst conceive,
 Or Fiction's various hand can weave;
 All must cloy the sated eye
 Till Beauty's lovely form be nigh :
 Where Woman walks, there seems t' appear
 The Venus of the smiling year ;
 Far from her we feed on sighs,
 Tho' roving fields of Paradise.

ODE for HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

[BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.]

STILL, still, must War's discordant note
 Usurp the Muse's votive lay ?
 Must the shrill clarion's brazen throat
 Proclaim our monarch's natal day ?
 While the stern foe, with haughty brow,
 Frowns on the olive's sacred bough,
 Throws from his land the proffer'd gift of Peace,
 Nor bids the raging storm of desolation cease !

O Britain ! not from abject fear,
 Or pale mistrust, or weaken'd power,
 Springs in thy breast the vow sincere,
 Which woos fair Concord's lenient hour ;
 Uncheck'd by threats of vengeful foes,
 Thy breast with warlike ardour glows ;
 Thy sons with unabated force
 Right onward keep their daring course.

The chief, who from Canopus' sultry shore
 The burning meed of conquest bore,
 Now through the Baltic's freezing surge
 Bids his bold prows their way resistless urge ;
 And while Britannia's ensign flies
 Aloft in Hyperborean skies,
 Denmark astonish'd, from her threaten'd tow'rs,
 Yields up her naval boast to Albion's happier pow'rs.

And

And lo ! where Philip's mightier son
 Bade the proud city's rising walls proclaim
 To distant times their founder's name,
 Fresh trophies by Britannia's legions won ;
 When from the veteran bands of Gallia's shore
 Their dauntless arms the blood-stain'd banner tore,
 Which, like a baleful meteor, spread,
 To fields of death th' infuriate warriors led.
 Yet, 'mid the deeds of endless fame,
 Shall not a tear the dying victor claim ?
 No !—o'er his tomb with guardian wings
 Hov'ring, the eternal Pæan Glory sings ;
 Chaunting with note triumphant to the skies,
 His name thro' ages lives who for his country dies.

Enough of war !—While Britain sees,
 Before Hygeia's healing hand,
 The pallid Dæmon of disease
 Lead far away her sickly band ;
 While to a nation's fervent pray'r
 The arm omnipotent to spare
 Gives her ador'd, her patriot lord,
 Again to life, to health restor'd ;
 To hail that day to Britain dear,
 Selected from the circling year,
 Which Fame shall ever mark the birth
 Of regal duty and of private worth ;
 Strains that Affection forms, that Transport breathes,
 The fragrant offerings join that June ambrosial wreathes.

ODE ON THE ANCIENTS.

[By PETER PINDAR.]

" **A**LL has been said—the world has nought to yield :
 Alas ! there's nothing new beneath the sun :
 The ancients with their hooks have reap'd the field ;
 All that can be imagin'd has been done.
 The ancients for the moderns were too stout ;
 Yes ! the deep mine of knowledge is work'd out !"

So cries the world. But who are these that speak ?
 Men of no *nous*, most wonderfully weak !
 If things are so, why, what a fate is mine !
 Lord help the Muse ! she never penn'd a line.

Reap the whole field ! Not half on't. I'll be sworn :
 They've only taken a few sheaves of corn.
 The mine exhausted ! Poh ! I'll hear no more—
 They've only gather'd a few grains of ore.

Appear but Genius, Genius soon will find
 New matter to improve and charm mankind ;
 Teach on the wildest heath the rose to blow :
 Genius, the rod of Moses at the rock,
 Shall, by a magical and happy stroke,
 Bid the rich stream of wit and wisdom flow.

The brains of men, in general, are a pool,
 Wrapp'd in death-stillness, comfortably dull ;
 Like motionless poor Lethe, void of spirit :
 But now and then (like Milton, for example,
 Or Shakspeare, each indeed a beauteous sample,)
 Into existence pops a wight of merit :
 An ocean, lo, his brave ideas rise,
 That mounts, and with its thunders shakes the skies !

CHARACTERS of the PRINCIPAL ENGLISH PAINTERS.

[FROM SOTHEYBY'S POETICAL EPISTLE TO SIR GEORGE
 BEAUMONT, BART.

IF Art, through blended groups, can aptly join
 Part link'd with part, and mould in one design,
 If keen-eyed Humour catch in brilliant hues
 The changeful colours of the comic muse,
 Where Nature pours her spirit o'er the whole,
 And every stroke is truth that paints the soul,
 Mark'd by distinctive touches, finely wrought,
 In every form of life, and cast of thought :
 If Wit, enforcing Wisdom's moral plan,
 Lash vice and weakness to amend the man :
 Satire and Sense, on Hogarth's tomb réclin'd,
 Shall point the ethic painter of mankind.

In Wilson view the spirit of the storm,
 That rolls the thunder round his shapeless form,
 Whose floating limbs on Snowdon's brow expand,
 Swell on the sight, and awe th' o'ershadow'd land,
 While midnight clouds beneath the dæmon rise,
 And meteors streak with trailing flame the skies,
 Lanch'd from his hand, prone lightnings fire the wood,
 The tempest smites the far-resounding flood,
 Shivers the crags, and down their rifted side
 Whirls the & rooted oaks along the tide,

Onward

Onward he sails, and o'er the corse beneath
Spreads all his plumes, and rocks the blasted heath.

Let others Wright's resplendent pencil praise,
And lustrous hues, that like the lightning blaze,
Catch from the sparkling steel the furnace-glow,
And trace the melted mountains as they flow :
I, to yon lonely tent by pity led,
View where the widow mourns her soldier dead ;
Turns from her babe, whose careless smiles impart
Strange woe, that harrows up the mother's heart,
Hangs o'er the body bleeding on the ground,
Clasps his cold hand, and faints upon the wound.

Not such the scene that lonely Gainsborough led
To the wild wood, dark dell, and mouldering shed.
Lo! bending o'er the lake, the village child,
That on her smiling image sweetly smil'd ;
The boy that worshipp'd, with uplifted eye,
The broad arch beaming on the stormy sky ;
Each quivering gleam, when tenderest colours play
On the light foliage, fresh'ning all the May ;
Bright summer's noontide glare, th' autumnal hue,
That melts, in golden glow, the mellow'd view ;
The solemn darkness stealing o'er the year,
When glimmers on the branch the brown leaf sear ;
Each varied tint, by Time's soft pencil thrown,
The dew-stain'd bark, grey moss, and mouldering stone ;
His bold rough touch to these existence gives,
And, in his faithful mirror, nature lives.

Beaumont! while fond remembrance wakes thy tear,
That streams o'er these frail flow'rs on Reynolds' hier,
Low droops the Muse, unequal to her aim :
Genius, like thine, should raise thy friend to fame.

Hail! guide and glory of the British school,
Whose magic line gave life to every rule.
Reynolds! thy portraits, true to nature, glow'd,
Yet o'er the whole ideal graces flow'd ;
While forth to sight the living likeness came,
Souls touch'd by genius, felt thy higher aim :
Here, where the public gaze a Siddons views,
See fear and pity crown the tragic Muse :
There, girt with flames, where Calpe gleams afar,
In dauntless Heathfield hail the god of war.

Painter of grace! Love gave to thee alone
Corregio's melting line, with Titian's tone,

Bade *beauty* wear all forms that breathe delight, . . .
 And a new charm in each enchant the sight :
 Here, a wild Thaïs, wave the blazing brand,
 There yield her zone to Cupid's treacherous hand,
 An empress, melt the pearl in Egypt's bowl,
 Or, a sly gipsy, read the tell-tale soul.

Painter of passion ! Horror on thy view
 Pour'd the wild scenes that daring Shakspeare drew,
 When the fiend scowl'd on Beaufort's bed of death,
 And each weird hag 'mid lightnings hail'd Macbeth.

Thee Dante led to Famine's murky cave :
 " Round yon mute father hear his children rave ;
 " Behold them stretch'd beneath his stony eye,
 " Drop one by one, and gaze on him, and die ;
 " So strain each starting ball in sightless stare,
 " And each grim feature fix in stern despair,"

No earth-born giant struggling into size,
 Stretch'd in thy canvas, sprawls before our eyes,
 The mind applies its standard to the scene,
 Notes, with mute awe, the more than mortal mien,
 Where boundless genius, brooding o'er the whole,
 Stamps e'en on babes sublimity of soul.
 Whether, where terror crowns Jove's infant brow,
 Before the Godhead aw'd Olympus bow ;
 Or, in yon babe, the Herculean strength upholds
 Th' enormous snakes, and slacks their length'ning folds ;
 Or while, from heav'n celestial Grace descends,
 Meek on his knees the infant Samuel bends,
 Lifts his clasp'd hands, and, as he glows in pray'r,
 Fixes, in awful trance, his eye on air.

Yet not fair forms, by Reynolds' hand design'd,
 No, nor his magic pen, that paints the mind ;
 That pen, which erst on charm'd Ilyssus' shore
 Th' exulting Graces to their Plato bore,
 When Fancy wove, for Truth, her fairest flow'rs,
 And Wisdom commun'd in the Muses' bow'rs ;
 Not West's heroic chiefs, the heirs of fame,
 Martyrs and saints that holy zeal inflame ;
 Chaste Barry's moral scenes, from age to age,
 That trace mankind through culture's gradual stage ;
 Not Westall's graceful touch and brilliant hue,
 Ham's flame-wing'd plague, that Turner greatly drew,
 Not Beauty's self, by Hoppner's pencil wrought,
 Northcote's bold stroke, nor Opie's, big with thought,

Poetic Fuseli by Genius fired,
 Nor Lawrence, second Reynolds, self-inspir'd;
 Not these suffice:—if Art, to Britain led,
 Shall far and wide her gathering glories spread,
 Tow'r like the oak, that now adorns her plain,
 Then spreads her empire o'er the boundless main,
 Beaumont! bid Albion's chief support her claim,
 Bid wealth supply what yet is left of fame,
 Each hallow'd model to her school resign,
 And Raffael's grace with Titian's hue combine.
 From daring Angelo's Promethean fire,
 With ray of heav'n Britannia's sons inspire;
 Fix every charm that glides divinely fair
 O'er Parma's forms, and Guido's angel air;
 All that from art the learn'd Caracci drew,
 All that wild nature pour'd on Rosa's view,
 Paulo's free pencil, Rembrandt's forceful blaze,
 And tints that melt in Claude's ærial haze.

The FUNERAL of the gallant MARTEL.

[From BURGES'S RICHARD the FIRST.]

AS thus he spake, I saw a mournful band,
 With hair dishevell'd, and with arms revers'd,
 In solemn rank advancing from the strand.
 As on they came in sorrow deep immers'd,
 An exclamation loud of anguish burst:
 For brave Martel's departed soul they pray'd;
 And, as his fam'd achievements were rehears'd,
 The wound which grac'd his bosom they display'd,
 And steep'd with tears the bier on which the chief was laid.

We gaz'd in silence on the sable train,
 Which in lugubrious pomp it's progress kept,
 And slowly wound along the sea-girt plain.
 Thro' the still air the trumpet's full note swept;
 Now swell'd the strain, in death-like pause now slept,
 As sadly rose the melancholy dirge:
 The awful chorus o'er our senses crept,
 While, from the shore, the still responsive surge
 With hollow murm'ring seem'd its sympathy to urge.

With measur'd cadence and impressive state
 They march'd, till underneath a pine's green shade
 They stopp'd, as if our presence to await.
 As we approach'd, we saw a grave new made,

On either side of which were duly laid
 Martel's bright armour, while his standard proud,
 His banner, and his flag were high display'd.
 At seemly distance stood th' attentive crowd,
 While Hubert o'er the bier in mute dejection bow'd.

When to the sad assembly we drew near,
 He gaz'd upon us with a long-drawn sigh,
 And, vainly struggling to suppress the tear
 Which stood collected in his glist'ning eye,
 He thus exclaim'd: "Oh! from those realms on high,
 Where cherubim th' Eternal's praise proclaim,
 And seraphim in songs ecstatic vie,
 Listen, brave hero! while thy deathless name
 And patriotic worth we consecrate to fame!

"High in the records of approving time
 The warrior's prowess history shall attest,
 But higher yet the energy sublime
 Of those transcendent souls, who sink to rest,
 Mourn'd by the brave, and by their country bless'd.
 Thy sainted mem'ry shall survive the tomb;
 Thy deeds shall fire the youthful champion's breast;
 From thine his virtues shall their mould assume,
 And chivalry like thine for countless ages bloom.

"Here let the earth thy lov'd remains receive!
 Let friendship here her fond memorial place,
 And o'er thy corse perennial garlands weave!
 Let her record thy truth, thy manly grace,
 Thy valour signalis'd in glory's race!
 And here, while gazing on the verdant mound
 Which o'er thy dust shall heave, let her retrace
 Thy modest worth, thy constancy renown'd,
 And that illustrious end which thy achievements crown'd!"

He ceas'd. Again the solemn chorus rose:
 Around the mingling modulation spread,
 Soothing our heart-felt sorrows to repose.
 And "Oh!" they cried, "as here you pensive tread
 'Mid the proud trophies of the honour'd dead,
 Stop, warrior! and on gallant Martel's bier -
 With fond remembrance and affection shed
 The passing tribute of a grateful tear!
 Oh! let your pious griefs his gen'rous spirit cheer!"

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1801.

ACCORDING to our usual practice of giving a preference to Biblical Criticism in our Review of Theological Literature, we have to notice a publication of no small importance, "Hosea, translated from the Hebrew: with Notes Explanatory and Critical, by Samuel Lord Bishop of Rochester." The difficulties attending the study of this prophet, generally esteemed one of the most ancient of the minor prophets, have long been acknowledged; but the nature of those difficulties, and the causes of them, are placed in a new, and, we apprehend, a just light, by the present writer. He reduces them to "the general commatism of his style; his frequent and sudden transitions; the brevity and accumulation of his similes; and those two remarkable circumstances, his inconstancy in the person of the verb, and the use of the nominative absolute." Having explained these at considerable length in the preface, the learned prelate "openly and earnestly" protests against the opinion advanced by the late archbishop Newcome, that "the greatest difficulties arise from the corrupt readings which deform the printed text." He denies that the corruptions in any part are so numerous, or to such a degree, as to be a principal cause of obscurity, or, indeed, to be a cause of obscurity at all; and, whatever the corruptions may be, he contends against every attempt to remove any obscurity supposed to arise from them, "by what is called conjectural emendation." This part of his preface seems highly deserving of consideration. Pursuant to his principle, his lordship has rejected fifty-one emendations proposed by archbishop Newcome. With respect to the translation now offered, the author desires it may be distinctly understood, that it is not intended to supersede the use of the public translation in the service of the church, but for the edification of the Christian reader in his closet. The question most generally disputed, whether the command to the prophet to take "a wife of fornication" is to be understood as a real injunction, or as a transaction seen in vision, our author resolves in the former sense, by many learned arguments, evidently the result of much deliberation and research. Many parts of this translation we must acknowledge are superior to that in common use; while others are literal, and intended only for the use of the private reader. The emendations introduced are few, cautious, and in general well supported;

ported; and the notes which accompany, as well as those which follow the text, are judicious, though sometimes prolix and out of place, and in certain instances rather capricious. In a valuable Appendix are given corrections of the Translation, with additional explanatory notes, and copious indexes.

Our next author in this department is a gentleman who has hitherto been distinguished for publications of a very opposite tendency from the quiet and peaceable studies of theology, and we owe him an apology for having overlooked the following work in our last year's Register: "A Collation of the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Psalms: in order to account for the Variances between them, and thereby establish the Authenticity of the one, and the Fidelity of the other. By John Reeves, Esq." In a long dedicatory epistle to Mr. Pitt, the author informs us, that the printing of the Bible being one employment of the king's printer (to which office Mr. Reeves has lately succeeded), he determined to set forward some Biblical works that would be useful not only to English readers but to scholars, and thus serve at once the cause of literature and religion. Of this laudable design the present work may be considered as the first fruits: and it certainly places the author, in his new character, in a most favourable light. As, however, he adopts the Masoretic system of the Jews, he has found it necessary to vindicate his choice upon principles from which many eminent Hebrew scholars have thought proper to dissent. Yet what he intended he has certainly planned and executed in a manner highly creditable to his talents and industry; and every friend to religious literature must see with pleasure a

layman enrolled in the list of its most zealous students.

From the same author we have "The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland: together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, printed as they are to be sung or said in Churches." This work will prove of great utility to the members of the established church, by affording a *rationale* for the various rubrics, rites and ceremonies, and instructing them in the history of this valuable model of precatory devotion. The author very modestly disclaims all pretensions, but those of a compiler from the works of Comber, Nichols, Wheatley, &c.; yet he is entitled to high praise for the judicious use he has made of these almost obsolete authors, and for having brought within a small compass all that is necessary to be known on the various subjects usually included in the Book of Common Prayer. He has added the Visitation of Prisoners, according to the form of the Irish church, and the Thirty-nine Articles, which have been omitted very unaccountably, and somewhat suspiciously, in some late small editions. Mr. Reeves, on the other hand, has omitted the offices for the ordination of priests and the consecration of bishops; for which, however, he may plead a precedent in all editions of the Common Prayer, except the quarto and folio. A more serious objection presents itself in the opinion he has given of the damnable clauses in the Athanasian creed. He thinks that we "are not required by the words of the creed to believe the whole on pain of damnation." As an illustration of the doctrine of the

the Trinity, we think this creed extremely confused and defective; but surely that it enjoins belief on pain of damnation can never be explained away while words are allowed to retain their meaning.

In our Register for 1794, we noticed the publication of "Michaëlis' Introduction to the New Testament." We have now to announce a continuation of that celebrated work, under the title of 'Introduction to the New Testament. By John David Michaëlis, late Professor in the University of Gottingen, &c. Translated from the fourth Edition of the German, and considerably augmented with Notes; and a Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the Three first Gospels. By Herbert Marsh, B. D. F. R. S. Volumes III. and IV." A most important and acceptable present to the English theological student, and greatly improved by the industry and abilities of the translator, and particularly by his "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of the Three first (*first Three*) Gospels." In this he has advanced an ingenious hypothesis, which will account, in his opinion, for all the phænomena relative to the verbal agreement and disagreement in our first three Gospels, as well as for the other manifold relations they bear to each other, while it contains nothing which is either improbable in itself or is inconsistent with historical evidence. On the general character of Michaëlis' work, it would be unnecessary to offer many remarks. His learning, acuteness, and sense, are universally acknowledged; yet it must be conceded that he sometimes gives too free play to his imagination; and with a very numerous class of pious and learned men it will be an objection, that in his

criticisms he always considered the Evangelists as mere human writers.

The "Notes, critical and dissertatory, on the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, by the Rev. R. Shepherd, D. D. F. R. S." is a work that will meet the approbation of that class of biblical scholars who pursue their inquiries, and deduce their conclusions, without any regard to creeds and establishments: but, amidst a vast mass of judicious and profound remarks on the language and meaning of St. John's words, the orthodox reader will find much to discommend, and some attacks on the favourite doctrines of the church, which we should have expected from any quarter rather than from one within her pale, and holding the rank of archdeacon. To prepare the mind of the reader, however, for these innovations, the author endeavours to give an explanation of what *he* considers as good and sufficient subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. In this we discover much subtlety; but cannot agree with him, that "an honest and conscientious man may subscribe," although he does not accede to every article. We know not why the laws of the church, while they remain in force, should not be treated as other laws and articles of agreement are treated; namely, with a belief in their propriety, and an intention to fulfil them. We can understand Dr. Shepherd when he proposes that the articles should be revised; but we cannot in the mean time conceive that individuals have a right to do this for themselves. If this is once sanctioned, what will remain to keep out dissenters of all descriptions? These remarks will not appear severe or unseasonable, when we inform our readers, that this author's object is to prove that Jesus Christ is, both
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in his divine and human nature, inferior to the Father; that the Father and the Son cannot be the one same God supreme; and that there is nothing which Jesus more repeatedly disclaims than equality with God. In a postscript, indeed, he endeavours to show that Christ, notwithstanding his inferiority to the Father, is entitled to divine worship; and that the adoration of him is no breach of the first commandment: but this concession will probably appear too late, even for a postscript.

As the doctrines and discipline of the church are now becoming the subjects of a very interesting and perhaps critical discussion, we may here introduce the principal publications of last year on the subject. "The True Churchman ascertained; or, An Apology for those of the regular Clergy of the Establishment who are sometimes called Evangelical Ministers; occasioned by several modern Publications; by John Overton, A. B." is a very elaborate defence of the doctrines of the church, as laid down in the Articles and Homilies, according to the literal or *old* orthodox interpretation. The real sense of the Articles he endeavours to prove from the writings of the reformers, and many of the most eminent of their successors; and insists that the doctrines preached by those of the clergy who are termed evangelical preachers, are no other than the doctrines contained in the Articles and Homilies. In this attempt, we have no scruple in asserting that he has been successful, at least far beyond any former attempt; while his "Apology" is greatly superior in candour and consistency to a work on the same subject published many years ago by Mr. Toplady. As much confusion has arisen from

the repeated use of the words Calvinism and Arminianism, Mr. Overton admits that the doctrinal Calvinism of the church of England is of a very moderate and qualified kind. He also admits a certain kind of Arminianism, which is distinguished from a certain kind of Calvinism by a very nice line. These, we confess, are minute distinctions, which may escape the common eye; but it is sufficient for our author's purpose, that the Articles can be proved to teach those doctrines which are now termed evangelical; namely, original sin, salvation by grace through faith in Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

There is a sort of spurious Christianity, a strange mixture of credulity and imposture, of ignorance that moves compassion, and of hypocrisy that excites abhorrence, in which faith is commended more than goodness, and common-sense is lost sight of in the pursuit of mystery. To counteract this undersigning perversion (we use the author's words), or systematic depravation of the Christian doctrine, is in a great measure the purpose of "Religion without Cant; or, A Preservative against Lukewarmness and Intolerance, Fanaticism, Superstition, and Impiety. By Robert Fellowes, A. M. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford." This may be in some respect, although it is not professed to be so intended, considered as a defence of that part of the clergy who are called *moral*, in opposition to Mr. Overton's *evangelical* preachers; and the author, it must be allowed, employs every thing that he can collect in the shape of argument to prove that Christianity is only a system of morality, and that the ministers of the establishment should be com-
pelled

elled to teach nothing "but that pure morality which Christ taught, without any cant or any mystery." This will readily appear to the "true churchman" a more bold innovation than has yet been proposed by any modern heretic; but the reader will not be surprised at the extent of Mr. Fellowes's reformation of church doctrines, when he finds in the very outset, that what is called "original sin is an absurd and unscriptural fiction." Such an attack as this on the compilers of the Articles and Liturgy has never, we believe, been made by any person pretending the smallest respect for the establishment. Some of the articles have been considered by wise and good men as erroneous, as proceeding upon mistaken views of Scripture truth; and allowances have been made for the ignorance of the times in which they were compiled, and for the human infirmity of the compilers. This would probably be the language of every candid opponent; but to brand these reformers with the guilt of a "fiction" has been hitherto the practice of those only who consider all religion as priestcraft. Still, as the doctrine of original sin is actually asserted in one of the Articles, or, to use Mr. Fellowes's words, "is in some degree sanctioned," he attempts an explanation "that will entirely do away the mischievousness of the doctrine;" and this explanation consists of a very long discussion on the nature of subscription to the Articles, which he interprets in that loose manner which has been patronised by some very distinguished names; and which, if it amounts to any thing, amounts to what all dissenters from the church wish to establish, the right of private judgment, and perfect freedom from the obligations of implicit and full

belief in any one article: On Mr. Fellowes's principles, there is no description of heretics who may not subscribe the Articles. He even puts the supposition, that "if a person were to be ordained deacon by a Calvinistic bishop, he must subscribe the Articles in one sense, and if ordained priest by an Arminian bishop (such as a great majority of the English bishops are), he must subscribe them in a different. Before the first, he must swear to believe in the doctrine of, personal absolute election and reprobation, &c. &c. and before the last he must swear that he does not believe any such things." If this be a fair state of the mode of subscription in the present day, we would desire Mr. Fellowes to recollect whether he has ever met in the writings of the infidels and schismatics, whom he condemns with so much asperity, any account of the practices of bishops, and their subscribing clergy, which can tend more directly and unequivocally to bring the establishment into contempt with every good and conscientious man. And we would further recommend to him, and to his superiors, to consider whether it be worth while to take so much pains to defend the outworks while there is a mutiny in the garrison?

The impropriety of the conduct of a clergyman who avows his abhorrence and disbelief of any article which he hath solemnly avouched "as proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture," is amply discussed in a publication which is entitled "The Church of England vindicated from Misrepresentation; showing her genuine Doctrines, as contained in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies. With a particular Reference to the 'Elements of Christian Theology, by the Bishop of

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of Lincoln.' By a Presbyter of the Church of England." Although the arguments of this writer are chiefly directed to the attack made by the bishop of Lincoln on the Athanasian creed, they may be considered as bearing generally on the freedoms which some individuals have thought themselves at liberty to take with the articles of the church. He contends, that in our articles of faith no link can be broken without dissolving unity of opinion: the whole system may be wrong and refuted, if the Scripture so admits; but that the whole, as a formula of doctrine designed to prevent diversity of opinion, must stand or fall together: and, in confirmation of his opinion, he appeals to the fifth canon: "Whoever shall affirm that any of the articles agreed upon for providing against diversity of opinion are in any part erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*." It is in vain to plead that this or other canons or laws are obsolete: an obsolete law is a solecism: and very recent experience, in a remarkable case, might have taught the clergy that a law does not lose its strength by age.

Of the inferior publications on this subject, we shall give merely the titles of "The Evangelical Clergyman, or A Vindication of the Religious Principles and Conduct of a Minister of the Gospel: occasioned by the Circumstances attending a recent Election of Guardians to the Poor in the Parish of Clerkenwell. By G. Hodson."—"Considerations on the present State of Religion, speculative and practical, in this Country."—"A Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and one of his poor Neighbours, who had been led away from the Church under

the Pretext of hearing the Gospel and attending evangelical Preachers."—"A Defence of the Athanasian Creed, in "A practical Sermon on the Nature of Public Worship, by Thomas Sanders, A. B." to which the vice-chancellor of Oxford affixed his imprimatur.—"A Dialogue between a Churchman and a Methodist, in which the Grounds of Communion and Separation are fully examined, and the principal Points of Difference fairly discussed: with a Reference to Scripture."—"Plain Thoughts submitted to plain Understandings, upon a prevalent Custom dangerous to the Establishment."—"Dr. Gill's Reasons for separating from the Church of England calmly considered, in a Letter to a Friend."

Among the defences of Christianity against the cavils of modern infidels, the following publication seems justly entitled to a distinguished rank, "ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, ΕΙΣ ΜΕΣΙΤΗΣ, or, An Attempt to show how far the philosophical Notion of a Plurality of Worlds is consistent, or not so, with the Language of the Holy Scriptures." The author of this work proceeds with great caution and diffidence in stating his opinions to be, that, if our philosophical contemplations and researches have excited in us much more exalted ideas of God's greatness and majesty, since the plurality of worlds has appeared to be a physical truth, it ought to give us far more enlarged ideas of God's infinite mercy, to represent to ourselves, from the very words of Scripture, that the same mediatorial method of aiding, healing, and removing the infirmities of God's creatures has been, or will be, extended "in its effects" to the utmost limits of the universe: and when this mighty work of salvation shall be concluded, and all the acts of all the rational beings throughout

throughout the universe, have been brought to account, then the mediatorial functions will cease, and "God be All in All;" all the enemies and seducers of the rational soul being previously subjected to the Mediator, by his glorious triumph over them; and the souls themselves so purified and perfected, by the application of Christ's merits, as to be capable of being admitted into union with God—so boundless, perhaps, will be the catholic church of Christ our Redeemer. This, in general, seems to be the notion which our author thinks a true believer may be allowed to entertain, upon the subject of a plurality of worlds in the universe. He is at the same time aware, that it must in fact for ever remain merely a question of philosophical speculation and conjecture; revelation not having spoken out upon the subject, any more than upon many other points of great physical importance; revelation itself being now also closed, and our natural faculties wholly incompetent to the discovery and demonstration of the truth.

"A Developement of remarkable events, calculated to restore the Christian Religion to its original purity, and to repel the Objections of Unbelievers, by John Jones," two volumes, is a work of considerable ability. The volumes before us are occupied in a consideration of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; and two more are promised, which will be devoted to the Epistles. The author's general opinions are in opposition to those which have been long received as orthodox, and are delivered in a style which seems not very consistent with the modest candour of an impartial inquirer, nor with the respect due to those illustrious

names which have appeared among the defenders of the doctrines of the miraculous conception, the Trinity, &c. Neither do we discover such a portion of novelty of argument, or depth of thought, as to entitle the author to the lofty tone of a man who has made a complete decision on these disputed points, and may henceforth dismiss them with contempt.

"An Essay on the Unreasonableness of Scepticism, by the Rev J. Hare, A. M. Rector of Coln St. Denys, Gloucestershire, and Vicar of Stratton St. Margaret's, Wilts," is an able and candid refutation of the usual arguments brought against revelation; namely, that the philosophy and theological knowledge possessed by the heathens were not so defective as to render a particular revelation necessary; that it derogated from the dignity and majesty of God to make such a revelation, since the reason and conscience of man were sufficient for his conduct in life; that if there had been any such revelation it would have been universal, and must have necessarily produced a more material as well as beneficial effect; that doubts may be proposed whether what is called Scripture was not forged, to answer the sinister views and purposes of man; that sufficient evidence cannot be adduced of the truth of revealed religion to satisfy the mind of man, unprejudiced and improved, and cultivated by education. The defence of revealed religion, in opposition to these objections, occupies ten chapters, of which the concluding one proves, in a succinct and perspicuous manner, that revealed religion contains a series of facts of the highest importance necessary for man to know, and yet impossible for him by any exertion of his reason to discover;

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that the miracles and prophecies recorded in this revelation possess an evidence calculated to induce a belief in their truth; that what is affirmed to be the revealed will of God is propounded to man in that awful and authoritative manner, which might reasonably be expected if it proceeded from God; that the definition given by revelation of the attributes of the Deity is more to the glory of God's great and holy name, and infinitely more satisfactory to the human mind, than that which prevailed in the world previous to the promulgation of the Scriptures; and that its doctrines have produced that strong and beneficial effect on the minds and manners of those to whom it has been revealed, and who believe in its truth, which it might be supposed a religion proceeding from God would produce. In the preliminary chapters, which regard the state of the unenlightened world, Mr. Hare advances the most incontestable proofs of the insufficiency of human reason for information and guidance. Upon the whole, although our libraries are full of vindications of revealed religion, written with great ability, we are inclined to recommend this as one of the most useful, from its being comprised within moderate bounds, and the arrangement being such as to catch and keep up the attention of the reader. The university press of Oxford has done itself honour by the printing of this work.

Some of the principal arguments in favour of revealed religion are laid down in a very lively and elegant manner by Mr. Cumberland, in "A few plain Reasons why we should believe in Christ, and adhere to his Religion. Addressed to the Patrons and Professors of the new Philosophy." Nor is he deficient

in raillery, at the expense of the new philosophers, which we might perhaps expect from one who is a wit by profession, although we think it strangely out of place in an attempt to convert infidels, and are indeed convinced that it is none of the weapons of Christianity. To those, however, whose belief is fixed, this little work will prove highly acceptable.

"A Manual of Reflections on the Facts of Revelation, in two parts, which is a kind of commentary on Leslie's Short Method with the Deists, may be read by students with great advantage. It embraces the best-supported arguments in favour of the truth of revelation; and, if studied and remembered, may supply the place of many larger works.

"An Inquiry into the Knowledge of the ancient Hebrews concerning a future State, by Joseph Priestley, LL.D." is not unworthy of the extensive reading and acute researches of its well-known author. The object is to prove that the ancient Hebrews must necessarily have believed in the doctrine of a future state. In the course of this proof the learned author collects well-known allusions are to be found in the books of the Old Testament to that doctrine. He endeavours from various passages to show, that the ancient Hebrews not only believed in a future state of rewards and punishments, but also in a resurrection of the dead; and thinks that his argument is strongly supported by the famous passage in Job xix. 25. which the old interpreters certainly concurred, as well as the completion of the burial service in our liturgy. The train of reasoning employed by our author in support of these points is if not always conclusive (and sometimes it appears merely hypothetical).

cal) is at least ingenious, and well deserving the attention of Biblical scholars. Established in their fullest sense, which we think impossible, they will not be found to lessen the necessity of that complete revelation which "brought life and immortality to light." In his opinion that the "other nations" had a knowledge of a future state, while the Jews in our general supposition were ignorant of it, he is inconclusive: it is merely advancing one conjecture to support another. This we think the weakest part of our author's inquiry.

"Internal and presumptive Evidences of Christianity, considered separately, and as uniting to form one Argument, by John Simpson," is a very valuable compilation from the best authors on the various subjects connected with the plan, and is strengthened with numerous quotations and authorities. Those who have neither time nor opportunity to consult many books, will find here abundant proof that there is no peculiar presumption against either a revelation in general, or Christianity in particular, previous to an examination into the evidences of them; but that there are several strong presumptions in favour of the divine authority of Jesus and his religion; that the New Testament bears peculiarly forcible and very various internal marks of credibility; and that the accounts of the several arguments to which Christ appeals in his own favour are attended with numerous and powerful internal and presumptive evidences, that such proofs were really exhibited as establish the divinity of his mission.

The establishment of revealed religion, and the doctrines it inculcates, are brought more particularly to serve practical purposes in "An

Essay on the Way to restore and perpetuate Peace, good Order, and Prosperity, to the Nations. By Bryce Johnston, D.D." This Essay is divided into four parts. In the first the nature of religion is explained; in the second, civil society and civil government; in the third, the influence of religion on society; and in the fourth it is proved to be necessary to restore peace and good order to the distracted nations of Europe. By many supporters of religion in general these positions will perhaps be acknowledged as self-evident; but unfortunately, when they come to be applied, every man will bring forward his own church, his own creed, his own articles, as the only remedy for the evils of nations. Dr. Johnston is more catholic in his system, not contending for the particular form of any church; but for that vital principle, that faith which is known by suitable works. That this is the only religion worth contending for is, indeed, the dictate of common-sense; but we are not certain that those who are at the heads of churches or sects are yet disposed to listen to a monitor so capable of dispelling prejudice, and reconciling the animosities of party-spirit. Dr. Johnston denies that God hath said in his word, that the church of England, or the church of Scotland, is the only true church of Christ; but he surely knows that neither of these churches will agree with him in this, and that unless they do his scheme must prove abortive.

"An Apology for the Sabbath, by John Prior Estlin," relates to a subject which has often been discussed; but chiefly between those who hold the extremes of indifference, and of what has been called puritanical observance. Mr. Estlin

wishes to steer in the middle course. While he allows that the law of the Jewish sabbath is a law to the Jews only, and that the practice of keeping the Sabbath holy has not the sanction of any express precept in the New Testament, he wishes that Christians would consider whether there be not other grounds of obligation; and especially, since man is made for religion, and since public worship is among his indispensable duties, whether the appointment of a regularly returning day of rest must not form a necessary article of religious obligation? He pleads no more for the holiness of times and places than as the means by which man is to be made holy; contending only for the "religion" of the Sabbath, and "so far" for the "rest" of it, as labour would be an impediment to the former, and as in the present state of society benevolence to man and mercy to the brute creation require. Among the works of necessity which may be performed on this day, he includes gathering in the fruits of the earth, in this uncertain climate, before and after religious services. And—which appears a principal intention of this pamphlet—he endeavours to prove that there was no express command for changing the day of rest from the last to the first day of the week. Whatever difference of opinion may prevail concerning this or some other positions advanced by Mr. Estlin, all will concur with him, that the proper uses and employments of the Sabbath are, "rest, particularly to brute animals—rest, comfort, and moral improvement, to servants: the constant worship of Almighty God; reading the Scriptures and books of moral instruction; partaking of the Lord's supper; the cultivation of every excellent disposition; and, above

all, love to God and love to man."

"A Layman's Account of his Faith and Practice, as a Member of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: published with the Approbation of the Bishops of that Church. To which are added, some Forms of Prayer from the most approved Manuals, for assisting the Devotion of private Christians on various Occasions. With a Letter from the Rev. Charles Daubeny to a Scotch Nobleman, on the Subject of Ecclesiastical Unity," is a pamphlet to which we can refer our readers only for some curious information respecting the present state of the episcopal church in Scotland, that body of Christians who are united, in all matters of ecclesiastical concern, under the regular succession of those Scotch bishops who, in consequence of the revolution in 1688, were deprived of their temporal honours and privileges; but still continued, as in duty bound, to exercise their spiritual powers for the benefit of that part of the church of Christ which had been committed to their charge. The object appears to be to promote an union between this church and those episcopal clergymen in Scotland who officiate under ordination from English bishops, but are too remote to be under their jurisdiction.

The Sermons published in the course of the year 1801 are in general highly creditable to the industry and talents of our clergy. Respect for a veteran of acknowledged fame in this species of composition, and of whom we are now to take a final leave, induces us to place at the head of this department of domestic literature, "Sermons by Hugh Blair, D. D. F. R. S. Ed. One of the Ministers of the High Church."

Church, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. V.: to which is annexed a short Account of the Life and Character of the Author, by James Finlayson, D.D." The subjects of these sermons are, Hopes and Disappointments; the proper Disposition of the Heart towards God; the moral Character of Christ; the Wounds of the Heart; all Things working together for Good to the Righteous; the Love of our Country; a contented Mind; drawing near to God; Wisdom in religious Conduct; the Immortality of the Soul, and a future State; overcoming Evil with Good; a Life of Dissipation and Pleasure; the Conscience void of Offence; the ascension of Christ; a peaceable Disposition; religious Joy, as giving Strength and Support to Virtue; the Folly of the Wisdom of the World; the Government of human Affairs by Providence; Prayer; and the Last Judgment. All these discourses, we are told by the venerable author, were written in his early days; and when, owing to the infirmity of very advanced age, he had laid aside the labours of the pulpit, he employed the remainder of his time and vigour in preparing them for the press. Under such circumstances it cannot be expected that they should possess the high polish of his former volumes. Indeed, it is evident that Dr. Blair arrived very late in life at that correctness and elegance of style on which his fame rests. Had this volume been presented first to the public, there is every reason to think it would have passed with very little notice. A few paragraphs may probably be selected which will bear a comparison, in point of style, with those in his first and second volumes; but in general

we perceive nothing superior to the common run of sermons. In the present volume, however, are many of those excellent remarks on subjects of importance in domestic life which appear so frequently in his more perfect works, and which have ever inclined us to think that he deserves the honours rather of the moralist than of the divine, and that consequently much of his popularity has been owing to his selection of subjects in which men of all persuasions are agreed. His opinions lead to no controversy; and his reflexions, although neither new nor uncommon, are conveyed in a manner so pleasing, in expressions so happily chosen, and so liable from their neatness to fix on the memory, that his example cannot be too frequently attempted by those who have leisure to prepare their pastoral labours for the press.

"*Horæ Mosaïcæ; or, A View of the Mosaical Records, with respect to their Coincidence with profane Antiquity, their internal Credibility, and their Connection with Christianity: comprehending the Substance of eight Lectures read before the University of Oxford in the Year 1801, pursuant to the Will of the late John Bampton, A.M.: by George Stanley Faber, A.M. Fellow of Lincoln College: two volumes*"—is one of the most laborious productions to which the celebrated Bampton Lecture has given rise, and in which the author has deviated, not without one precedent, from the usual mode of printing in the form of sermons, by moulding his matter into a more regular series of dissertations, chapters, &c. On the propriety of this innovation, however, we shall not hazard an opinion. The author's object is a view of the Mosaical

documents, both with regard to their credibility and their connexion with Christianity. Their credibility, he justly states, must result partly from external and partly from internal evidence: a remarkable historical coincidence with profane antiquity constitutes the one; and various arguments, derived from an attentive survey of the documents themselves, serve to establish the other. In illustrating these important points, Mr. Faber has amply availed himself of the labours of Mr. Bryant; Mr. Maurice, sir William Jones, and indeed of every author in whose writings arguments or facts are to be gleaned in defence of the Mosaic history, and its connexion with Christianity. As a compilation, therefore, his work will be highly valuable to students who may not have access to the sources from which it has been extracted; and the judgment he has displayed in the use of his materials may be praised without abatement, if to some it does not seem an objection that his notions on the subject of regeneration are more in unison with the Articles of the Church, than with the custom that has lately prevailed of explaining these into articles of peace and doctrines of no meaning.

The well-known abilities and profound learning of Dr. Rennell, the author of a volume of "Discourses on various Subjects," give promise of much instruction and entertainment; but we must confess, that an intemperance of manner, an energy pushed beyond the fair limits of the pulpit or the closet, and an irritability of sentiment (if we may so express the failing), prevent us from bestowing unqualified praise on these discourses. Still there are so many beauties, so many just remarks, pertinent allusions,

and above all so much manly assertion of important truths in defence of the opinions or practice of high and low, that we cannot but consider a great part of what is here advanced as highly honourable to the talents, piety, and dignified spirit, of the learned Master of the Temple. If he dwells more on the massacres of France than seem necessary in a land of acknowledged humanity, we must allow that he is not far from the truth when he deduces the barbarous practices of the French murderers from the remaining spirit of general popery; and when, in opposition to Barruel and Robison, he asserts that it was "not the decay and downfall of popery which produced the principles of the infidel philosophy and Jacobinical anarchy, but that it was the absurdity and barbarity of Romish superstition which engendered that baleful and tremendous pestilence," we think his position more easily defensible than any which has yet been attempted to account for the miseries of the revolution.

It is with pleasure, too, we recognise in Dr. Rennell a sense of honour above those mean subterfuges which have been attempted in the question of subscription to the Articles. He lays down the conduct of those who may object to any of the articles, with precision: if they have discovered corruptions, conscience and integrity dictate that they should not countenance them by a longer continuance in that church which retains them; much less ought they to sanction them by a discharge of ministerial office in a communion degenerate and depraved; "if any of all" should they "continue in the rules of sincerity hitherto admitted among men, by holding

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etaining high stations and large emoluments to which a profession of those exceptionable and unscriptural doctrines is decidedly attached, but to choose some other community," &c. "This," he adds, 'would be indeed to exercise duly and nobly the right of private judgment: and, however ill-founded the objections to the tenets of the church from which a seceder departed might be, yet the praise of consistency and integrity could never be justly withheld from him. Even the society which he left must say of him, with that reverence and affection which no truly conscientious difference of religious opinion should impair,

"*Talis cum sis utinam noster esses.*"

We could transcribe with much satisfaction another passage, equal in candour and manly spirit, concerning the church of Scotland; but our limits will not permit us to enlarge on the respective merits of these discourses, some of which have been already before the public as single sermons. But it remains to be remarked, that the style is peculiar to the author, and cannot be recommended for imitation. It is generally laboured, and frequentlyurgid and inflated; and warmth of feeling, and a strong sense of indignation, have sometimes hurried the author into a redundancy of epithets of the vituperative kind, which interrupt the gentle and peaceable flow of a Christian address. With this objection (which, however, is chiefly to be offered to those discourses in which the author expatiates on the politics of the day), his volume cannot fail to be perused with advantage; and coming from the authority of a dignitary of the church, will, we trust, tend to rectify, or at least expose, those

miserable fallacies, and that despicable Jesuitism, which, if sanctioned by the practice of her members, must render any church ridiculous.

"Discourses on the scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, with additional Remarks on the principal Arguments and the Mode of Reasoning employed by the Opponents of those Doctrines, as held by the Established Church; and an Appendix, containing some Strictures on Mr. Belsham's 'Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Treatise;' by the Rev. W. Magee, D. D. Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin; Member of the R. I. A. and of the Literary Society of Manchester"—is an elaborate work, of which the purport may be gathered from the title; and, although the subject has been so frequently contested, may be recommended as a valuable addition to our stores of theological literature. The form, indeed, is rather repulsive; but the author avows that he writes more for the perusal of students in divinity than for private Christians. The work consists, in part, of two discourses delivered in the chapel of Trinity-college, Dublin. In the first, the author considers the objections of those who deny the necessity of any mediation whatever, and those who question the particular nature of that mediation which has been appointed—whilst the Deist, on the one hand, ridicules the very notion of a mediator; and the philosophising Christian, on the other, fashions it to his own hypothesis. In the second discourse, the nature of the Jewish and other sacrifices is examined. But the most considerable part of the volume consists of notes and

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criticisms, proofs from history, and opinions of commentators. The doctrines here opposed are those maintained by the denomination of dissenters "known by the title of Unitarians, and distinguished from the other non-conformists by the appellation of rational dissenters." But our author seems to take for granted that Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham are the leaders or authors of the system of Unitarianism; in which, on the contrary, there are many subdivisions of opinion, and, we believe, no one general creed or agreement. The published opinions, however, of these two gentlemen are here controverted with great ability; and the controversy is the more important, as our author needed not have gone out of the pale of his own church to find writers of eminence who are not much more orthodox in the belief of an atonement by the blood of Christ, than the opponents he has so pointedly selected. No history of Unitarianism can be perfect which does not include the reverend and right reverend heretics of Cambridge university.

Our collection of sermons has been this year enriched with a volume from the new world—"Sermons on various Subjects, by Samuel Stanhope Smith, D.D. President of the College of New Jersey, in America"—which, we are told in a short advertisement, were transmitted by the author with a view of ascertaining how far his mode of thinking and writing might be acceptable to the people of the united kingdoms of Great Britain. To many of them they will no doubt be highly acceptable, particularly to those who admire the manner of the French preachers of eminence. The want of animation in our English preachers has long

been a complaint; and our author's intention, in composing these sermons, appears to have been to give a due proportion of style to captivate the eye, and of matter to improve the understanding. The subjects are, Infidelity; the Dangers of Pleasure; the Rich Man and Lazarus; Industry; the Lord's Supper; the penitent Woman at the Feet of Jesus; the united Influence of Reflexion and sacred Reading in cultivating and purifying the Morals; the Forgiveness of Injuries; the Pleasures of Religion; secret Faults; public Vices; Death; the Last Judgment; and the Happiness of good Men in a future State. In treating these subjects, we find many valuable practical observations, and many spirited and eloquent passages: but the style sometimes approaches to mere declamation; the images are frequently confused; and the similes too numerous, as well as far-fetched. These imperfections, however, we are less inclined to attribute to the fault of the author, than to that of the models he has thought proper to copy. Some clergymen may wish to preach like Massillon or Fenelon; but, in all matters of taste, the best imitation is but a second-rate excellence; and preachers of the abilities which Dr. Smith possesses, will always have something of their own more valuable than what they can borrow.

In our last volume we noticed, in terms of approbation, a small collection of sermons by the Rev. Sydney Smith, A.M. late Fellow of New-college, Oxford. We have now to announce a "second Volume," consisting of eight sermons, on the Effects which Christianity ought to produce upon our Manners; the Pride of Birth; the Union of Innocence and Wisdom; a Fare-
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well Sermon to a country Parish; Vanity; the Treatment of Servants; Men of the World; for the Swiss. In the last mentioned, the author expatiates on the virtues of the Swiss, their happiness before the irruption of the French into their country, the heroism with which they defended themselves, and the savage atrocity of their desolating conquerors. The opinion we gave of Mr. Smith's former volume may with equal propriety be extended to the discourses now before us; but a preface of considerable length, which precedes them, demands our observation, as marking in a very striking degree the contrariety of opinions which prevail among the clergy of the established church, not only respecting doctrine but duty. In endeavouring to account for the neglect of public worship, he does not scruple to blame "the form of worship and the clergy themselves." With respect to the form of worship, he thinks it is not to be expected that the attention of the greater part of an audience can be kept up, through many repetitions, in a service that lasts an hour and a half, or an hour and three quarters. Of the clergy he entertains no very favourable opinion, as to their "keeping alive and diffusing a due sense of religion in their parishioners." And as to their public services, "of the twenty-six hours which they are every year allowed for the instruction of their fellow-creatures, they waste *part* in explanations of difficult parts of Scripture, dissertations on the doctrinal and mysterious points of religion, and learned investigations of the meaning and accomplishment of prophecies; whereas the *whole* ought to be employed on practical subjects." In this opinion, we apprehend, few will agree with this

lively writer; and yet, if no more time is allowed to a clergyman than twenty-six hours in a year, it seems scarcely worth disputing in what manner a portion of time ought to be employed that must be absolutely unfit for any species of public instruction. But so zealous is Mr. Smith to restrict his half-hour to practical subjects, that he even censures his brethren for "interlarding their sermons with scriptural phrases"—an opinion in which neither taste nor piety can concur. If he exclude the authority of Scripture, what becomes of his moral influence? Or what security in a superstructure which is undermined? We would recommend to Mr. Smith, before he quite rejects what, in kitchen-phrase, he terms *interlardings*, to look at the practice of the most eminent English divines—those who have been most popular both in the pulpit and in the closet—from Dr. Clarke of St. James's to Dr. Blair of Edinburgh. The sentiments of the latter, too, in his Lectures on Rhetoric, would be no improper study for a young man so zealous to subvert established customs, and so laudably anxious to animate "lukewarm hearers."

"Sermons on the Parables, by John Farrer, M. A." are strongly recommended, by the importance of the subject and the able and judicious manner in which it is treated. The parables are generally read in a superficial manner, and with little regard, and indeed little suspicion, of the extensive instruction they were intended to convey. To counteract this indifference, and render the parables a prominent part of our sacred studies, Mr. Farrer has been induced to publish these sermons, some of which were preached before the university of Oxford. The introductory part, or
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what is contained in the first three sermons, are on the nature and tendency of parables in general: the remainder are dedicated to particular parables; in considering each of which our author inquires into the occasion of the parable, and the disposition of the hearers; its literal sense, and the circumstances of the narrative; the figurative or spiritual sense; and he concludes with a general application, as a lesson of doctrine and practice. The whole is written in a plain, argumentative, and affectionate style, and seems admirably calculated for the use of families. The author promises a second volume, which will complete the plan, if the present be suitably encouraged, of which we should be sorry to entertain any doubt.

"Sermons on various Subjects, by the Rev. T. Basely, A. M. Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, and Proprietor of Grosvenor-Chapel, Grosvenor-Square," consist of twelve, on the following important subjects—Belief in God, and the Works which should follow it; on the Law to which our first Parents were subject in Paradise; on Liberty and Necessity; on the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity; on the Jews' Reproach of our Saviour, and on John the Baptist; on Pilate's Question, 'What is Truth?'; on fearing the Reproach of Men; on the Duty of Mercifulness; on Judgment to come; and on Peace with God. Although we perceive many valuable remarks in these discourses, and can in general approve the excellent purpose of the author; yet when we consider the style, we think they appear much fitter for the pulpit than the closet; and when we consider the matter, it seems to require all the attention of the most serious study. The style is flowery; but the subjects are ab-

struse, and philosophically treated. The two sermons on Liberty and Necessity, we should imagine, even when occasionally enlivened by a flowing and eloquent period, could have contributed very little to preserve the attention or inform the judgment of a mixed congregation: nor will many theologians agree with our author in his "first appeal to natural reason, as the great test of moral and divine truth next to the ever-sacred law of God itself." It is remarkable, that one of these sermons has for its text the disputed verse in the fifth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John, which the bishop of Lincoln, to whom our author is chaplain, has declared to be a forgery. Mr. Basely, however, uses it merely as a motto to a discourse upon mysteries in general; which we cannot say he has elucidated with more success than his predecessors.

"Sermons on evangelical and practical Subjects, designed chiefly for the Use of Families, by Samuel Lowell," belong to a different class from those we have hitherto noticed, and will be chiefly acceptable to those who hold the doctrines of the church in their literal sense. The author appears to be a pious and an amiable man; and endeavours to recommend, with affectionate fervour, what we have every reason to think he sincerely believes as necessary to salvation. The subjects are—Religion the Source of domestic Happiness; Attachment to public Worship; the Sower; the Effect produced upon Agrippa by the Defence of Paul; Repentance and Pardon; the Candour of the Bereans an Example to Christians; the Atonement; the Sympathy of Jesus; the Power of Conscience; the Character of Jacob; the Passover; the penitent Malefactor; the
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Snarcs of Affluence; Resignation; the Triumph of Piety over Adversity; and a discourse upon Procrastination. In treating these subjects, the author appears to most advantage in the practical part. The style, we are sorry to say, is in general encumbered with pompous words and phrases, which are frequently brought together to express a truism or to distort a threatening. "The mind overcome by a consciousness of guilt contemplates the justice of the skies with fearful apprehensions—dreads the forked lightnings—and thrills with horror, lest the encircling flame should envelop the soul in everlasting perdition." This is school-boy rant.

"Sermons, by the Rev. John Wight Wickes, A.M." are not entitled to much praise on the score of originality; and moral truths are too frequently encumbered with political discussions, the utility of which, if it could be proved, would only be temporary; and sermons intended for private perusal ought surely to contain something more permanent.

"Twelve Sermons, by John Grose, A.M. F. A. S." without exhibiting any extraordinary pretensions to literary merit, which indeed the author very modestly disclaims, may be introduced with advantage into families of the serious kind. The doctrines principally enforced are: the fallen state of human nature; the turpitude and guilt of sin; the purity and extent of the moral law; the absolute need of an expiatory atonement for sin; and the full, finished, and perfect redemption which Christ hath accomplished for the guilty. From this short sketch of the contents of this volume, our readers will perceive that the author belongs to that class of the clergy who have

not yet made innovations in the established creed.

The same praise belongs to "Sermons, by Robert Hawker, D.D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth," published, as we are informed in the advertisement, "as a specimen of the author's method of preaching," and with the benevolent purpose of devoting the profits of the whole edition to charitable purposes.—"Zion's Pilgrim," by the same pen, is an imitation of Bunyan, adapted, with a pious intention, to modern circumstances. As an imitation, however, it is very defective; although as a composition it may have its uses with readers of the old orthodox school.

"*Sermons sur le Culte public, &c.* Sermons on public Worship, by Louis Mercier, Pastor of the French Church in London: two volumes"—afford a very honourable testimony of the abilities, pious industry, and zeal, of the author. The first volume, and four sermons in the second, are confined to an investigation of the practice of public worship, with respect to its utility and obligation on Christian communities. The author answers the common objections with great skill, and enforces the obligation to public worship from a variety of important considerations, which are in our opinion conclusive. These sermons are published in the language in which they were preached; but by a translation the author might have greatly extended the sphere of their utility, as far at least as regards his chief object. The remainder of the second volume consists of five occasional sermons; in which, merely as compositions, there is little to praise or blame.

"Sermons on the Doctrines and Duties of Christianity, addressed to a Country Congregation," and ushered

ushered into the world without a name, are well calculated to impart to the uneducated members of society a knowledge of the principal duties of Christianity. The style, without sinking into meanness, is plain and level to the capacities of the majority who may be supposed to fill the country churches; and there is more attention paid to the practical than the doctrinal part of the subjects which come in review. Of these sermons, in number eighteen, we would select the eleventh, on "the Duties of the married State," as particularly excellent and useful.

The single sermons, in the course of last year, have been, as usual, chiefly occupied on temporary objects, or published to gratify partial requests, and for confined purposes. Few of them have been eminent for merit of composition or novelty of subject; yet from these we must except a very singular instance of a sermon assuming the shape and importance of a quarto volume, entitled "A Spital Sermon, preached at Christ Church upon Easter-Tuesday, April 15, 1800: to which are added Notes. By Samuel Parr, D.D. 4to." The well-known abilities of the learned author occasioned expectations which cannot certainly be disappointed in the perusal of this discourse, if the reader will consider it in the light of a philosophical and polemical dissertation on the line of conduct which the duty of benevolence prescribes to us as social beings, in opposition to the romantic whims of universal philanthropy exhibited by Mr. Godwin in his 'Inquiry concerning Political Justice,' but which Mr. Godwin had in a subsequent publication retracted. The text is Galat. vi. 10—"As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do

good unto all men, especially unto them that are of the household of faith." After a critical explanation of the words, the author proceeds to examine how far, by the constitution of human nature, and the circumstances of human life, the principles of particular and universal benevolence are compatible; and, as may be expected, determines the question against the notions of the modern philanthropists. Much ability is undoubtedly displayed in this attempt; but the author is neither so precise nor systematic as could have been wished; and he digresses too frequently, in order to captivate his readers by unexpected bursts of eloquence. We do not mean to say, however, that he has not established his point, or that he is unsupported by the able authorities which he has quoted with the greatest profusion in the Notes. Indeed, we consider the notes, which occupy one hundred and sixty-one pages, as the most valuable part of the volume: they include a great variety of subjects, immediately or remotely connected with the main topic, and tend to revive an attention to many able authors who have of late been too much neglected. Living names are also introduced with those zealous touches of commendation which mark the ardour of friendship. We have also in this department a very able vindication of the universities against the attacks of Mr. Gray and Mr. Gibbon. Our author's style is always energetic and vigorous; but perhaps it may appear a suspicious circumstance, that it generally reminds us either of Burke or Johnson:—laboured imitation is seldom successful. Upon the whole, however, both for elegance and strength of language,

uage, and for copiousness of matter, this must be considered as a publication of importance and utility to philosophers and divines. —The only attempt to animadvert on its contents is entitled "Thoughts occasioned by the perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon: being a Reply to the Attacks of Dr. Parr, Mr. Mackintosh, the Author of 'An Essay on Population,' and others: by William Godwin." The principal object of the reply to Dr. Parr appears to be of a personal concern—the parties were once intimate. Mr. Godwin has retracted his doctrines in "Political Justice," which Dr. Parr attacks; and why revive them as if they had not been retracted? All this is fair and equitable, but of less importance to the public than Mr. Godwin seems to think. The attack by Mr. Mackintosh is another affair of a personal nature; for here, too, is an apostatising intimate. But Mr. Godwin's remarks on the "Essay on Population" appear to us more confused and mysterious than any doctrines he has ever advanced. We would not wish to mistake his meaning; but what he has advanced on the subject of child-murder may, if read at all, be mistaken for an attempt to diminish the horror with which that crime ought ever to be contemplated.

"A Sermon preached at Durham, July 21, 1801, at the Visitation of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, Shute, Lord Bishop of Durham, by Robert Gray, B.D. Prebendary of Chichester, and Rector of Craike in the County of Durham," must be excepted from the general mass of occasional sermons, as a composition of great ability and original thinking. The latter praise parti-

cularly belongs to what the author has advanced respecting the manifestly providential appointment, for the advancement and preservation of the Christian faith, in the permanency and establishment given to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. The Hebrew, by a remarkable exemption from the ordinary fate of languages, preserved from innovation and debasement till the inspired canon was closed: the Greek, in which the first Scriptures were to be translated near three centuries before the advent of the Messiah, and in which the glad tidings of the Gospel were to be everlastingly recorded, diffused, established, and rendered permanent, by circumstances the most peculiar and extraordinary: the Latin, "through which revealed wisdom was communicated for many ages to the western church," extended by the power and authority of the Roman empire, so as to become in its turn an admirable instrument for the purposes to which it was appointed. This new source of security, and cause for pious gratitude, is ingeniously illustrated in this sermon, and may be ranked among the most convincing of the lesser or collateral proofs of the divine origin of the Scriptures, and of the divine favour extended in the preservation of them.

Before closing this department of our Register, it may be necessary, as matter of record, to take some notice of a controversy that arose in the course of the preceding year from circumstances apparently of a personal and local kind, but which, by the industry of some of the polemics, and the rank and character of others, has swelled insensibly into some degree of importance, and has been long known and talked of by the name of the "Blagdon

“Blagdon Controversy.” The aggression in this war of pamphlets appears to be the following. In the parish of Blagdon, in Somersetshire, a Sunday school had long been established under the particular auspices of Mrs. Hannah More; and the teacher of this school was generally suspected of being a methodist, and of holding weekly meetings in his house agreeably to the discipline of that sect. Such a conduct was esteemed an impropriety by the curate of Blagdon, Mr. Thomas Bere; and the circumstance being mentioned by this gentleman’s wife to Mrs. Hannah More, the latter requested her to attend one of these meetings; with which request she complied. At this meeting no extemporary prayers were introduced; but the teacher inquired of his hearers after their spiritual state in a manner that seemed to this listening lady to savour of enthusiasm, and she acquainted Mrs. Hannah More, by letter, with the impressions made on her mind in consequence of this visit. Mrs. More manifested some degree of inattention to such notification; and, by degrees, this trifling affair was wrought into a regular dispute, of such a magnitude as to be settled only by affidavits, and the arbitration of the chief magistrates and gentlemen of the district. At a convention for this purpose, it was unanimously resolved, that the schoolmaster had behaved extremely improper, and that, at all events, the private school ought to be abolished. At this decision the bells of Blagdon were employed to proclaim the curate’s joy. But, alas! his joy was of short duration: in removing the methodistical mote from the schoolmaster’s eye, he forgot the heretical beam that was in his own. It was

soon reported to the bishop that the curate had omitted to read the Athanasian creed on the days appointed; doubts were therefore entertained of the orthodoxy of his faith: and this report having been regularly made to the bishop (by whom may be easily conjectured), the bishop’s rector sent the curate a letter, ending with a wish that he would resign the curacy, to avoid the irksome consequences of an episcopal mandate. With this the curate was obliged to comply, but not without vindicating himself from the suspicion of heresy, and asking, what every one will be ready to ask, why this want of orthodoxy was never mentioned till after the judgment of Blagdon? He was, however, actually dismissed from his curacy. And here the war of pamphlets we have already alluded to commences, by Mr. Bere himself, once the aggressor, but now the aggrieved party; and from the titles of the following, which we believe include the principal effusions on both sides, the reader may be enabled to form some judgment of the extent and importance given to this controversy, and the various questions involved in it.

1. “The Controversy between Mrs. Hannah More and the Curate of Blagdon, relative to the Conduct of her Teacher of the Sunday School in that Parish: with the original Letters, and explanatory Notes; by Thomas Bere, A.M. (the Curate), Rector of Butcombe, near Bristol.” 2. “A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Bere, Rector of Butcombe, occasioned by his late unwarrantable Attack on Mrs. Hannah More: with an Appendix, containing Letters and other Documents relative to the extraordinary Proceedings at Blagdon: by the Rev. Sir Abraham Elton,

Elton, Bart." 3. "An Appeal to the Public on the Controversy between Hannah More, the Curate of Blagdon, and the Rev. Sir A. Elton. By Thomas Bere, A. M. &c." 4. "A Statement of Facts relative to Mrs. Hannah More's Schools, occasioned by some late Misrepresentations." 5. "Expos-
tulatory Letter to the Rev. Sir Abraham Elton, Bart. in consequence of his late Publication addressed to the Rev. Thomas Bere, Rector of Butcombe." 6. "A Letter to the Rev. T. Bere, &c. By the Rev. J. Boak, Rector of Brockley." 7. "The Blagdon Controversy; or short Criticisms on the late Dispute between the Curate of Blagdon and Mrs. Hannah More, relative to Sunday Schools, and Monday private Schools. By a Layman."—Of these pamphlets, Nos. 1, 3, and 7, are in defence of Mr. Bere; and Nos. 2, 4, 6, for Mrs. More; and No. 5 is neutral. And here the first campaign ended: Mr. Bere was restored to his curacy, and the friends of peace were about to rejoice in its return, when hostilities were again commenced by Mr. Bere.

1. "An Address to Mrs. Hannah More, on the Conclusion of the Blagdon Controversy. With Observations on an anonymous Tract, entitled, 'A Statement of Facts.' By Thomas Bere, A. M. Curate of Blagdon." 2. "The Force of Contrast, or Quotations accompanied with Remarks; submitted to the Consideration of all who have interested themselves in what has been called the Blagdon Controversy." 3. "Truths respecting Mrs. Hannah More's Meeting-houses, and the Conduct of her Followers; addressed to the Curate of Blagdon. By Edward Spencer." 4. "An alterative Epistle; addressed to Edward Spencer, Apo-

thecary. By Lieut. Charles H. Pettinger (*alias*, the Rev. D. Drewitt of Cheddar)." 5. "Illustrations of Falsehood, in a Reply to some Assertions contained in Mr. Spencer's late Publication. By the Rev. Thomas Drewitt, A. M. Curate of Cheddar." 6. "Calumny refuted, in a Reply to several Charges advanced by Mr. Spencer of Wells, in his Pamphlet called 'Truths,' his Animadversions, and Hand-bills. By the Rev. John Boak, Rector of Brockley." 7. "Elucidations of Character, occasioned by a Letter from the Rev. R. Lewis, published in the Rev. T. Bere's Address to Miss Hannah More. With some Remarks on a Pamphlet lately published by Edward Spencer of Wells. By the Rev. John Boak, Rector of Brockley." 8. "Animadversions on the Curate of Blagdon's Three Publications, with some Allusions to his Cambrian Descent from Gwyr ap Glendour, ap Cadwallader, ap Styfnig, as affirmed and set forth by Himself, in the twenty-eighth Page of his 'Appeal to the Public.'" 9. "The Force of Contrast continued."—Of these pamphlets, which bring the contest to an apparent conclusion, two only are on the side of Mr. Bere, and the remaining seven take the part of Mrs. Hannah More; who, it is perhaps rather singular, has not appeared in person. The controversy, in the latter part, branched out into the usual invectives against the methodists, and the usual apologies for their practices. The whole exhibits but a melancholy picture of the spirit of the times; and in no dispute relative to Christian principles, and conducted by persons professing Christianity, have been seen less of its mild and gentle temper, grosser violation of the laws of courtesy and

and the obligations of truth, or greater contempt for the seriousness of an oath. It may be necessary to add, that we have given the titles of some of these pamphlets which, in strict chronological order, belong to the subsequent year; but we hope we shall be excused for anticipating the conclusion of so disgraceful a contest, as well as for dismissing it without further notice, should the Bereites and Moreites persist in insulting public decency, and provoking public contempt.

Under the department of Ethics, Moral Philosophy, and Education, we find several publications of considerable merit. In our last Register we gave an account of Mr. Pearson's "Remarks on the Theory of Morals: in which is contained an Examination of the theoretical Part of Dr. Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." The same author has since published his objections, in a work entitled, "Annotations on the practical Part of Dr. Paley's Principles." These Annotations, which appear to have been made when the author was tutor of Sidney-college, and when it fell to his lot to give lectures on moral philosophy, begin with the ninth chapter of the second book of Paley's Moral Philosophy, and conclude with the eleventh chapter of the third book. They amply merit the attention of every student who has been instructed in moral science on Dr. Paley's system; but we confess there are objections to Mr. Pearson's of as serious a nature as any he has offered against his celebrated predecessor. With regard to subscription, he seems as much disposed to part with the literal meaning and sense of the articles, and to consider them as articles of peace and union. We

must ever consider this as intolerable trifling, unworthy of the pros-
divine, and of the moral philosopher.

Of "The Principles of Morality, by George Ensor, Esq." we find it impossible to speak with the respect due to philosophy, literature, or morals. A writer who can calmly assert that religious belief lends no support to morality, and has no beneficial influence on human conduct, is not entitled to serious notice; and his preference of the heathen writers to the Scriptures on the score of morality is one of those perversions of intellect, or examples of ignorance, which may be dismissed with silent contempt. The author has indeed a parade of reading which may impose on the ignorant; but, while he has shown that nothing is so easy as to multiply quotations, he has also illustrated the difficulty with which they are collected to answer any rational purpose.

We turn with pleasure from this crude and mischievous farrago to a work of very considerable merit, on the subject of education: "Letters on the elementary Principles of Education. By Elizabeth Hamilton, Author of the Memoirs of Modern Philosophers, &c. Vol. I." As it appeared to this lady that rules are less necessary in education than principles, and that it is by implicitly following rules without examining principles that disappointments have been created, it is the object of the present volume to examine the principles of the human mind as far as education is concerned, and to deduce practical inferences from them. In this interesting inquiry our author adopts the principle of *association*, and endeavours to prove the safety and advantages of this plan throughout the whole volume. The first letter explains her theory on the subject.

In this is considered the influence of early association, exemplified in the characters of the Hindoos and Americans. The subject is divided into two branches; viz. the culture of the heart, and understanding. Reasons are assigned for treating of the former first. The term association is explained by examples: and the end and object of education are stated, in a quotation, to be, "first, to cultivate the various principles of our nature, both speculative and active, in such a manner as to bring them to the greatest perfection of which they are susceptible; and, secondly, by watching over the impressions and associations which the mind receives in early life, to secure it against the influence of prevailing errors, and as far as possible to engage its prepossessions on the side of truth." In the second letter, objections are answered, and associations are shown to be deeply fixed in the mind, either by means of strong impression or frequent repetition. Letters 3d and 4th are employed in an examination of the associations of aversion; letters 5th and 6th on the agreeable associations; letters 7th and 8th on associations producing benevolence; letter 9th on associations destructive of benevolence; letter 10th on associations productive of selfishness; letter 11th on associations productive of vanity; letter 12th on associations productive of selfishness and pride; letter 13th on associations productive of selfishness and ambition; and letter 14th on associations productive of pride. These general outlines of the contents of this volume are filled up by judicious remarks, and apposite examples, relative to all those topics which are necessary objects of consideration in every system of education, and which are

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usually classed under the more familiar heads of terror, timidity, fear of death, antipathies, prejudices, treatment of servants, religious duties, affections of the heart, parental partiality, ridicule, contempt for the female character, wisdom of self-denial, indulgence of the palate, a preference for the splendid and contempt for the useful, love of wealth, of power, of glory, of praise, dress, and admiration, false notions of superiority, pride of birth and station, &c. &c. Each subject is illustrated by examples from common life, the result evidently of long experience, and a very extensive range of observation; and the author's opinions are detailed in a manner so perspicuous, and with a zeal for national improvement so warm and laudable, that we are not surprised at the general attention which has been attracted by this work. To parents, it will be found particularly interesting, if they will adopt an early sentiment of the author, which is indeed an indispensable preliminary, "that the woman who would educate her children with success must begin with herself." At the same time, we may with deference hint, that, notwithstanding the lively illustrations and domestic instruction conveyed in this work, we could have wished it had assumed less of a metaphysical form, that some few digressions had been omitted, and that personal feelings had not been sometimes mixed with questions subjected to philosophical discussion. These objections, however, we would not urge as important: they are at worst differences of opinion; and of all subjects, education is the last on which it is reasonable to expect uniformity either of theory or practice.

From another lady of considerable
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literary talents and genius, we have received an important addition to our stock of knowledge on the subject of education. "Letters addressed to a young Man, on his first Entrance into Life, and adapted to the peculiar Circumstances of the present Times. By Mrs. West. 3 volumes." After a short and modest introduction, in which the author explains her intentions, she proceeds to discuss the following useful topics: the peculiar difficulties to which young men are now exposed; submission and exertion required from youth; advantages of maternal friendship, and confidential intercourse; danger of romantic expectations, and false notions of independence; practical wisdom of our ancestors; national education, as it is adapted to various ranks; legal restrictions on youth; portrait of confidence and insignificance, as depicted in a dashing lad of spirit; miscellaneous remarks, in vindication of the character of the past ages, and general remarks on the earlier periods of English history. The purpose of these "miscellaneous remarks" is to prove that, allowing for a difference in refinement, they were not inferior in sound sense and morality to the present times. Advantages of historical knowledge, in correcting the misrepresentations of democratic writers; great benefits derived from customs and events which are often the subject of censure; providence gradually bringing good out of evil, and from what is rude forming what is perfect; the necessity of publicly uniting with some body of Christians; advantages of being early familiarised with the distinguishing doctrines of our religion; circumstances which attended the foundation of the church of England, and its general character; the expedi-

ency of a rule of faith and form of worship; our services vindicated from some objections; errors in methodistical tenets, and extreme rigidity of manners; Socinian opinions, which lead to Deism, considered; the historical books of Moses vindicated, by circumstances drawn from natural history and profane authors; several objections to the Mosaic and Christian dispensations briefly discussed; a cursory view of the doctrines contained in the Articles of the church of England; on religion, as it influences the heart and conduct; duties required from us as members of the church of England; Christianity enjoins the same duties as morality, on higher motives and hopes; the duty of forming a virtuous disposition; its advantages as preparatory to heaven; the art of pleasing, a despicable addition to the Christian's character; duty of a Christian in prosperous periods of the church; habitual, not affected reverence of God recommended; the proper degree of candour specified; Christianity a religion of motives, regulating the heart and temper, and strictly condemning selfishness in all its forms; consequences of vice; Christianity pre-supposes a degree of civilisation; the sophisms of the depraved part of our species are not the opinion of the world; no person ought to be regardless of the judgment of others; deference, exertion, and attention to agreeable qualities, strongly enforced; polished manners vindicated; laudable imitation of the great recommended; general civility essential to politeness, which should be accompanied with candour; it is inconsistent with irritability, negligence, and rudeness; the ease of a true gentleman not to be copied by coarse imitators; suit-

ability characteristic of a good manner; good-humour an essential requisite in our commerce with the world; deference distinct from flattery and servility; genius and common-sense compared; public amusements to be cautiously enjoyed; advantages of a taste for literature; sentimental reading dangerous, and often ridiculous; licentious works condemned; and the principles of the new philosophy; the anti-christian conspiracy an undoubted fact; danger of reading periodical criticisms; impropriety of juvenile compositions; absurdity of Rousseau's *Eloisa*, which confounds the nature of vice and virtue; the latitudinarianism of the new philosophy considered; it delights in supposing contradictory duties; anecdote an unimproving style of reading; vindication of Alexander the Great from some undeserved censure; general tendency of periodical publications to excite discontent at the inequality of mankind; reflexions on the origin of human improvement, as described by Rousseau, and as detailed in Scripture; necessity of industry is a general blessing; action the natural state of man; the poor of England possess property; anarchy is productive of misery and injustice; lawful freedom of comfort and security; common people listen to degrading stories of their superiors with avidity; dreadful immorality of democrats; rise and progress of governments, as detailed in Scripture; Christianity favourable to all lawful authorities; democratic notions respecting marriage, education of children, and duty to parents; human perfectibility; danger of adopting feeling for a guide, instead of principle; children capable of religious impressions; rapid strides of luxury and insubordination; conclusion.—From this copious

detail of the contents of these volumes, our readers will probably be enabled to form a more just estimate of their value than any general notice could have afforded; and, while the perusal of them must impress every reader with a high opinion of the talents of the author, her pious zeal, and maternal affection, it will be no less obvious that she has limited the utility of her labours, by restricting her whole plan to what would be adviseable in the education of a youth belonging to the church of England, and what would be proper to fix in his mind an adherence to the measures of government, and an aversion to what is termed opposition in politics; which, it will be perceived, is grounded on the alarms created by the late propagation of democratical opinions in this country. Much of this excellent work will therefore share the fate of other publications on religion and politics, interfere with the principles or prejudices of sects and parties, and be approved or censured according to the preconceptions of individuals. We regret that she has thus narrowed the bounds of usefulness; for, upon the whole, we have not lately seen a book more proper to place in the hands of every young man, “on his first entrance into life,” more replete with valuable advice and instruction, or more calculated to convert a frivolous youth into a thinking and useful being; a companion for himself, a comfort to his parents, and an honour to his country. After this opinion, we hope we may be permitted to remark, that upon her own principles, as a teacher of the doctrines of the church of England, she is in many instances defective and inconsistent. Her opinion, for example, of some of the Articles,

is of that lax kind, for which we grant she has high precedents, but which is utterly inconsistent with historical fact and honest principles. Her knowledge, too, of the dissenters is so imperfect, that she seems to consider the majority as Socinians—a mistake which is not unimportant, since it has evidently led her to harsh and uncharitable sentiments; while, on the other hand, her avowed partiality for “the good old times” might have induced her to adopt safer guides in her construction of the Articles of the church of England than Dr. Prettyman, or Dr. Hey. Surely there never was a time when more candour ought to be extended to the whole body of the dissenters than the present, in which the fathers of the church are taking liberties with their belief, which no dissenters can exceed in latitude. We might perhaps suggest other objections; but where there is so much room for just praise, we would rather recommend to our author a candid re-consideration of all that part which regards the religion of the church; it is certainly capable of being improved; and her notions on the slave-trade might also be revised with advantage.

Under this head we may class a publication ushered into the world under circumstances somewhat singular and unfavourable, “Mural Nights; or Elements of Civil Knowledge, by Henry Redhead Yorke, Esq.,” and written by the author when in confinement for certain political delinquencies. The subjects treated in this volume are, early instruction; the study of the Latin and Greek languages; education of the middling classes of the community; plan of a public elementary school, and the under academy. His observations on these

topics are the production of a mind well informed in the general principles of public instruction as laid down by previous authors, and capable of suggesting many improvements that may tend to meliorate the state of society. At the same time we are of opinion he is rather to be consulted as a theorist than followed as one who has had much experience in the arduous business of education. When, for example, he recommends that boys should be taught ideas, and not words unaccompanied by them, he forgets that the exercise of memory is antecedent to that of judgment; and, while he thus sometimes recommends what is impracticable, at other times we find him proposing as a discovery what has long been practised. In preference to wasting boys’ time on the study of the dead languages, he would introduce geography, history, and modern languages. Geography and the modern languages are certainly not neglected in the common forms of education, but history can be studied in schools and universities only in a very partial manner: it is the proper business of private life and mature years; and, to reap its advantages, requires a stretch of thought not to be expected in early youth. With respect to the utility of the dead languages, although we cannot reckon it exclusive of other languages and branches of science, yet we have ever been inclined to place the arguments which have been of late years advanced against it among the marks of a frivolous age, wishing to conceal its ignorance, and apologise for the neglect of those admirable opportunities which schools and universities afford. There are, however, in this work, many valuable hints thrown out, which amply entitle it

to the attention of parents, tutors, and guardians; and few men perhaps could have employed the dreary nights of confinement to more advantage than in the study of his own mind, and in the laudable attempt Mr. YORKE has made to cultivate that of the public.

The practice, as well as the theory, of education, is laid down with considerable skill in "The Art of Teaching, or communicating Instruction, examined, methodised, and facilitated, as well as applied to all the Branches of Scholastic Education, by David Morrice;" and except in his grammar, in which he appears very defective, most of the precepts and remarks he has advanced may be followed with a certainty of success. He descends also to the minutiae of school economy, and recommends some improvements that ought to be generally adopted. We cannot, however, speak in terms of very high approbation of a tract by the same author entitled, "Hints for a Plan of general national Education, and a Legislative Revision of the present System, as it respects the Children of the Nobility and Gentry, the Middle Classes, and the Children of the Poor." A legislative revision of our system of education would be a very injudicious interference. We owe our colleges to princely and private munificence, and all that is valuable in our schools and academies to the industry and learning of individuals, unassisted and barely tolerated by the legislature. The establishment of parochial schools on the plan here suggested would require the aid of parliament, that the proper support might be levied by compulsion; but, on the propriety of this, there is more difference of opinion than Mr. Morrice has been

able to settle; and, when he proposes totally to exclude the classics and substitute the mathematics, and to teach writing and accounts in Sunday schools, he certainly proposes in the one case what could not be of general utility, and what, in the other, would entirely pervert the principal use of those excellent seminaries.

There is some connexion, however, betwixt this last-mentioned subject, and a pamphlet entitled "Suggestions respecting a Plan of national Education, with Conjectures on the probable Consequences of non-descript Methodists, and Sunday Schools, in a Letter addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Rev. William Shaw, B.D.F.S.A., and Rector of Chelvy, Somerset." This writer apprehends great danger from the zeal of the non-descript methodists in propagating Sunday-schools; and requests the archbishop of Canterbury to introduce a bill in parliament for the establishment of regular daily parochial schools. This is a small branch of a controversy that is more fully explained in the two following tracts, of which we shall content ourselves with giving the titles only. "Hints on Sunday-Schools, and Itinerant Preaching, in a Letter to the Bishop of Rochester, by John Townsend;" and "An Apology for Sunday-Schools. The Substance of a Sermon preached at Surry-Chapel, February 22, 1801, for the Benefit of the Southwark Sunday Schools: with incidental Remarks on the late Charge of the Bishop of Rochester, by Rowland Hill, A. M."

Under the head of Political Economy, a considerable variety of publications are to be noticed, al-

though they mostly relate to the price of provisions, and the state of the poor. "A Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on the Influence of the Stoppage of Issues in Specie at the Bank of England, on the Price of Provisions and other Commodities, by Walter Boyd, Esq. M. P.," excited considerable attention. This author is of opinion, that, when we speak of increase of price in articles, we might with more propriety talk of the depreciation of paper; and that the profusion of paper has "blown up the nominal value of the capital of the public debts;" and has, in consequence, augmented the price of all the necessaries of life. The system of paper-money, he contends, which is not convertible into specie at pleasure, tends to diminish the value of the annuities which the country grants in borrowing, and therefore obliges both the government and the people to advance more nominal money than usual for the same thing. From the stoppage of issues in specie at the bank, he predicts the most disastrous consequences. A very able reply to this pamphlet appeared immediately under the title, "Observations on the Publication of Walter Boyd, Esq. M. P. by Sir Francis Baring, Bart.," who admits, with Mr. Boyd, the evils that may arise from an excessive paper circulation; but contends that our present paper circulation is not too great, and has not exceeded the wants and convenience of the public. As to its effect upon the price of provisions, Sir Francis does not think it adequate in the degree affirmed by Mr. Boyd. Much the same sentiments, but with less demonstration, and less urbanity, are urged in "Brief Observations in a Letter to W. Boyd, Esq.;" and in "A Twelve-penny An-

swer to a Three Shillings and Sixpenny Pamphlet, entitled, 'A Letter on the Influence of the Stoppage of Issues in Specie,'" &c. Some important information, however, on the subject, may be derived from "The Effect of Paper-Money on the Price of Provisions; or, the Point in Dispute between Mr. Boyd and Sir Francis Baring, examined; the Bank Paper-Money proved to be an adequate Cause for the high Price of Provisions, and Constitutional Remedies recommended; by William Frend." Mr. Frend maintains that it is not to the increased circulation, not to the additional 3,500,000*l.* issued by the bank, but to the nature of the circulation itself, that the increased price of provisions is owing. This would seem to bring the question within moderate bounds, if our acute and ingenious author had not admitted other causes which, although he deems them inferior, will predominate in certain minds according to their peculiar habits of thinking. His remedies, however, which are to restrain the bank in its emission of paper, and to adjust the wages of labourers according to the price of provisions, are highly equitable; and to the last, especially, it would be difficult to form an objection. We have not, therefore, been much impressed by the arguments advanced in a "Refutation of certain Misrepresentations relative to the Nature and Influence of Bank Notes, and of the Stoppage of Issues in Specie at the Bank of England, upon the Price of Provisions, as stated in the Pamphlets of Walter Boyd, Esq. and Mr. William Frend, by T. S. Surr."

In our last Register, we noticed a great variety of works which the alarming scarcity had occasioned; and, although that scarcity in some degree

degree subsided, the important questions connected with it continued to be agitated by many able writers, who prove at least at what a distance we are from any general agreement on the subject. We have a valuable statement of facts in "A Maximum; or, the Rise and Progress of Famine, addressed to the British People, by the Author of a Residence in France during the Years 1792-3-4-5, &c.;" although the chief object is to resist the experiment of a *maximum*, which had at one time been recommended; and the *facts* relate principally to France, when depoverished by the tyranny of Robespierre. In this country, we trust, there is very little danger of a maximum being attempted; but, if there are still prejudices in its favour, they may be successfully dispelled by a perusal of this well-written tract.

"Reflexions upon the evil Effects of an increasing Population; upon the present high Price of Provisions, particularly Corn; upon the Bounty Act; upon the Propriety of General Inclosures; in which a Mode is suggested of relieving the present Necessities of the Poor, upon the Principles of Equity. To which is added an Appendix, containing some Remarks upon the Subject of Tithes; further Observations upon Population; and Animadversions upon some late Publications on the present Scarcity, by Edward Gardner." This author inclines so much to give a preference to agriculture over commerce and manufactures, and even to praise "the scanty thinness of rural and agricultural habitancy," that we must recommend as an antidote,

"Uniting and Monopolising Farms plainly proved disadvantageous to the Land-Owners, and

highly prejudicial to the Public. To which are added several Observations, showing the Causes of the present high Price of Provisions, by John Lewis, of East-Bergholt." This author laments over a diminished population, occasioned by the uniting and monopolising agriculturists, but advances nothing that is new in addition to the general remarks contained in the pamphlet; and which, we are told, were published in 1767.

"A comparative Statement of the Food produced from the Arable and Grass Lands, and the Returns arising from each; with Observations on the late Inclosures, and the probable Effect of a general Act for inclosing Commons, or Wastes, Heaths, &c. Together with other Matters; addressed to John Fane, Esq. M. P. by the Rev. Luke Heslop, Archdeacon of Bucks." This writer furnishes a number of important documents collected from actual observation in the district where he resides, which prove decidedly that more food is produced from arable than from grass land. He recommends an amelioration of the corn laws; premiums, public and private; and a general act for inclosing *only* commons and heaths—improvements which are not new in theory, but are here explained in a very intelligent manner.

"Thoughts on the best Methods of carrying into Effect the System of Economy recommended in his Majesty's Proclamation," contains many humane and judicious hints to masters of families relative to the consumption of bread and butcher's meat. This species of economy, which the author only recommends, is attempted to be enforced by law, in "Remarks on the present high Price of Grain, and on the Expediency of further Legislative Re-

strictions, in order to effect a Reduction," by an anonymous author, who does not appear to have considered his subject with much attention.

"Observations on the enormous high Price of Provisions, showing, amongst other articles, that the overgrown Opulence of the Husbandman, or Farmer, tends to subvert the necessary Gradations of Society, is inimical to the Interests of Morality in general; and, if not salutarily corrected, will be the perpetual Bane and Misery of the Country, by a Kentish Clergyman." These observations bring us back to the popular opinions which have been much encouraged of late, however dangerous their tendency. The author, besides denying the existence of a real scarcity, proposes a maximum for wheat, and a penalty for withholding corn proportioned to the length of time withheld—a measure which every considerate man must deem preposterous in the extreme. His remarks, however, on the opulence of farmers, their modes of life, &c. are entitled to attention. That class has certainly of late years stepped out of its rank in society.

We turn from visionary schemes, however, to a work published by an author of acknowledged celebrity in affairs of agriculture, and of most extensive experience and study, Dr. James Anderson, whose "Calm Investigation of the Circumstances that have led to the present Scarcity of Grain in Britain: suggesting the Means of alleviating the evil, and of preventing the Recurrence of such a Calamity in future," ought perhaps to have been placed at the head of this department, if we did not sometimes find it necessary to follow, as near

as possible, the order of publication in the case of works which draw forth answers and replies. Dr. Anderson enters very deeply into the question concerning the expediency and necessity of a well-regulated bounty on the exportation, and a duty on the importation; and, by a long train of acute reasoning, proves, that the alarming change in the state of this country, which has been taken notice of by so many writers of late, viz. that of having become a great importing country, in order to supply the wants of our own people, is to be entirely attributed to the changes that have taken place in our corn-laws. He also proves, that, while a well-regulated exportation bounty on corn, to a nation so circumstanced as this country is, has a necessary tendency, both to augment the production of corn, and to diminish its average price, it tends at the same time to prevent fluctuations in prices. From this he proceeds to an inquiry into the practicability of raising corn in Britain sufficient to support a much greater degree of population than its present amount; and appears to determine this question in a manner which is satisfactory and consolatory, and is strengthened by various historical appeals, tables, &c. well deserving the attention of the legislature.

In our last review of this branch of domestic literature, we noticed Mr. Brand's "Determination," &c. or attempt to prove, that "the Effect of War is to reduce the Price of Wheat; and probably, by a Parity of Reasoning, that of all the prime Necessaries of Life which are not directly taxed," and took the liberty to object to his arguments. He has since met with a more potent adversary in Mr.

Mr. John Duthy, whose "Observations on the high Price of Provisions" came before us at the same time. Mr. Duthy's pamphlet is entitled "The different Effects of Peace and War on the Price of Bread-Corn: considered in an Examination of Principles attempted to be established from the yearly Rates of the Market, by J. Brand, Cl. M. A. &c. &c." Besides examining the tables from which Mr. Brand's conclusions are drawn, Mr. Duthy places the question in a new light, by objecting to Mr. Brand's periods of peace and war. Mr. Brand has made every term of war to begin at the first noted act of hostilities, and to end at the day of their cessation by compact. But Mr. Duthy, considering that the effects of peace will not cease to operate till some time after the commencement of war, and that those of war will continue to be felt for a considerable period after the conclusion of peace, calculates the influence of each state as extending at least two years beyond the period of its nominal continuance. If this alteration in the construction of Mr. Brand's tables be adopted, the present writer contends that his balance is completely reversed; and that it will appear that the price of wheat in peace has been less than in war by considerably more than five per cent. There is ingenuity in this mode of opposing Mr. Brand's calculations; but surely the conclusion drawn from the latter was in itself so absurd and contradictory to experience, that an author of Mr. Duthy's research might have found a much shorter and clearer road to refutation than what is here adopted; and we wish he had bestowed some attention on that "parity of reasoning," accord-

ing to which war has a tendency to reduce the price of all the prime necessities of life that are not directly taxed.

"The Corn-Trade investigated, and the System of Fluctuations exposed: with a Proposition most humbly offered for the Consideration of the Legislature, which will effectually remedy the alarming fluctuating Prices of Bread-Corn. And an Investigation of the Import and Export Laws: with some Remarks on the Landed Interest and Agriculture of this Kingdom: clearly justifying the Farmers, vindicating the Dealers and Merchants, and affixing the Stigma to the proper Objects. By Buxton Lawn, late of Providence-Row, Finsbury-Square; twenty Years in the Correspondent's Department, Excise-Office, London; but now of Bath, Baker to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York; and formerly a Clerk to a Flour-Factor." The prolix title of this work, and the author's numerous qualifications, gave promise of more than we have been able to discover. He thinks the principal London corn-factors are knaves, and the country millers who employ them dupes. In this assertion, whether true or false, there is nothing new, nor perhaps in his proposition to the legislature, that corn should be bought up by government, and placed in public granaries. What is asserted, however, of the corn-factors, is repeated in "Facts explanatory of the instrumental Cause of the present high Prices of Provisions, formerly communicated to George Cherry, esq. then one of the Commissioners for victualling the Navy; with Observations thereon, by Thomas Butcher, late Clerk of the Dry Stores at his Majesty's Victualling-

tualling - Office, Deptford;" and with the additional insinuation, that the commissioners for victualling the navy have an interest in the nefarious practices of Mark-Lane.

Much valuable information is contained in a "Review of the Statutes and Ordinances of Assize, which have been established in England from the fourth Year of King John, to the thirty-seventh of his present Majesty, by G. Atwood, Esq. F.R.S." The author's object is not to offer any opinion respecting the proportion of allowance or profit which ought to be granted to the manufacturer of bread, but merely to state with precision what the amount has actually been, according to preceding regulations, and what it is, according to the laws now existing; also to point out the principle on which these allowances have been given, distinguishing those which are apparent and avowed from others which are either concealed from public knowledge, or are less distinctly expressed. The calculations by which the subject is illustrated, our limits will not permit us to enter upon; but it is evident that the present assize is radically wrong, and that a "latent profit" arises from it which has been long increasing upon the public.

That part of municipal philosophy which states and defines the situation, strength, and resources of a nation, appears to be judiciously employed in a work entitled, "A statistical Account of the Population and Cultivation, Produce, and Consumption of England and Wales: compiled from the Accounts laid before the House of Commons, and the Reports of the Board of Agriculture; together with Observations thereupon, and

Hints for the Prevention of a future Scarcity, by Benjamin Pitts Capper, of Kennington, Surry." The causes of the late scarcity of provisions, according to this author, are, the increased population; the additional consumption by war; the less quantity of arable land in cultivation; and the lower class consuming a greater proportion of bread than formerly. With respect to population, he states the increase within the period of the first fifty years of the last century, or to the year 1750, at one-twelfth; at the close of 1780, one-eighth; and to the close of the century, one-sixth. But, on the other hand, he states the loss by war within the last twenty years at half a million of men. He objects to the preference government has shown to the commercial over the landed interest; and is of opinion that a greater quantity of land has been lost by canals and navigations than has been gained by inclosures and cultivation of wastes. In comparing the average crop with the consumption, he states the deficiency at 2,500,000 quarters; to supply which, he proposes to convert a million of acres, out of three millions and a half which at present lie waste, into tillage. The whole of his arguments, as well as facts, are strengthened by numerous tables and authorities, which appear highly deserving of the attention of the legislature.

"Proposals to Government for establishing that System of Regulations most favourable to the keeping the Price of Corn at what it ought to bear; from the Quantity of Corn grown annually being accurately ascertained. For the best Mode of giving such Assistance to the Cultivators of the Waste Lands, as shall be safest to the Country,

and

and most advantageous to them. With Reflexions on the Advantages and Disadvantages of Country Banks; also on the Mode and Expediency of bringing Gold into Circulation in the Country, equally in Bullion as Coin." The contents of this pamphlet are by no means answerable to its title. Every encouragement ought no doubt to be given to the cultivators of waste lands, and still less can we doubt the advantages of an increase of the precious metals; but when the author would propose to extend the excise laws to farms, he soars beyond our comprehension as to the utility of his plan.

With respect to the temporary relief of the poor, several useful plans have been suggested, on the individual merits of which it is not perhaps necessary to enter. Among the best intentioned and most eligible of these are, "A Proposal in Behalf of the Married Poor." "Practical Economy; or, a Proposal for enabling the Poor to provide for themselves; with Remarks on the Establishment of Soup-Houses; and an Investigation of the real Cause of the present extravagant Consumption of fine Wheaten Bread by the People of this Country, by a Physician." "A Parochial Plan for ameliorating the Condition of the Labouring Poor." "Thoughts on Poor-Houses, with a View to their general Reform, particularly that of Salisbury, Isle of Wight, Hull, Boldre, &c.; and Deductions drawn, useful to other Poor-Houses. To which is added, An Account of the Population of Salisbury, with Observations thereon, by Henry Wansey, F. A. S." To these we may add, as relating to a necessary branch of the economy of the poor, a new and much

enlarged edition of "The Economy of Charity, by Mrs. Trimmer;" and a very flattering picture of the general state of the country, entitled "A Survey of the Strength and Opulence of Great Britain, wherein is shown the Progress of its Commerce, Agriculture, Population, &c. before and since the Accession of the House of Hanover, by the Rev. Dr. Clarke, Secretary for the Library, &c. to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: with Observations by Dean Tucker and David Hume, Esq. in a Correspondence with Lord Kaimes: now first published."

The Law publications of this year are; "An Abridgement of the modern Determinations in the Courts of Law and Equity; being a Supplement to Viner's Abridgement, by several Gentlemen in the respective Branches of the Law, vol. IV. Ejectment—Funeral Charges." "A Digest of the Stamp Laws, and complete Stamp Table; showing at one View, under distinct Heads, the various Stamp Duties now payable; the Origin, Progress, and present State of those Duties, &c.; and particularising the specific Duty applicable to Scotland. The whole illustrated with practical Illustrations, Opinions of Counsel, and Extracts from Cases argued in the different Courts of Judicature; also, a copious Index, by J. Heraud, Law-Stationer." "A second Edition, with Additions, of Considerations on the Coronation Oath, to maintain the Protestant reformed Religion, and the Settlement of the Church of England, as prescribed by Stat. I. W. and M. c. 6, and Stat. V. Ann. c. 2, by John Reeves, Esq." "The Case of the Catholics considered, and an Expedient proposed

posed for the final Settlement of it; with an Appendix, containing Remarks upon Mr. Reeves's Pamphlet." "The Question, as to the Admission of Catholics to Parliament, considered upon the Principles of existing Laws, with supplemental Observations on the Coronation Oath; to which is annexed, A further Supplement, occasioned by the second Edition of Mr. Reeves's Considerations on the same Subject. By John Joseph Dillon, Esq. Barrister at Law." "The Letter of Fabius to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on his proposed Abolition of the Test, in favour of the Roman-Catholics in Ireland." "An Examination of the Sentence in the Case of the Swedish Convoy, pronounced in the High Court of Admiralty of England, on the 11th of June 1799; together with a previous historical Sketch of the European, and in particular the English, System of Capture. Translated from the Danish, as written by Professor Schlegel, Doctor and Professor of Laws at the University of Copenhagen; &c." "Upon the Visitation of neutral Vessels under Convoy; or, an impartial Examination of a Judgment pronounced by the English Court of Admiralty, the 11th of June, 1799, in the Case of the Swedish Convoy, with some Additions and Corrections. By Mr. J. F. W. Schlegel, Doctor, &c. Translated from the Danish, under the Inspection of the Author, by M. de Juge, French Instructor at the Academy of Cadets of the Marine at Copenhagen, and thence into English." "Remarks on Mr. Schlegel's Work upon the Visitation of neutral Vessels under Convoy. By Alexander Croke, LL. D. Advocate in Doctors' Commons." "A Treatise on the relative Rights and Duties of belligerent and neu-

tral Powers in Maritime Affairs: in which the Principles of armed Neutralities, and the Opinions of Hubner and Schlegel, are fully discussed. By Robert Ward, Esq. Barrister at Law, Author of the Inquiry into the History and Foundation of the Law of Nations in Europe to the Age of Grotius." "An Essay on Contraband, being a Continuation of the Treatise of the relative Rights and Duties, &c. By Robert Ward, Esq." "Collectanea Maritima; being a Collection of public Instruments, &c. tending to illustrate the History and Practice of Prize-law. By Charles Robinson, LL. D. Advocate in Doctors' Commons." "Letter to the Hon. Spencer Perceval, Solicitor-General to his Majesty, in Consequence of the Notice given by Him, in the last Session of Parliament, that he would, in the present, bring forward a Bill for the Punishment of the Crime of Adultery. With a Postscript, containing some Observations on the reported Debates on Taylor's and Addison's Divorce Bills." "A practical Treatise on the Law of Annuities, wherein the different Securities for Annuities, and the Remedies for the Recovery thereof, are fully exemplified. Together with the Determinations of the Courts on the Construction of the Annuity Act. To which is added a large Collection of Precedents, drawn and accurately settled in the Course of Practice, and adapted to every Species of Property that can be made an effectual Security for an Annuity: with Memorials thereof, whereby the same may be prepared with Ease, Precision, and Dispatch. By Robert Withy, of Craven-street, Solicitor." "A Summary of the Law of Set-off: with an Appendix of Cases argued and

and determined in the Courts of Law and Equity upon that Subject. By Basil Montague, of Gray's-inn, Esq. Barrister at Law." "A View of the principal Parts of the most important Statutes relating to Game: with explanatory Cases and Observations. By an Attorney." "Considerations on the Right of the Clergy of England to a Seat in Parliament. By a Member of Lincoln's-inn." "An Essay on Military Law, and the Practice of the Courts-Martial. By Alexander Frazer Tytler, Esq. Advocate." "Addenda to the fourth Edition of the Bankrupt Laws, containing the Determinations to the End of the Year 1800. By William Cooke, of Lincoln's-inn, Esq." "A Practical Treatise, or Compendium, of the Law of Marine Insurance. By John Ilderton Burn, of the Inner Temple." "Decisions in the High Court of Admiralty, during the Time of Sir George Hay and Sir James Marriott, late Judges of that Court. Vol. I. Michaelmas Term, 1776, to Hilary Term, 1779." "Inquiries into the Nature of Leaschold Property; in which the relative Situations of Lesser and Lessec, Landlord and Tenant, are fairly considered. By a Gentleman of the Temple." "An historical View of the unavoidable Causes of the Non-residence of the parochial Clergy on their respective Livings; wherein more than One Hundred Acts of Parliament are referred to, and many of them amply discussed, during an Interval of near Six Hundred Years: with a particular Investigation of the Act 21 Henry VIII. cap. 13, on the Subject of Residence, Farming, &c. and Remedies proposed for improving the Condition of the Clergy. By the Rev. J. Malham, Vicar of

Holton Dorset, and Curate of St. Edmund's Salisbury." "Six Letters, addressed to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the Subject of Dilapidations, with a few cursory Observations upon the Right to the Annual Tithes due and accruing when an Incumbent dies: and a short Inquiry into the Causes, why the Act of the 17th George III. to encourage the Residence of the parochial Clergy, has been attended with so little Benefit either to the People or to the Clergy. By A. M." "A Collection of Acts and Records of Parliament, with Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Courts of Law and Equity respecting Tithes. By Henry Gwillim, Esq. one of his Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras, 4 Vols. 8vo." "A full Report of the Proceedings in the second Trial on the Cause of Kerslake against Sage and others, Directors of the Westminster Insurance-office, including the Evidence and Opinions of Doctors Carmichael, Smyth, Crighton, Willich, Reynolds, Latham, and Blaney, on Cases of Pulmonary Consumption, faithfully taken in Short-hand." "Abstract of the Cause, just arbitrated, between the Birmingham and Fazely Canal Navigations Company as Plaintiffs, and John Pinkerton as Defendant: stating the Case and Evidence, &c. By John Pinkerton, Engineer and Canal Contractor." "The Proceedings at large in the Cause of the King v. Waddington, for purchasing Hops in Kent. Also the Pleadings, &c. when the Defendant was called up for Judgment upon the Verdict at Worcester." "Act of Grace, &c. explained to a Man of singular Character and Consequence, now a Prisoner in a County Goal." "Remarks on the Poor Laws,

Laws, and the Maintenance of the Poor. By William Bleamire, Esq. Barrister at Law, and one of the Police Magistrates." "A Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland. By George Joseph Bell, Esq. Advocate, Vol. I." "The Law of Evidence. By Chief Baron Gilbert. Sixth Edition. With Notes and additional References to cotemporary Writers and later Cases. By James Sedgwick, Esq. Barrister at Law." "A Compendium of the Law of Evidence. By Thomas Peake, Esq. of Lincoln's-inn, Barrister at Law." "An accurate and impartial Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution, on the 5th of June 1798, of Sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart." "An Analysis of the Law on the Abandonment of Ships and Freight, as it relates to the Effects of the late Russian Embargo on British Ships, and to the subsequent Liberation of the Ships from the Embargo, wherein the Subject is discussed on Principles of Policy and Equity. By Aistroppe Stovin." "A Digest of Hindu Law, on Contracts and Successions; with a Commentary by Jagonnât'ha Jercapanchânâna. Translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. 3 Vols." "The Laws respecting Highways and Turnpike-roads, &c." "The Laws respecting Commons and Commoners, in which the whole Law relative to the Rights and Privileges of both Lords and Commoners is laid down, &c." "The Laws respecting Travellers and Travelling, comprising all the Cases and Statutes relative to that Subject." "Precedents of Warrants, Convictions, and other Proceedings, before Justices of the Peace, chiefly original, and containing none that are to be met

with in Burn's Justice, to which this Publication is offered as a Supplement of practical Forms, interspersed with Notes, References to Cases, and Observations. By Edward Williams, of Lincoln's-inn, Esq. Barrister at Law.

[If the works in Natural Philosophy do not strike us from their importance, or the numerous and singular discoveries which they offer, we may however perceive that indolence and indifference have by no means superseded the former activity of those who are engaged in the investigations of nature. Were our work the history of science, rather than of the publications of the year, we might indeed produce some very singular discoveries. Two new planets have been added to our system; which, though of inconsiderable size, and, in very elliptic orbit, are perhaps truly planets, unless we can suppose that they are former comets circulating in less excentric orbs, kept nearer the sun by the attraction of Jupiter. These however are not a part of our subject, for no English work has yet noticed them. "Of the Nature of the Sun," Mr. Herschel, in the Philosophical Transactions, has communicated some new observations. His object is to discover "the causes or the symptoms of its variable emission of light." He still preserves his former opinion of the sun's being a dense body, and that the light is an atmosphere around it. The spots in this luminary he supposes to be of a luminous nature, capable of becoming light, and, in reality, the pabulum of the source of heat and life. This idea he attempts to support, by showing that large spots are connected with subse-

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quent seasons of warmth and plenty. Of the seasons and weather, in general, we have received some correct registers from Mr. Bent, and have been gratified by Meteorological Observations made at Oujein, a town of the Peninsula of India; in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

Astronomy has not received, in English works, any very valuable accessions to its stock. A translation, from the French, of a "System of the World, by M. Lambert," is a slight flimsy performance, from the school of Fontanelle. Two didactic works, by Mr. Clarke; viz. "The Seaman's Desiderata," and on the means "Of clearing the Effects of Reflexion and Parallax in Observations," are useful works; and M. Mendoza Rio's "Description of an improved reflecting Circle," in the Transactions, shows it to be a valuable instrument. Respecting Light, we shall announce two or three works of some importance, published without a name, but supposed to be written by a Mr. Darby. The first is entitled "Observations concerning the Inflections of Light, accompanying those of Newton, but differing from his, and appearing to lead to a change of his Theory of Light and Colours." The second is entitled, "New Observations concerning the Colour of thin, transparent Bodies, showing these Phænomena to be Inflections of Light, and that the Newtonian Fits of easy Transmission and Reflection have no Existence." The last is, "An Account of Irides and Coronæ round the Sun, Moon, and other luminous Bodies." The author appears to be an able and attentive philosopher, and has pointed out many circumstances respecting the inflec-

tion of light, which have not been hitherto noticed, and which are somewhat inconsistent with the hypothesis of Newton; for that great man considered them only as such. We hope this author will pursue his inquiries, for much remains to be done in these investigations, by patient experimental inquiry. On the same subject, though in a somewhat different line, we may notice Dr. Hulme's "Continuation of the Experiments and Observations on Light, spontaneously emitted from various Bodies, with the Observations on Solar Light imbibed by Canton's Phosphorus." This article relates to the different means of hastening or retarding the emission of light, but wants that philosophical discrimination which would render it peculiarly interesting to the scientific inquirer. Dr. Wollaston's "Experiments on the Chemical Production and Agency of Electricity," in the same volume of the Transactions, relate rather to the new science of Galvanism, another subject of philosophical importance, which would render an article of this kind more valuable, were the English publications on this subject more numerous; a defect which we had reason to regret in our last volume. Galvanism and electricity are, as Dr. Wollaston supposes, very probably the same; and sparks of light have certainly been produced by a discharge of Galvanic influence. An article by Mr. Davy, in the same collection, is more important. It contains an "Account of some Galvanic Combinations, formed by the Arrangement of single metallic Plates and Fluids, analogous to the new Galvanic Apparatus of M. Volta." Of this article, however, we can offer no account,

count, in a compass suited to our limits.

Perhaps the investigation of these invisibly acting powers may, in time, contribute more effectually to our knowledge of various functions, which, though constantly carried on before us, we cannot comprehend. The "Ascent of the Sap of Trees" we know to be connected with light, and with electricity; but we cannot trace the peculiar mode of operation. Mr. Knight, in the Philosophical Transactions of this year, has given us some satisfactory experiments on this subject, though the whole process is still obscure. Another of these operations, carried on in the minutest elements of bodies, is the fructification of plants. We perceive nothing, in our list, on this subject in general; but, with respect to the marine plants, we find some curious observations on their nature and propagation, by major Velley, in the fifth volume of the Transactions of the Linnæan Society, with an account of the fructification of the *Lycopodium* and *Denticulatum* by M. Brotero. In our former account, we have passed too cursorily over this collection, perhaps from too great confidence in the number of more general publications on the subject of natural history; perhaps from its being in its earlier periods less interesting. We shall now endeavour to be more particular, and mention at least some of the more important articles.

To pursue the subject of marine plants, we may notice in this collection colonel Velley's description of the *Conferva umbilicata*, a parasitic sea-weed from New South Wales; Mr. Boys' description of the *Flustra Arenosa*, with some other marine productions; Dr.

Shaw's of the Sea Anemone (*Tubularia magnifica*); and Mr. Adams's of some minute British shells, and some marine animals. Mr. Turner's "*Calendarium Plantarum Marinarum*" is an attempt wholly new, and of importance, as it teaches us when to find each marine plant in its greatest perfection. Though not in this collection, nor accurate in point of time, we may mention, from the coincidence of the subjects, that Mr. Stackhouse's very accurate and elegant work, entitled "*Nereis Britannica*" is now completed, by the publication of the third number; and Dr. Shaw's "*Zoölogy*" continued (in his third volume, containing the Natural History of Amphibia), with impaired elegance and accuracy. These will be the subjects of more particular observation in our next annual account, and we shall now return to the Transactions of the Linnæan Society.

The president has enriched this volume with many minute botanical disquisitions, which display the most intimate acquaintance with the science, accompanied with that precision in the specific distinctions which, we have said, confer more honour on Linnæus than the discovery of the sexual system. His observations on the British species of *Mentha* are of this kind; and his descriptions of five new species of *Carex* are peculiarly accurate and discriminated; nor should we omit mentioning his account of the *Sowerbea Juncea*, a plant from Australasia, allied to the *Allium*, at least near it in the same natural class of Jussieu. Of a similar unpretending nature is Mr. Haworth's new arrangement of the genus *Narcissus*; but, though of humbler pretensions, not less

less useful. Of the collections, we may notice, in this volume, Mr. Teasdale's "Supplement to the *Plantæ Eboracenses*;" Mr. Sowerby and Mr. Turner's "Catalogue of some New Plants, observed in a Tour through the Western Counties;" and M. Serra's "Examination of two Genera belonging to the natural Family of *Aurantia*." These are two species of *Cratæva*, which he thinks merit the higher rank of genera. The great luxuriance of the *Orcheston* grass, in Mr. Maton's opinion, arises from the fertility of the soil; and the *Ranunculus aquaticus*, though of a genus peculiarly acrid, is, we find from Dr. Pultney, greedily devoured by oxen. Mr. Persoon has communicated an account of a remarkable variety of the beech, the *Fagus sylvatica*, resembling an oak, perhaps an hybrid plant; and Mr. Kirby has given some observations on the parasitic plants of wheat, which constitute the rust, &c.

In the Animal kingdom, Dr. Shaw, who must not be mentioned without particular respect, has given a description of a peculiar species of mouse, *Mus bursarius*; and of a new species of mycteria, from Senegal. Dr. Buchanan has described a new species of bat, the *Vespertilio plicatus*. In the Philosophical Transactions, Mr. Schreber has given "An historical and anatomical Description of a doubtful amphibious Animal of Germany, called, by Laurenti, *Proteus anguiformis*." It resembles the *lacerta siren*, breathing both by gills and lungs; which, however, the best judges suppose to be, like the *siren*, the larva of another animal.—To descend to the Insects, we must point out a very accurate and splendid publication by M. Donovan, entitled an "Epitome of the

Natural History of the Insects of China;" in the introduction to which he strangely supposes, that, had lord Macartney's embassy succeeded better, we should have known less of the entomology of that vast kingdom. M. Lesser's "Insecto-Theology," which we mention in this place as it contains some account of the habits and dispositions of insects, is a superficial and weak performance. It has been translated for some time, and omitted in our last volume. In the Linnæan Transactions we find an useful account of the insects that prey on timber, with a short history of the *Ceramix violaceus*, by Mr. Kirby; together with the same author's "Continuation of the History of the *Tipula Tritici*."

Of the Vermes we have some account also in the Linnæan volume, as we find, from Dr. Buchanan, a description of a new genus—he should perhaps have said a new species, not reducible to any known genus—which he styles the *Onchidium*; and, from Dr. Pultney, information of ascarides from two species of pelican. Indeed, parasitic insects are so common, that insects themselves are supposed to be infested with them; and may not these have *their* parasites?

On Mineralogy, though much cultivated in Germany, the list of English works is very trifling. Short hints occur in the journals of some travellers; but the only professed mineralogical Tour is Mr. Jamieson's of the Scottish Islands. It may be recollected, that we formerly noticed this author's mineralogical account of Shetland and Arran. This is re-published in a more splendid form, with the mineralogy of those islands which

lie nearest to Scotland. The more remote ones he means to visit and describe; and then may publish the whole again—for the present work looks too much like the art of book-making. Another work of this period is a “History of Volcanos,” under the name of the abbé Ordinaire. Though professedly a translation, the original has not appeared; and it is not known on the continent. It has however little merit, being a general, and no very scientific, enumeration and description of the different known volcanos. The Petrolean Wells, in the Burmah dominions, though inflammable, are not volcanic; and are well described in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches. But though we possess no professed mineralogical work, we find some valuable papers on this subject in the Philosophical Transactions. Count Bournon’s descriptions of arseniates of copper and iron from Cornwall are masterly specimens of his mineralogical talents; and Mr. Hitchin’s discovery of silver in the Herland copper-mine is curious. It is probably not in a sufficient proportion to be valuable, but may perhaps account for the small quantity of silver discovered in the ancient Celts. Mr. Chenevix’s analyses of the arseniates of copper and iron, described by count Bournon, are valuable; and his method of preparing a more uniform but less active antimonial powder, similar to James’s, is very ingenious. There is, he thinks, no combination of the metal and the phosphoric acid in this preparation. In this connexion of chemical science with medicine and arts, our collection, in the present year, is truly scanty; and confined to Mr. Higgins’s (a very ingenious chemist of Dublin) “Es-

say on the Theory and Practice of Bleaching;” an operation which he proposes to shorten, at a comparatively inconsiderable expense, by the use of sulphuret of lime; Mr. Bliss’s experiments and observations on the medicinal waters of Kilburn; and Mr. Walker’s account of the striking effects of muriat of lime, in the production of cold, in the Philosophical Transactions.

The more professedly Chemical list is also short. We have received from Mr. Nicholson a translation of “Fourcroy’s Synoptic Tables of Chemistry;” and a translation of “Gren’s Principles of modern Chemistry,” in 2 volumes, 8vo, from another author; the latter a useful introductory work to this pleasing science—indeed more than introduction, for it is rather a compendium of the whole subject, though not in a very seductive form. Dr. Priestley still adheres to the old doctrine; and we find among the publications of this year a laboured and ingenious, though not a very satisfactory, defence of phlogiston.

Whatever may be the event of the dispute between the defenders of the old and new system of chemistry, the latter has attempted to produce no slight revolution in the theory and practice of medicine. Mr. Boag, in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches, has attempted to explain the action of the poison of serpents by its abstracting the oxygen of the blood. Dr. Chisholm, in Dr. Duncan’s *Annals* of this year, recommends the oxymuriat of pot-ash, in the jaundice and leprosy. Dr. Beddoes has published his “Collection of Testimonies respecting the Treatment of the Venereal Disease by Acids;” and Dr. Reich’s most valued secret method

method of curing fevers, communicated in an English dress to us by Dr. Parry, is the exhibition of the muriatic acid. These are all productions of the same stock; to which we may perhaps add Dr. Whyte's "Chemico-pneumatic Apparatus," advertised in his "Observations on Gout and Rheumatism." The remedy for the yaws and leprosy must be ascertained by experiment; but every practitioner can appreciate the merit of Dr. Reich's secret: and Mr. Blair, in the second part of his "Observations on the Venereal Disease," has shown, by unprejudiced observations, the little dependence that is to be placed on acids in this complaint. As we cannot return to this subject in every work we announce, we may here remark, that the testimony of the best practitioners, in the publications of this year, coincides with Mr. Blair's.

The treatment of the Venereal disease has been considerably illustrated within this period. To Mr. Wheatley we are indebted for an improved "Treatment of Strictures of Urethra," in his "Observations on Mr. Home's" method, and for his "Practical Observations on the Cure of Gonorrhœa virulenta in Men." This author has also published "Practical Observations on the Cure of Ulcers without Rest," by means of bandages. Mr. Geohegan has added to the list, by some "Practical Observations on the Nature and Treatment of some exasperated Symptoms of the Venereal Disease."

Surgery in general has received great attention in the period we are considering; and the second volume of the Transactions for the improvement of Medical Knowledge is a valuable collection. Though not used to descend to the

particular articles of these Transactions, there are some of too great importance to be wholly passed over. M. Chevalier's "Introduction to a Course of Lectures on Surgical Operations" is a separate publication, but contains many judicious and valuable reflexions; while M. Delonne's "New Progress of Surgery in France," translated by Mr. Chevernac, is pompous, egotic, and trifling. In the volume just mentioned we have some additional illustrations of Mr. Hunter's method of operating for the popliteal aneurism, by Mr. Home; and a case where aneurisms in one leg were cured by the discharge from the bursting of a tumour of the same nature in the other. Mr. Home has communicated some cases and observations on strangulated hernia; and a Mr. Fryer has informed us of the success of the operation for the hernia after eight days. We find instances of foetuses extra uterine, and in the Fallopian tube; and one instance, by Mr. Home, where the ovum was full of hydatids. In Dr. Duncan's Annals we find a very valuable Essay, by Dr. Hamilton, on the eclampsia parturientium, which he thinks should not be confounded with epilepsy; and, in the volume of the Transactions, some important obstetrical information, which we cannot particularly specify. We noticed in our last volume the disputed opinions respecting the inelastic swelling of the leg which succeeds child-birth. We find Mr. White has published a second part of his former Essay, in which he supports, by additional arguments, his first opinion. Dr. Andrée's "Cases and Observations on the Treatment of Fistula in Ano, Hæmorrhage, Mortification," &c. are valuable, par-

particularly on the first subject, where he shows, very justly, that we are often too rapid in hastening to an operation, and checking what nature has intended as a salutary metastasis. Dr. Baillie has given a case, where a large portion of the great intestine was separated by sphacelus: the case ended fatally. But we may here notice another, in the new volume of Dr. Duncan's *Annals*, where nature completed the cure, with the assistance of a very able physician, Dr. Sanden. The part separated had probably fallen down, forming what is called *intussusceptio*. Mr. R. White's "*Practice of Surgery*" is only another edition of a former work, with a new title; and Mr. Kentish has given a second *Essay*, enforcing the good effects of his stimulating method of treating burns. This, though a branch of the Brunonian system, may probably be well founded; and the author supports it very ably. Mr. Pears, who has published some "*Cases of Phthisis Pulmonalis, successfully treated*" by warm cordial remedies, is too violent and sanguine. There can be no doubt of this plan being essentially injurious. Another sanguine Brunonian has published a comparative view of the theories of Cullen, Brown, and Darwin, with respect to rheumatism; but Darwin is his ostensible idol; though the difference between the opinions of the two last is not great. Dr. Rush, too, in his *Lectures on Animal Life*, which he describes, in the language of Brown, as a "*forced state*," approaches very near that dangerous systematic. The opinion, however, was originally derived from Dr. Cullen. —Dr. Rush has again returned to the charge respecting bleeding in

the yellow fever; but appears to have moderated his ardour, and checked the flow of blood. He has been better employed in tracing "*the origin of the malignant and bilious fever of Philadelphia*," and in investigating "*the means of preventing it*." Dr. Maclean's pamphlet, entitled "*The Plague not contagious*," is a very dangerous one, lulling the unfortunate victims into a fatal security. Dr. Rush's work we have just mentioned; and Dr. Falconer's "*Essay on the Plague, and the Means of preventing it*," with Dr. Haygarth's letter "*On preventing infectious Fevers*," are truly valuable, on the well-founded supposition that they may be communicated by contagion.

Dr. Rush has connected with his last publication on the yellow fever some remarks on hydrophobia and gout, which he considers as inflammatory diseases, and to be treated by bleeding. Perhaps the latter disease *has* been too carefully fostered by heat; but the hydrophobia is certainly not to be cured by evacuations. A translation of Struve's "*Asthenology, or the Art of preserving feeble Life*," contains some judicious observations on the exhausted state, and those disorders which induce extreme debility. To this we may add the same author's little tract "*On the Art of recovering suspended Animation*," and a treatise "*On the physical Education of Children*." Both are translated into English; but the latter contains directions, sometimes fanciful, and perhaps in general better adapted to a German than an English nursery; yet, in the midst of these fanciful refinements, we may often discover in it valuable advice and judicious directions.

When,

When, however, we speak of fancies, we must not overlook a singular one of Dr. Rowley. In describing the "Treatment and Cure" of a *newly-discovered* "Drop-sy of the Membranes of the Brain," which is no other than the *long-known* disease, hydrocephalus, he speaks of vomiting as the predisposing cause, without recollecting that children almost constantly vomit, and always easily, while the hydrocephalus is a peculiarly rare disease. The croop, another disease of children, has been of late seemingly more common, certainly more noticed: we find an account of it in the Medical Transactions; and calomel recommended for its remedy in the Annals of Dr. Duncan, by Mr. Albers. A singular disease of the East Indies has been well described in a letter to sir Walter Farquhar—viz. an inflammation of the colon, "often fatal;" and we have a good popular compendium of the diseases of Jamaica, by Dr. Dancer. Dr. Powel's treatise on the bile and its diseases is an useful collection of facts on this subject, with some refinements, which perhaps will not bear the test of accurate examination: nor ought we to omit Dr. Baillie's account of diabetes, with the dissection; when no organical affection of the kidney was observable, and which, perhaps, supports the idea of this being rather a disorder of the digestive organs than of the kidneys.

On the Cow-pox the publications have been numerous, and we need not detail them, as the decision respecting its merits will depend on the publications of this year, to be noticed in our next volume; yet, as an analogous subject, we should notice from the Medical Transactions some cases where

the small-pox and measles existed at the same time in the same persons. In this collection we should have before noticed a valuable paper by the late Dr. G. Fordyce, on the combination of medicines, in support of the advantages to be derived from many combinations, particularly of purgatives and bitters.

Dr. Nisbet's "Treatise on Diet" is a work of some, but, no great value; and Dr. Thompson's "Family Physician" is one of those aids of quackery, which, however well executed, must be often injurious. In this class we must also include Mr. Perkins's Metallic Tractors, to which, by successive publications, our attention is constantly drawn, and a "History of Animal Magnetism," by Dr. Winter, with "Dissertations on Dropsy and Spasm," which are cured in a manner that the author has not condescended to explain.

Our Anatomical works have neither been numerous nor important. We omitted in our last volume the successive fasciculi of Dr. Baillie's Morbid Anatomy, a work of equal elegance and accuracy, and can only now mention an introductory work of Dr. Hooper's—"The Anatomist's Vade Mecum." The first chapter of Cuvier's Comparative Anatomy has been translated by Mr. Allen; it is a masterly introduction to the study of the animal economy; and, in the Philosophical Transactions, we perceive "a description of a monstrous lamb," wanting the cerebrum and some of the organs of sense, by Mr. Carlisle. In the same volume is "an anatomical description of a male rhinoceros," by Mr. Thomas, with "observations on the structure and mode of growth of the grinding teeth of the wild
 33 bear,

boar, and the animal incognitum," supplementary to his description of the teeth of the elephant, by Mr. Home. Mr. Hunter's observations on the growth of bone, published also by Mr. Home in the Medical Transactions, elucidate, in a striking manner, the same subject. The bones of the ear, it is well known, assist greatly the function of hearing; but Mr. Cooper proposes to make them the only medium. The tympanum is chiefly useful, while the Eustachian tube is open; but, when closed from inflammation, or any other cause, the bones of the ear will convey, he thinks, sounds more perfectly, if the tympanum be destroyed; and he has adduced some facts in support of this opinion, in the annual volume of the Philosophical Transactions. Mr. Home has communicated in the same volume some remarks "on the irritability of the nerves," a property denied by former physiologists, which he has not supported with sufficient unexceptionable evidence. "The mechanism of the eye," the subject of the Bakerian Lecture, by Dr. Young, is designed to show that vision is adapted to the different distances of objects, by the contraction of the coats of the crystalline lens. In this volume also we find the observations of a young gentleman, who recovered his sight at the age of seven years, after having been deprived of it by cataracts at that of twelve months. The circumstances are different from those of Mr. Cheselden's patient; but we suspect the boy was not so blind as to be insensible of the distance of objects. The only other work we shall at this time notice, is one of Spallanzani's early publications on the circulation of the blood, with his life, by

M. Tourdes, translated by Dr. Hall.]

The Historical productions of this year are not very numerous, although some of them are of considerable merit. Among these we may reckon the "Elements of general History, ancient and modern: to which are added, a Table of Chronology, and a comparative View of ancient and modern Geography, illustrated by Maps"—two volumes. This work contains the outlines of a course of academical lectures on general history, delivered by Mr. Fraser Tytler, for many years, in the university of Edinburgh, and received, as we are told in the preface, with a portion of the public approbation amply sufficient to compensate the labours of the author. He composed these Elements principally with the view of furnishing an aid to the students attending his lectures, and conceived, that, by giving a little more amplitude to their composition, he might render the work of more general utility; and we agree with him, that, in its present form, it may be not only serviceable to youth, in furnishing a regular plan for the prosecution of this most important study, but useful even to those who have acquired a competent knowledge of general history from the perusal of the works of detached historians, and who wish to methodise that knowledge, or even to refresh their memory on material facts and the order of events. In truth, it is further our opinion, that the learned professor's lectures will now, for the first time, become useful. "Teaching history" in schools or in colleges, by lectures, is a mere waste of time: whereas a book of even less dimensions than the present, which gives

gives a plan and suitable directions to the student, is all the help he can possibly receive, and may be of the greatest utility. Mr. Tytler's plan appears to be judicious; and to the execution of it, notwithstanding the variety of subjects it embraces, we see no important objection. In the ancient part, the authors are referred to at the end of each section, and enumerated in the order in which they ought to be studied; and those parts of their works which are most important are pointed out in a section on the "Method of studying ancient History." Characters are also given, and references made, to the principal modern historians. A comparative view of ancient and modern geography is appended, together with a table of chronology, and other documents which may be requisite to the general subject.

The "History of Great Britain from the Revolution to the Commencement of the Year 1799: by William Belsham:" vol. V. and VI. — is the continuation of a work of which the first part, entitled "Memoirs of the Kings of Great Britain of the House of Brunswick-Lunenburg," was published in 1793; and the second—"The Memoirs of the Reign of George III. to the Session of Parliament ending A.D. 1795"—in 1795. To the account we gave of this last publication in our Register for 1795, we have little to add respecting the general merits of the present work, which continues the war to the year 1799, except that the author's language is in many instances more intemperate than the dignity of history will permit—a circumstance which tends to degrade the work from its rank in composition, and gives it the air of a temporary attack on

public men and measures. In other respects, however, we see no reason to change our former opinion respecting the author's industry in collecting facts, and his ability in displaying them with ease, elegance, and perspicuity.

Our next publication is one of great importance, from the nature of its contents and the general attention which has been drawn to it—"Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, from the Arrival of the English: also a particular Detail of that which broke out on the 23d of May, 1798; with the History of the Conspiracy which preceded it, and the Characters of the principal Actors in it. To this Edition is added a concise History of the Reformation in Ireland, and Considerations on the Means of extending its Advantages therein. By Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart. Member in the late Irish Parliament. The second Edition." It may be necessary to premise, that the first edition of this work was dedicated, by permission, to the then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the marquis Cornwallis, who, upon a perusal of the contents of the work, thought proper to withdraw his patronage, in a letter of which the following is a copy:

' Letter to Sir Richard Musgrave, by Order of Marquis Cornwallis.

' SIR, Dublin Castle, March 24, 1801.

' I am directed by the lord-lieutenant to express to you his concern at its appearing that your late publication of the History of the Rebellions in Ireland has been dedicated to him by permission. Had his excellency been apprised of the contents and nature of the work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name to a book which tends so strongly to revive

‘ the dreadful animosities which
 ‘ have so long distracted this coun-
 ‘ try, and which it is the duty of
 ‘ every good subject to endeavour
 ‘ to compose. His excellency,
 ‘ therefore, desires me to request,
 ‘ that, in any future edition of the
 ‘ book, the permission to dedicate
 ‘ it to him may be omitted.’

Signed by his lordship’s secretary,
 Col. EDW. LITTLEHALES.

Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to parts of this work, and however we feel inclined to applaud the industry of the author in collecting and arranging many important facts, the sentiments of the noble marquis, respecting the general tendency of the work, must be decisive. We can add nothing to it, but our cordial approbation of the manly and independent spirit which dictated such a letter to an author of rank, and at the critical time when it was most important for his majesty’s representative to express his opinion. Nor does his lordship’s conduct appear less meritorious as a measure of conciliation from what our author insinuates. “It has been discovered,” he says, “that he (the marquis), and the party to which he was attached in England, meant to put Protestants and Roman-catholics exactly upon the same footing; it would then appear ungracious and inconsistent in him to sanction a work which exposed the malignant spirit of popery. It is to be presumed that he paid great court to the heads of the popish clergy, who had unbounded influence over the multitude.” The late rebellion in Ireland sir Richard imputes entirely to the spirit and principles of the Roman-catholic religion itself, which, among other enormities, forbids all good-faith to be kept with heretics; and he

accordingly traces the influence of such doctrines in the kingdom of Ireland from the year 1567 to the present day, and endeavours to prove that the rebellion was made by the priests and their deluded followers a religious war, and that nothing less than a total massacre and extirpation of the Protestants was openly announced wherever they obtained a temporary ascendancy. These are strong assertions; but the reader will think them perhaps yet stronger, when, after the letter from marquis Cornwallis above transcribed, he is told by our author that “the Jacobins of England and Ireland have censured him for having published it so soon after the late rebellion, under a pretence that it would revive those feuds and animosities from which it originated;” and that “some weak and shallow politicians” (such as the marquis Cornwallis) “have said that the publication of this book would tend to revive animosities which every person should wish to compose.” In the course of the work, the following positions are strenuously maintained: That the various concessions of the government and parliament to the Roman-catholics had in no degree conciliated the minds of that class of people—that their designs went entirely to the massacre and destruction of every protestant in Ireland, all their other plans being wholly subservient to that of establishing their own religion completely in the country—that the Romish priests had so entirely the command of the popish multitude, by the influence of superstitious motives, and a bigoted obedience, that they could have saved as many as they chose from the vengeance of the rebels; but that they very rarely exerted their authority

authority for beneficial purposes, and saved comparatively an extremely small number—and that several of the priests were actually leaders in the rebellion, and pretended even to miraculous powers, the better to delude their ignorant followers. In order to appreciate the justice of these assertions, without advancing any opinion of our own on questions which depend on positive evidence, we shall refer our readers to “The Reply of the Right Rev. Dr. Caulfield, Roman-catholic Bishop, and of the Roman-catholic Clergy of Wexford, to the Misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.; with a Preface and Appendix,” in which these reverend gentlemen vindicate themselves in a very temperate and becoming manner; and to “Part of a Letter to a noble Earl; containing a very short Comment on the Doctrines and Facts of Sir Richard Musgrave’s Quarto, and vindictory of the Yeomanry and Catholics of the City of Cork: by Thomas Townsend, Esq., Barrister at Law, and a Member of the Irish Parliament.” This author is of opinion, that, “in this triumphant day of a shameless and presumptuous atheism, to impeach the most general profession of Christianity, the religion of all the crowns and cabinets of all the kingdoms of the continent of Europe, as the cause of blood and treason in Ireland, is an intellectual irregularity beyond the adjustment of reason.” This absurdity will yet appear more glaring, when it is considered that they who approve of sir Richard Musgrave’s work are to a man the identical critics and readers who believe most implicitly in the abbé Barruel’s conspiracy for the destruction of the Roman-catholic

religion, and who partake in the tender regards expressed by a well-known prelate for that religion. To such perplexities are men reduced who have no fixed principle, and who depend on the chapter of accidents for what they are to think, as well as what they are to act.—It may be necessary, however, to add, although the date be anticipated, “Observations on the Reply of the Right Rev. Dr. Caulfield, Roman-catholic Bishop, and of the Roman-catholic Clergy of Wexford, to the Misrepresentations of Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.; and on other Writers who have animadverted on the ‘Memoirs of the Irish Rebellions:’ by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.” In this the author gives a full reply to his various opponents; repeats and confirms his former sentiments; and persists in defying the consequences that may follow from the principles of his work.

“History of the Rebellion in Ireland in the Year 1798, &c.: containing an impartial Account of the Proceedings of the Irish Revolutionists, from the Year 1782 till the Suppression of the Rebellion: with an Appendix, to illustrate some Facts: by the Rev. James Gordon, Rector of Killegney in the Diocese of Ferns, and of Cannaway in the Diocese of Cork, twenty-five Years an Inhabitant of the County of Wexford.” This work, although deficient in arrangement, style, and composition, may safely be recommended for its temperance and impartiality, and the many proofs it gives of the propriety of the union between the two kingdoms; although the author allows that “much work is left for the Imperial parliament to attach the mass of the Irish peasantry to the constitution. This cannot

cannot be effected so long as the peasants are physically miserable."

—In his narrations, and in his reasonings, he has endeavoured to steer clear of the prejudices of party, and we think has been successful.

"The second Part of the History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Death of Egbert to the Norman Conquest: by Sh. Turner, F.A.S." two volumes—is a work of much research and laudable industry; but we see no material reason for expressing a more favourable opinion than we advanced in our last year's Register on the First Part of this work. The digressions are still too numerous, and the style inflated and declamatory. With suitable corrections and omissions, however, this might be rendered an interesting work; and the history of Alfred, even in its present form, must be highly so to every Englishman.

The "History, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies: by Bryan Edwards, Esq. F.R.S. &c.: Vol. III. illustrated with Plates"—is a misnomer in every respect. It is not a new work, being a re-publication, with some additions, of Mr. Edwards's History of St. Domingo, which is not, and never was, a British colony. It is a performance, however, of great importance, and very properly forms a third volume to Mr. Edwards's works. Prefixed is a sketch of his life, written by himself, of which every reader will regret the brevity.

"The History of France, civil, military, ecclesiastical, political, literary, commercial, &c. from the Time of its Conquest by Clovis, A.D. 486: by the Rev. Alexander Ranken, one of the Ministers of Glasgow: Vol. I."—is a compilation of considerable merit, although

it may not have weight or elegance to promote the author to the first rank of historians. His plan is nearly that of Dr. Henry, in his history of our own country; but Dr. Henry had advantages of materials which, we apprehend, the present author will find it very difficult to collect, respecting the civil, military, ecclesiastical, literary history of a foreign nation. He has, however, made a good use of what can be gleaned from contemporary historians; and although we miss the luminous periods of Gibbon, a reader of less expectations will be pleased with the plain and easy style of the present author, and with the perspicuous view he gives of the most celebrated facts and characters of those early times.

The "History of the principal Events of the Reign of Frederic-William II. King of Prussia; and a political Picture of Europe, from 1786 to 1796, containing a Summary of the Revolutions of Brabant, Holland, Poland, and France: in three Volumes: translated from the French of L. P. Ségur the Elder, formerly Ambassador of Louis XVI. at St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna"—is a work of which we took some notice in our account of Foreign Literature belonging to the preceding year. It comes under the class of those memoirs from which future historians may extract their materials, and is, indeed, a valuable collection of useful facts. It commences with a well-written introduction, or epitome of the history of the princes who have governed Prussia and Brandenburg. This is followed by a sketch of the life of Frederic the Great, and a picture of the political situation of Europe at the epoch in which Frederic-William II.

II. ascended the throne of Prussia. The memoirs then commence, and relate to the affairs of Russia and the Porte; the House of Austria beaten by the Turks, threatened by the Prussians, harassed by the commotions of Hungary, and nearly exhausted by the revolt of Brabant; the revolution of Holland, produced by a contest between the stadtholder and those who wished to annihilate his power, but who were constrained by the Prussian arms to submit to his yoke; the efforts of Poland in the cause of independence, and the partition of that kingdom; the explosion of the democratic spirit of the French; the war of the people against kings, nobles, and priests; the crusade of all thrones against the revolution; the invasion of France, and its successful resistance. These latter subjects are detailed with great ability; and the author's arguments are in general such as become an enlightened statesman, although, perhaps, on some points, they may interfere with circumstances of which he could not have the best opportunities of being informed. We allude principally to a few particulars, not indeed of great moment, in his account of the views and conduct of the English court.

After so recently giving an account of Mr. Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy (in our last Register), we are again invited to the same subject by "The History of Helvetia, containing the Rise and Progress of the federative Republics to the middle of the 15th Century. By Francis Hare Naylor, Esq." 2 vols. Between these two works there is at least this material difference—Mr. Naylor's comprises only what he calls the golden age of the confederacy,

and goes not further than the middle of the 15th century, the epocha when the famous Grey league was instituted: after which period, internal disputes began to divide the union that had hitherto subsisted between the cantons, and to prepare the way for the dissolution of what had been the work of so many glorious struggles. But Mr. Planta's history is continued through the Burgundian and Italian wars, to the late subversion of the Swiss government by the French. That part of the history which both have treated, being derived from the same sources, bears a considerable similarity; but in some cases the conclusions drawn are extremely different; and, upon the whole, we apprehend that the decision of the public will incline to Mr. Planta's work. Without impeaching the judgment of the present author with respect to historical facts, some of his opinions and descriptions of characters will probably appear to be written under the influence of prejudice.

"The History of Mauritius, or the Isle of France, and the neighbouring Islands, from their first Discovery to the present Time; composed, principally from the Papers and Memoirs of Baron Grant, who resided twenty Years in the Island, by his Son, Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux. Illustrated with Maps from the best Authorities." While we consider this work as an important addition to our sources of information respecting the Mauritius, which has never been so fully described, we must object that it is compiled with so little method, and indeed with such defiance of arrangement, as to repel the general reader by its confused prolixity, and by the introduction of an account of the siege of Pondicherry;

dicherry, biographical sketches of various French characters, a life of Hyder Ali, and other matter unconnected with the main subject. The neighbouring islands described are the island of Rodriguez, or Diego Ruis, and the isle of Bourbon, concerning which much curious information may be learned; and the whole, although it cannot be read in detail with pleasure, may be occasionally consulted with advantage by geographers and politicians, the local situations of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius rendering them of peculiar importance to whatever power has the possession of them.

If we except a very few articles, little addition has been made in the course of the year to our stock of Biographical knowledge. "The Life of Bonaparte, First Consul of France, from his Birth to the Treaty of Luneville," is a work which, independently of its intrinsic merit, will be generally read, as tending to gratify the curiosity of the public respecting one of the most extraordinary personages of ancient or modern times. The most interesting part of this volume relates to the early life of the chief consul, in which there occurred many circumstances that seemed to separate him from the common mass of mankind. The author, who resides under the consular government, is abundantly partial to his subject; but whether this be a justifiable partiality must depend on further information, and a more intimate acquaintance with transactions, that can, at present, be viewed on the surface only.

Prefixed to a translation, by Dr. Hall, of Spallanzani's "Experiments upon the Circulation of the Blood," is a sketch of the "Literary Life" of that eminent phi-

losopher, by J. Tourdes, M. D. of the university of Montpellier, which will, no doubt, be highly gratifying to medical students. From his experiments, we confess, we turn with abhorrence, and must deeply regret, if it can be proved that a less portion of cruelty would not be sufficient for all the useful purposes of physiology.

"The Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertson, D.D. F.R.S.E. late Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer to His Majesty for Scotland," must be considered as an important article. The author, Mr. Dugald Stewart, has spared no pains to ascertain, from the most authentic sources, many curious particulars of the early life of our celebrated historian; but has devoted his principal attention to his literary history, which he has unfolded in an elegant and pleasing narrative, illustrated by correspondence, which will be found highly interesting to scholars, and to the public at large. There is an order and method in this "Account," which ought to be generally adopted where the materials are adequate. In section first, we have the life of Dr. Robertson from his birth till the publication of his History of Scotland; in section second, progress of his literary plans, and "History of the Reign of Charles V.:" in section third, the same subject is continued with the "History of America: in section fourth, we have an account of his "Historical Disquisition concerning India," and general remarks on his merits as a historian: in section fifth, a review of the more active occupations of Dr. Robertson's life, and a sketch of his character. To the whole is added, an Appendix of literary correspondence. From this out-
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line of the contents, it, will be seen that the biographer has given less of private life and manners than of literary history. The latter, however, is enriched with much judicious criticism, in a style of elegance not very usual in modern biography.

It may be here proper to introduce, that, in the "Sermons of Hugh Blair, D. D. vol. V." noticed in our theological department, some memoirs are given of that eminent divine, written with an affectionate pen, and perhaps with more of the characteristics of a French *éloge* than English biography ought to admit.

"The Life of David Garrick, Esq. by Arthur Murphy, Esq." 2 vols. contains much amusing and interesting matter, but certainly disappointed the expectations we had formed from the reputed qualifications of the biographer. The narrative is elegant and pleasing, but we have little or nothing new, except a profusion of criticisms on the principal characters performed by Mr. Garrick, which might have suited any other work. Even prologues and epilogues that have been printed again and again are brought to increase the bulk without adding an atom to the value of these volumes. Criticism is disarmed, indeed, when we consider the age of the writer; but his fame is not increased, and the public is disappointed.

"Memoirs of John Bacon, Esq. R. A. with Reflections drawn from a Review of his Moral and Religious Character. By Richard Cecil, A. M. Minister of St. John's, Bedford-Row, &c." In these brief memoirs we have a pleasing sketch of the private character of Mr. Bacon, who, to his eminent professional talents, superadded the

piety of an humble Christian; but, as his fame must rest on excellence as a sculptor, we regret that the employment of biographer did not fall into the hands of some person qualified to appreciate his merits in that branch, and to furnish such information to his successors as might have been expected from a detail of the early genius and progressive improvements of a man, who was certainly an ornament to his country, and whom his country might peculiarly claim for her own, since it appears he cultivated his art without any help from foreign travel.

The "Memoirs of the Life of Froissart, with an Essay on his Works, and a Criticism on his History. Translated from the French of M. de la Curne de St. Palaye. By Thomas Johnes, Esq. M. P." does credit to the taste of the translator, who, we are informed, is preparing for publication, a new translation of the Chronicles of Froissart, collated with the best French editions and MSS. In the essay on Froissart's works, we have a general and a more detailed plan of the history: division of the four volumes of the history into parts, and that of the first of these volumes into several parts, with an inquiry whether Froissart made these divisions, partly determined in the affirmative and partly in the negative; the time which Froissart employed in the composition of his history; the inquiries which he made, the pains he took to form it; and, lastly, the object he proposed in writing it, and the rules he laid down for it. These are particulars not generally known in this country, and are very proper to precede Mr. Johnes's intended translation of the History or Chronicles.

"Memoirs

"Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bembus, Hieronymus Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminus, and the Amalthei; Translations from their poetical Works, and Notes and Observations concerning other literary Characters of the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries. By the Rev. W. Parr Greswell, Curate of Denton, in Lancashire," is an elegant effort in the cause of neglected literature, and directs our attention to a period highly interesting no less to the philosophical than the classical inquirer, and upon which great light has lately been thrown by the valuable "Life of Lorenzo de Medici," by Mr. Roscoe, and "Memoirs of the House of Medici," by sir Richard Clayton. The present author is a successful gleaner in the same field; and besides the memoirs; which are drawn up with taste and fidelity, has furnished judicious accounts of Picus of Mirandola, Marsilius Ficinus, Leo Battista Alberti, Pomponius Lætus, Jov. Pontanus, Leo X., and other contemporaries. In his translations, which are numerous, he has given the spirit of the originals with accuracy and elegance, and with powers of versification that entitle him to a distinguished place among modern poets.

The "Lives of Scottish Authors, viz. Ferguson, Falconer, and Russel, by David Irving," is a small contribution to literary history, as far as Falconer, the author of "The Shipwreck," and Russel, the author of "Modern Europe," are concerned. These are works of considerable celebrity; and entitle the writers to the honours of biography, which are here conferred, however, with more friendship than judgment.

"The Life, Adventures, and

Opinions, of Col. George Hanger, written by Himself. To which is added, Advice to the Prelates and Legislators, how to correct the Immorality and Jacobinism of the present Age, and at the same Time increase the Revenue; Advice to the lovely Cyprians, and to the Fair Sex in general, how to pass their Lives in future to their better Satisfaction, and to enjoy, with Discretion, the three Cardinal Virtues; on Matrimony, compulsive Wedlock, and on Polygamy; on the Misery of Female Prostitution; the History of the lovely Egyptia, the Pamela of Norwood, and the Paragon of the Egyptian Race; the Author's Marriage with her, and her cruel Elopement with a travelling Tinker; and a History of the King's-Bench Prison, written by the Author during his Custody under the Marshal of that Prison. descriptive of the Miseries endured by the Prisoners, and the extravagant Expense incident to their Confinement," 2 vols. Perhaps such a farrago as this might have been omitted, without leaving a chasm in the literary history of the year; other journalists have dismissed it with the contempt it deserves, and from which we have no wish to detract. Still it proves that nothing can be so contemptible as the life and opinions of a man of pleasure, even when written by himself, and with all the softening which self can prompt. We have heard of a people who made their slaves drunk, and exhibited them to their children, that they might acquire an early hatred of that vice. With the same view, this work might perhaps be recommended to young men of family and fortune. In the beginning of the first volume, we are presented with a portrait of the author hang-

ing on a gibbet; but whether this be characteristic, or prophetic, the present is not the time to inquire.

The only remaining biographical work is one of which we are sorry we cannot speak in terms of much higher respect—"Memoirs of Mrs. Robinson, written by Herself, with some posthumous Pieces," 4 vols. To this lady's abilities we have ever been ready to bear testimony; but to exhibit her life either a pattern, or by way of apology, is the relaxation of all moral principle. Those who delight, however, in the scandalous chronicles of the times, will meet with bitter disappointment in these "Memoirs," which do not occupy two little volumes, and break off where vulgar curiosity would rather wish they had begun. The third and fourth volumes contain some fugitive pieces in prose and verse, originally written for newspapers, or left unfinished in manuscript. Their merits are various; but of the Memoirs we apprehend there can be but one opinion. The editor pretends they were published from motives of filial piety—an excuse which, to those who know what filial piety is, will probably appear incomprehensible.

At the head of our department of Antiquities and Topography it seems necessary to place "Ægyptiaca, or Observations on certain Antiquities of Egypt: in two Parts—Part I. the History of Pompey's Pillar elucidated; Part II. Abdolatif's Account of the Antiquities of Egypt, written in Arabic A. D. 1203: translated into English, and illustrated with Notes, by J. White, D. D. Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford." The pre-

sent volume contains only Part I, or the History of Pompey's Pillar elucidated, which is divided into six sections. The first is intended to obviate any prejudices which may arise in the mind of the reader from this stupendous column being usually called Pompey's Pillar. The author next endeavours to fix the age of it, about which there have been many disputes; and examines the sentiments of Wortley Montague, Brotier, and Michaëlis. Brotier, whose opinion is canvassed in the second section, appears to approach nearest the truth. In the third section he ably combats the hypothesis of Michaëlis, who translates the Arabic name of the Pillar, Amûd Issawâri, by "the Pillar of Severus;" as his own investigation, strengthened by Arabic authorities of the middle centuries, clearly proves that the true meaning is "the Column of the Pillars." To an English ear, he observes, this phrase will perhaps appear rather tautologous: our language affords no correspondent term, no word equally extensive with Amûd, which includes both the round and the square pillar, and may be applied to a Grecian column or an Egyptian obelisk. At the time when the Arabic language first prevailed in Egypt, there were only two extraordinary objects of this kind remaining in Alexandria—Cleopatra's Needle and Pompey's Pillar; and the inhabitants appear to have distinguished them by their local situation, calling the one "Amûd il Babri—the Column of the Sea," and the other "Amûd Issawâri—the Column of the Pillars." The learned professor then proceeds to show that some reason must be assigned for the use of this appellation

lation as descriptive of the column; and after citing from Pococke the existence, in his time, of fragments of massy columns similar to the substance of the shaft (which is of red granite), scattered around in the immediate vicinity of the pillar in question; and after advancing the positive testimony of respectable Arabic writers of the middle centuries, that in their time it was surrounded by nearly four hundred of such pillars; he enters on the question, To what immense fabric did these pillars belong, by whom was it erected, for what purpose, and at what æra? The remaining sections are employed on these interesting subjects. The result briefly is, that the great temple of Serapis was on, or very near, the spot where the pillar in question stands. Ptolomy Soter, or Lagos, was the founder of it, and of the library and museum annexed; and his son and successor, Philadelphus, had the honour of finishing this superb structure; and in the centre of the area stood the majestic column usually called Pompey's Pillar.—It is impossible, in our narrow limits, to do more than transcribe this result of the learned professor's investigation; but we can with confidence recommend to the scholar and the antiquary the vast mass of proof he has advanced in support of it, than which nothing can be more clear, regular, and connected. Another part of this work, not less interesting to the learned, is an inquiry into the fact of the burning of the Alexandrian library by the orders of the caliph Omar, in the seventh century, which Gibbon has denied, but for which Dr. White has produced at least two testimonies which appear decisive.

“Grecian Antiquities, or An Account of the public and private

Life of the Greeks; relating to their Government, Laws, Magistracy, judicial Proceedings, naval and military Affairs, Religion, Oracles, Festivals, &c. &c.; chiefly designed to explain Words in the Greek Classics according to the Rites and Customs to which they refer: to which is added a Chronology of remarkable Events in the Grecian History, from the Foundation of the Kingdom of Argos under Inachus, to the Death of Alexander: by the Rev. Thomas Harwood, late of University College, Oxford.” This work is professedly modelled on Dr. Adams's Roman Antiquities, now become a popular book in schools, and bids fair to be held in like estimation, although it cannot be ranked among original compositions, being an abstract of Potter's *Archæologia*, with a close adherence to the order, the references, and the facts in that celebrated work. Some additions, however, are made from Bos, &c.; and its advantages to the young scholar over that of Potter, are apparent from the very circumstance of its being an abridgement, in a convenient and useful form, and in which there are no omissions of consequence in the earlier stages of school-learning.

To a certain description of readers much curious information may be derived from “An Inquiry into the ancient Greek Game, supposed to have been invented by Palamedes antecedent to the Siege of Troy; with Reasons for believing the same to have been known from remote Antiquity in China, and progressively improved into the Chinese, Indian, Persian, and European Chess: also two Dissertations—1. On the Athenian Skirophoria; 2. On the mystical Meaning of the Bough and Umbrella,

brella in the Skiran Rites." The object of the learned author of this work (who, we understand, is Mr. Christie, jun. son of Mr. Christie of Pall-mall) is to inquire whether it be more natural to conceive the game, Chess, to have been invented by an effort of the mind of one person, and devised, formed, and perfected at one instant of time; or whether it may not be considered probable that some rude materials existed, which falling into the hands of ingenious and able workmen at different periods, were variously fashioned by them, and united at last in the elegant structure of the modern game. Our author inclines to the latter opinion, and brings considerably strong evidence to prove that the Greeks were the original inventors, perhaps in the time of Palamedes. From this he traces it, in all degrees of improvement, to the state in which we find it. Much classical knowledge is displayed on this curious subject, and on the mysteries and religious allegories of the ancient heathens which are connected with it; but, without absolutely condemning the choice of this subject, we may be allowed to express a hope that such copious reading and critical acumen will be hereafter employed in some investigation of more importance to the learned world.

"Glig-Gamena Angel Deod, or The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England; including the rural and domestic Recreations, May-Games, Mummeries, Pageants, Processions, and pompous Spectacles, from the earliest Period to the present Time: illustrated with Engravings selected from ancient Paintings, in which are represented most of the popular Diversions: by Joseph Strutt." Prefixed to 1801.

this elegant volume, we have "A general Arrangement of the popular Sports, Pastimes, and military Games; together with the various Spectacles of Mirth or Splendor, exhibited publicly or privately, for the Sake of Amusement, at different Periods, in England"—an article which exhibits most extensive reading and patient research. The work itself is divided into four books, each subdivided into chapters; in which a history is given of all rural exercises performed by persons of rank, and rural exercises generally practised; pastimes usually exercised in towns and cities, or places adjoining to them; domestic amusements of various kinds, and pastimes appropriated to particular seasons. All these, amounting to many hundred articles, are traced as nearly as possible to their source: the revolutions, if we may so speak, of every amusement are given, and those changes of manners carefully noted which abolished some and revived other sports. The uses of a work of this description are more than a superficial reader will perhaps admit; nothing can be more important than the history of manners; and it is only by comparative estimates that we can arrive at any thing like a standard of decency and propriety. We cordially agree with the author, therefore, that, in order to form a just opinion of the character of any particular people, it is absolutely necessary to investigate the sports and pastimes most generally prevalent among them. War, policy, and other contingent circumstances, may effectually place men, at different times, in different points of view; but when we follow them into their retirements, where no disguise is necessary, we are most likely to see

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them in their true state, and may best judge of their natural disposition. Copious, therefore, as this work is, in mere entertainment, it may be consulted by the philosopher and the politician for more important purposes. The author, too, has thrown considerable light on many historical obscurities, and has collected, from scarce books and manuscripts, many singular circumstances respecting national manners which were not generally known: nor has he neglected the important duty of censuring the barbarity of certain sports with due abhorrence. The plates, which are very numerous, are taken from ancient paintings in books belonging to the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, the British Museum, and some private collections; and are illustrative of various amusements of former times.

"Some Account of the Cathedral Church of Durham; illustrative of the Plans, Elevations, and Sections, of that Building: published by the Order and at the Expense of the Society of Antiquaries of London"—is a splendid work, which does honour to the taste and liberality of the society. The cathedrals of this country have been, until lately, most shamefully neglected; and it is owing to the unwearied exertions of the admirers of our ancient architecture, usually called Gothic, that we observe the revival of a spirit of preservation and repair. Durham is here given as a specimen, the most magnificent as well as the most perfect, of that august style of architecture, which modern artists in vain attempt to imitate. It was begun in 1093 by William de Carlepho, bishop of the diocese: the walls were completed by Ranulph Flambaud, another bishop, in 1099;

and the whole probably completed about 1495, by the liberality of many benefactors. The plates given are eleven in number; finely engraven by Basire from the designs of Carter. Of the merit of these no description can give any adequate notion. The letter-press of this work, however, is rather short; and the reference, for a more exact detail, to Davies's book, and to Hutchinson's County History, will not, perhaps, be to many readers so satisfactory as a detail from actual observation of the present state of the cathedral.

"The History of Guildford, the County-Town of Surrey; containing its ancient and present State, civil and ecclesiastical: collected from public Records and other Authorities: with some Account of the Country three Miles round"—is a volume that will be principally interesting to the inhabitants of Guildford and its vicinity. The author has collected what he could find, without much attention to arrangement, or the more pleasing view of entertainment: it has no plan, plates, introduction, or index. The author, however, has not been deficient in useful investigation, and his materials will be valuable to the county historian, or guide compiler.

Of a place of comparative obscurity we have a far more elaborate account in "A History of the original Parish of Whalley, and Honour of Clitheroe, in the Counties of Lancaster and York: by Thomas Dunham Whitaker, E.L.D. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries: with Plates and Maps." The parish of Whalley and the honour of Clitheroe are here traced back to the Brigantes—to an inferior tribe of that people, denominated by

by Ptolemy the *Setantii*, or rather *Segantii*; but called by the anonymous Ravennas *Sistuntiatii*, or more probably *Seguntiaci*. Having given this important consequence to Whalley, the author proceeds to the Roman History; Memorials of the Parish during the Saxon Æra; the ecclesiastical History; the Parish-church and Vicarage of Whalley; Origin, Progress, and Ramifications of Property: on all which he is prolix beyond the usual license of topographic investigation. The picturesque views, however, and other ornaments of the work, may render it interesting to antiquarian readers.

“The History and Antiquities of the Parish of St. David, South Wales; the most ancient Documents collected from the Bodleian Library: to which is annexed a correct List of the Archbishops, Bishops, &c. who have filled that See: embellished with Plates in Aquatinta, from Drawings made on the Spot by the Author, George W. Manby, Esq.”—contains an interesting and well-written account of a spot to which the attention of travellers is particularly directed, and which is one of the chief objects of a tour in South Wales. The author is in general correct in the historical part, although some omissions may be discovered; and the list of prelates and dignitaries of the cathedral should have been carried down to the present times in a work which professes to be statistical. The plates are no inconsiderable testimony of the author's taste as a draughtsman, and are very neatly engraved for the tinted manner.

“The Beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive Sketches; illustrated by Views of the principal Seats:

interspersed with Anecdotes of the Arts:” two volumes---is a compilation of very considerable merit, but does not altogether exhibit the accuracy and profound research which an antiquary would expect. It is, however, a pleasing sketch, and has every advantage of elegant typography and plates to recommend it to general readers. The author, Mr. Britton, was sometimes disappointed in his solicitations for information, and vents his indignation, in terms not very courtly, on “those indolent, haughty, or ignorantly-despicable, beings” who refused it.

By the same author, in conjunction with Mr. Brayley, has been published the first volume of a work entitled “The Beauties of England and Wales; or, Delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive, of each County.” In this, as in the former, we perceive many inaccuracies; but, upon the whole, for the purpose of common readers, it may be recommended as a safe guide. The counties described in this volume are Bedfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire; and the engravings, it is but justice to add, are of distinguished beauty, and far superior to what have ever been given in any work of this kind.

“A general Account of all the Rivers of Note in Great Britain; with their several Courses, their peculiar Characters, the Countries through which they flow, and the entire Sea Coast of our Island; concluding with a minute Description of the Thames, and its auxiliary Streams: by Henry Skrine, Esq. LL.B. of Warley, in Somersetshire, Author of three successive Tours in the North of England and Scotland, in 1795, and Two successive Tours in South and

North Wales, in 1799." The design of this elegant work is new, and the manner in which it is executed, in general very meritorious. After a preliminary essay, the author proceeds to describe the rivers in the following order: the rivers of Essex, northward of the Thames; the Trent and its various component streams; congress of the rivers of Yorkshire, which unite with the Trent and Ancholme, to form the Humber; rivers of Durham; coast of Scotland, from Berwick on Tweed to the Firth of Forth; eastern coast of Scotland, from the Firth of Tay to the extreme point of Kinnaird, in Aberdeenshire, and to the entrance of the Murray Firth; the Spean of Inverness-shire; rivers of England communicating with the western sea; rivers of Wales beyond the Dee; Milford Haven and its various branches; the Wye and its tributary streams; rivers of Somersetshire, the north of Devonshire, and Cornwall; rivers of Devonshire and Dorsetshire; the coast of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire; rivers of Sussex and Kent; the Thames and its auxiliary streams. The descriptions of these various objects include whatever can strike the picturesque eye in water, wood, lawn, hill, or mountain; and the information of the reader is further assisted by neatly engraved maps of the course of the river. The author has been fortunate in the choice of a subject which must be dear to every lover of his country, and has been not less so, in furnishing so much rational and elegant entertainment on a plan in which, as far as we can recollect, he has not been anticipated by any former topographer.

The only remaining work under

this head, that merits attention, is "The Picture of Petersburg, from the German of Henry Storch," which is perhaps the most perfect delineation of the actual state of a metropolis, that has ever been given, and bears many marks of authenticity. The subjects comprehended under this title "Picture," are so various, that the bare enumeration might extend to many pages. Nothing is, indeed, omitted that the utmost stretch of curiosity could demand, respecting the moral and physical state of Petersburg. What relates to the former may afford matter of useful contemplation; we confess, it impresses us with no very favourable ideas of the state of society in Russia, or at least of that class which in all countries calls itself "the world"—at the same time that we see, with pleasure, and anxiety in the government to promote every national, humane, and patriotic improvement.

Among the most useful and interesting publications of the year 1801, under the head of Travels and Voyages, is "An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798; including cursory Observations on the Geology and Geography of the Southern Part of that Continent; the Natural History of such Objects as occurred in the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral Kingdoms; and Sketches of the Physical and Moral Characters of the various Tribes of Inhabitants surrounding the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope." To which is annexed, a Description of the present State, Population, and Produce of that extensive Colony; with a Map constructed entirely from actual observations made in the Course of the Travels. By John Barrow.

late Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and Auditor-General of Public Accounts at the Cape of Good Hope." It appears that when the earl of Macartney arrived at the Cape to take charge of his government in May 1797, he embraced an early opportunity of obtaining information respecting the distant parts of the colony, and the countries bordering upon it, hitherto so little visited, and so imperfectly known. His instructions on this occasion, with which Mr. Barrow was honoured, included a variety of objects, as well for the scientific inquirer as for the promotion of the public benefit; and the result is now laid before the public in this volume, which contains a general view of the colony of the Cape, and a more particular description of the promontory called the Cape of Good Hope; Sketches on a journey from the Cape, across the Karroo, or Arid Desert, to the Drosdy of Graaff Reynet, which was our author's first destination; Sketches on a journey into the country of the Kaffers; and on a journey into the country of the Bosjesmans: Sketches on a journey from Graaff Reynet along the sea-coast to the Cape; and, lastly, Sketches on a journey into the country of the Namaaquas. The value of these sketches, as the author modestly terms them, will be properly estimated, when we consider the truth of what he has stated in the outset, that no permanent limits to the colony were ever fixed under the Dutch government. The pastoral life that the peasantry of the remote districts at all times adopted, required a great extent of country to feed their numerous herds: the imbecility and easy temper of the adjacent tribes of natives favoured

their avaricious views; and the government was either unwilling, or thought itself unable, to restrain them. Having no kind of chart or survey, except of such districts as were contiguous to the Cape, it possessed a very limited and imperfect knowledge of the geography of the remoter parts, collected chiefly from the reports of the peasantry, fallacious often, through ignorance or design, or of those who had made excursions for their profit or pleasure, or from expeditions sent out by order and at the expense of government; and the object of these, it would appear, was with the view rather of carrying on a lucrative trade with the bordering tribes of natives, than to supply useful information respecting the colony. Attended with the parade of a military guard, surgeons, land-surveyors, burghers with waggons, oxen, horses, and Hottentots without number, not one of them has furnished a single sketch even towards assisting the knowledge of the geography of the country. The only persons, Mr. Barrow observes, who appear to have travelled with no other view than that of acquiring useful information, were the governor Van Plettenberg, and the late colonel Gordon. These two gentlemen fixed upon the spot the boundaries of the colony, as they now stand, to the eastward. To complete the line of demarcation, through the heart of the country to the western shore, was one of the objects of Mr. Barrow's journeys; and the chart that accompanies them was undertaken and executed by the order of the earl of Macartney, in the years 1797 and 1798, when the journeys were made. It was constructed entirely from actual ob-

servations of latitude and of bearings, estimation of distances, and frequent angular intersections of remarkable points and objects. It is indeed upon every account to be esteemed the best authority; and the journeys which produced it, especially those into the country of the Bosjesmans, that from Graaff Reynet along the sea-coast to the Cape, and that into the country of the Namaquas, are replete with original and authentic information, collected by a traveller of a clear, acute, and intelligent mind, nowise studious of ornament, and who delivers truth in the form of truth, simple, and without affectation of mystery or ostentatious parade. Every thing appears to have been the result of his diligent and personal inquiry; and it may consequently be expected that he should frequently notice the misrepresentations of former travellers. Vaillant, in particular, is convicted of many imaginary relations and romantic boastings. Mr. Barrow allows that his first book, *Travels to the Eastward*, contained much correct information, accurate description, and a number of pointed and just observations; but asserts that his second was a compilation from very slight materials, partly by Vaillant and partly by the abbé Philippo. Our readers will probably be sorry to lose their good opinion of this lively traveller, who has so frequently contributed to their entertainment; but if they will be content with a simple narrative of facts, and those the most curious and important, the loss may be amply supplied by the present work.

“ *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North-America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans,*

in the Years 1789 and 1793; with a preliminary Account of the Rise, Progress, and present State of the Fur-Trade of that Country, illustrated with Maps, by Alexander Mackenzie, Esq.” This spirited and enterprising traveller, we are informed, was led at an early period of life, by commercial views, to the country north-west of Lake Superior, in North-America; and being endowed by nature with an inquisitive mind, and a constitution of body equal to the most arduous enterprises, he not only contemplated the practicability of penetrating across the continent of America, but determined to undertake it, with the laudable desire of extending the boundaries of geographical science, and adding new countries to the realms of British commerce. His first voyage tended to settle the dubious point of a practicable north-west passage; and, as he trusts that there may now be an end to the disputes on that subject, he has entered, at the conclusion of the work, into an enlarged discussion, which seems indeed to decide the contested point. His second journal determines the practicability of a commercial communication through the continent of North-America, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; from which he infers that very great and essential advantages may be derived by extending our trade from one sea to the other. These are the principal outlines of what may be termed Mr. Mackenzie’s discoveries. His incidental information on all topics connected with the main subject is exceedingly copious, and the history of the fur-trade will be especially important to persons concerned in that valuable and curious branch. This history contains an account

of the persons engaged, and method of carrying on this traffic; an account of the establishment of the North-west company, with a description of the rivers and country through which they pass, and the manners of the Indians with whom they trade. It concludes with accounts of the Knisterneaux and Chepewyan Indians, a vocabulary of their languages, and many interesting particulars of their manners. The journal of the first voyage, which is now given, in seven chapters, contains a circumstantial account of the occurrences and proceedings of one hundred and two days, in the months of June, July, and August, 1789. The second voyage, or expedition to the western coast of North-America, was performed in eleven months, from October 10, 1792, to August 24, 1793; and its journal takes up thirteen chapters: this was by far a more arduous and enterprising undertaking than the former, and appears indeed to have been attended with hardships and difficulties to which the firmest minds only are equal. The whole work must be considered as of great importance to geography and commerce, and to general readers will afford much entertainment and useful information. It is illustrated by three well-executed maps; one of the northern part of America, from 40° to 70° north latitude, and a separate map for each voyage. It may be added, that since the publication of the work the author has received the honour of knighthood; and perhaps it has seldom been conferred on one whose spirit of adventure so nearly resembles that of the ancient knights. Even in a romantic age he would have been thought to

have surpassed the common courage of humanity.

"Travels in Greece and Turkey, undertaken by Order of Louis XVI. and with the Authority of the Ottoman Court, by C. S. Sonnini, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies; illustrated by Engravings, and a Map of those Countries." In our Register for 1799 we noticed the publication of this author's Egyptian travels: the present volume contains an account of the other countries which he visited after that expedition, and will probably be equally acceptable to the public, and equally censured for the indelicacy of many passages, on which we are sorry to observe French travellers dwell with peculiar relish. Books that would otherwise be so engaging and useful to youth, are absolutely unfit to be put into their hands, or to be admitted into families.—The author commences with a cursory view of Egypt, and a comparison between Egypt and Greece; state of the French trade in the Levant, &c. He then gives an account of the island of Cyprus, its productions, trade, manners of the inhabitants, and natural history; coast of Caramania, gulph of Macri; former and present state of Rhodes; philosophical view of the islands of the Mediterranean; the history, natural and civil, manners, &c. in each; ending with an excursion to mount Olympus, an account of Devils' Islands, and general observations on the Archipelago.—The plates are neatly engraven and the translator appears to have performed his task with fidelity. It were to be wished he had had discretionary powers to omit the offensive passages alluded to.

The following work, having,
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been reviewed in our last year's account of foreign literature, is here noticed as a translation: "A Voyage round the World, performed during the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792, by Etienne Marchand." The two volumes of natural history, however, are not translated, for which the English editor offers a sufficient apology: some other curtailments are also made, which by no means injure the general narrative, or that part which is properly Marchand's, and the whole of the notes are retained. Seven charts are well engraved, and upon a large scale.

"Travels in Portugal, and through France and Spain, with a Dissertation on the Literature of Portugal, and the Spanish and Portuguese Languages, by Henry Frederic Link, Professor of the University at Rostock, and Member of several learned Societies. Translated from the German, by John Hinckley, Esq. with Notes by the Translator," contain a very interesting detail of the manners of Portugal, a country with which we are not much acquainted, notwithstanding the long intimacy of commercial intercourse. The author takes frequent opportunities of correcting former travellers, particularly Mr. Murphy: but if we may judge from this translation, which we acknowledge is in many places objectionable, this work is not entirely free from error. The principal part, however, that which regards the manners of Portugal, will be read with interest, and will afford the judicious reader many opportunities of reflexion. Botany and natural history were the immediate objects of the author's tour; and these subjects are frequently illustrated: but here the translator has

repeatedly failed in giving the sense of the most familiar passages.

"A Tour through the Batavian Republic during the latter Part of the Year 1801, containing an Account of the Revolution and recent Events in that Country, by R. Fell." This author, it appears, was taken prisoner on his coasting passage to London from the north of England, by a French privateer, and was carried into the Briel; but having obtained passports from the Batavian government, through the means of the French general Choriè, he was enabled to visit, and make himself acquainted with, the most remarkable places and circumstances of the United Provinces. It is honourable to Mr. Fell that he turned his misfortune to such valuable purposes. We have here abundant information respecting the commerce of these once flourishing provinces, and a just and interesting, though melancholy, picture of the desolation occasioned by the revolution, which appears to have affected this country, from its helplessness, in a greater degree of loss than any other which the French arms have reached.

"A Tour through Germany; particularly along the Banks of the Rhine, Mayne, &c. and that Part of the Palatinate, Rhingau, &c. usually termed the Garden of Germany. To which is added, a concise Vocabulary of familiar Phrases, &c. in German and English, for the Use of Travellers, by the Rev. Dr. Render, Native of Germany." This work may be useful to travellers, and amusing to general readers. It comes, however, under the description rather of a compilation than of an original work. History and memoirs have been diligently

liligently consulted for materials, which are put together with judgment, and such a knowledge of the objects as may be expected from a native of the countries of which he gives an account; but there are no maps of any kind—an omission, in a work intended for travellers, not easily justified.

“Sketches and Observations, taken on a Tour through a Part of the South of Europe, by Jens Wolff,” are from the pen of a lively and well-informed writer, who appears to have travelled principally for his own amusement, and to have written his travels to amuse the public. The places principally described are Lisbon, Madrid, Montpellier, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn, Florence, Rome, and Naples, Modena, Turin, Chambery, Lyons, and Paris, none of which are unknown to common readers: but the author’s remarks are in general new, and he has collected many anecdotes which are highly entertaining, and may indeed be very useful to travellers who follow the same route.

Much information of a similar kind may be found in a work likewise modestly termed “*Sketches of some of the Southern Counties of Ireland, collected during a Tour in the Autumn of 1797, in a Series of Letters, by G. Holmes*,” who gives a very lively description of Kilkenny, Cashel, Wicklow, Limerick, Inniscorthy, Killarney, Cork, Clonmel, and other places to the right or left of his route. Some pleasing views from the author’s pencil, who appears to have a picturesque eye, form no inconsiderable ornament to this pleasing volume.

Of travels relating to our own country, the first in point of splen-

dour and interest to the man of taste and the tourist, is, beyond all comparison, “*An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire; illustrated with Views by Sir R. C. Hoare, Bart. a New Map of the County, and other Engravings, by William Coxe, A.M. F.R.S. F.A.S. Rector of Bemerton and Stourton.*” This work might indeed have been placed under the article History, or Antiquities, as it is in every respect a county history, only diversified by the liveliness of the tourist, and free from the dulness and prolixity of many articles which county history seems to require. The work owed its origin to an accidental excursion the author took into Monmouthshire, with sir Richard Hoare, during the autumn of 1798, in which he was delighted with the beauties of the scenery, struck with the picturesque ruins of ancient castles memorable in the annals of history, and animated with the view of mansions distinguished by the residence of illustrious persons; objects which the sketches of sir Richard’s pencil rendered more impressive. On his return, he examined his notes, perused the principal books relating to Monmouthshire, and, convinced that so interesting a county deserved particular notice, formed the plan of a tour, which should combine history and description, and illustrate both with the efforts of the pencil. To accomplish these objects our author took a second and a third tour; in the course of the three journeys employing five months, and traversing 1500 miles. Such is the history of these volumes; and their contents are proportioned to the industry and well-known abilities of Mr. Coxe, who has comprehended every subject in topography, antiquities,

quities, civil or ecclesiastical annals, biography, &c. that can be interesting or amusing, with a large share of local anecdote, and statistical accounts. The information, in particular, respecting the commerce of the county is copious, and derived from the most authentic sources. But it would far exceed our limits to give even an outline of the contents of this tour. The plates, which are very beautifully engraved, consist of twenty-four views, including thirty-eight objects; eight portraits, of lord Herbert of Cherbury; sir Charles Somerset, first earl of Worcester; Henry Somerset, first marquis of Worcester; Edward, second marquis of Worcester, and earl of Glamorgan; monumental effigies of sir William Ap Thomas, and of sir Richard Herbert, major Hanbury, and sir Charles Hanbury Williams; of all whom ample biographical memoirs are given from original sources; four plans of towns, and various ground plans of ancient castles and encampments. Of the map, it is but justice to mention the pains that have been taken to render it correct. This map was compiled by Mr. Nathaniel Coltman, from the best authorities which could be procured. The boundaries of the county on the sides of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Glamorganshire, were delineated from Taylor's Surveys of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and from Yates's Survey of Glamorganshire: the boundaries on the side of Brecknockshire are taken from the maps of South Wales, the plan of the Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire canal, and corrected by Mr. Coxe's observations. The latitude and longitude of Monmouth, which differ materially from those of former de-

lineations, were corrected by Mr. Arrowsmith, from whose communications the map received considerable improvement. The principal high roads are laid down from the surveys of the post roads made by order of the post-masters-general. The canals, rail-roads, and the adjacent county, are given from the plan of the Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire canals, by Mr. T. Dunford, junior, engineer. The rest of the interior of the county is filled up from the best authorities extant, and the whole augmented and corrected from Mr. Coxe's journals and observations. Such pains give earnest of similar attention to other parts of this tour, and in this the reader will not be disappointed. Nothing is superficially noticed, nor any object passed without a share of investigation due to its importance. The whole certainly is a valuable addition to British topography; for, although we have had tourists in this county, they have generally followed a common track, and have neither described nor visited its remoter parts. But whatever praise may be due to Mr. Coxe, he will not scruple to own how much he has been indebted to the elegant taste and pencil of his companion, sir Richard Hoare, whose drawings entitle him to a distinguished place among artists.

"A Journey from London to the Isle of Wight, by Thomas Pennant, Esq." in two volumes, is a posthumous publication of that able and ingenious writer, whose character as a traveller has been so long established, that it is perhaps enough to say of the present work, that it will not lessen his well-earned fame in this species of compilation. It appears to have been

been in a certain degree prepared for the press by the author, although some few blanks are left, which it would have been no improper liberty for a judicious editor to have filled up. It has all the characteristics of Mr. Pennant's style and manner, the same habit of minute observation, the same acuteness of remark, with perhaps a little of the prolixity of age. As it to take leave of many an accustomed spot, the tour commences at Temple Stairs; from whence the reader is conveyed along the shores of the Kentish coast to Tilbury Fort, where the author crossed the water: returning again, he proceeds to Canterbury, Deal and Walmer castles, Dover, and thence to Folkstone, Sandgate Fort, Hythe, Lyme castle, and Romney Marsh: Sussex affords him opportunities to digress on the history of Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, &c. where William's famous battle is re-fought in Mr. Pennant's usual manner; and his antiquary knowledge again expands on Battle Abbey, Hurstmonceaux, and Pevensey: of Brighthelmstone we have a long account of particulars not generally known to its visitors, and a beautiful representation of the Prince's Pavilion, which, however, can scarcely be deemed an object of much taste or curiosity. From Brighthelmstone, our author proceeds to New and Old Shoreham, and to Arundel, where the duke's palace necessarily detains an antiquary. The progress then is through Chichester into Hampshire, and Portsmouth; and at length the Isle of Wight, the description of which is very full: but in most particulars the author has been anticipated by some late tourists, Wyndham, Tomkins, &c. These volumes are embellished

with a profusion of plates, some of which, we think, might have been omitted without injury to the tour.

"Remarks on local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the Years 1799 and 1800, by John Stoddart, LL. B." two volumes, is another of those splendid publications in which the pen and the pencil combine their fascinations, generally however to the advantage of the latter. Mr. Stoddart, who is an agreeable travelling companion, and a judicious historian, commences his observations at Greenwich, from whence he sails for Leith; and, arriving at Edinburgh, gives a long historical description of that city, and its vicinity: his progress then is towards the banks of the Eske, the upper part of the Clyde, the Clyde below Hamilton; Lochs Lomond and Long, Fyne, Awe, and Etive; the isles of Mull, Staffa, &c.; Appin, Glencroe; the line of the forts; the Murray Firth; the banks of the Spey; the middle Highland road; Stirling and Fife; vicinity of the Tweed, Strath Earne, Loch Tay, &c.; thus embracing all the principal objects that have engaged the attention of tourists, or antiquaries, or which afford materials either for picturesque description or historical detail: the whole illustrated by thirty-five plates in aqua tinta, but on a scale rather too small; and of many of them we cannot commend either the design or execution. As a traveller and compiler of historical memoirs, this author is entitled to considerable praise; but his preface, and his concluding remarks on the general principles of taste, are not calculated to impress us with the highest opinion of his perspicuity in treating subjects of speculation.

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The Rev. Richard Warner, whose "Walk" was noticed in our last year's Register, has given us another entertaining publication of the same kind, under the title of "Excursions from Bath," three in number, and to each is prefixed a small neat sketch of the route. The places visited are Longleat, the seat of the marquis of Bath, Stourhead, Fonthill, Wilton, Stonehenge; the house of Paul Methuen, esq.; Bowood, the seat of the marquis of Lansdowne: Charlton Park, Bodminster, Blaise castle, Berkeley castle; Stroud, Cirencester, lord Bathurst's, &c. To all these places this volume is an useful guide, and, we think, must have been intended as such by the author, as its contents are principally devoted to catalogues of pictures and portraits, and biographical notices of the persons represented, or characters of the artists. Reflexions which mark taste and judgment are occasionally introduced on other subjects; but the arts form the author's chief object, and for which he will have the thanks of every traveller who wishes for more than a transient impression of what he sees.

From Mr. Pratt we have a second volume of "Gleanings in England, descriptive of the Countenance, Mind and Character of the Country," which, however, we cannot rank among works of authority. Fact and fiction are so closely blended, that, whatever entertainment the volume may afford, it is impossible to recommend it as a safe guide; nor would it have been much out of place had we classed it among the Novels of the year.

"A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Journeys: interspersed with

useful Observations; particularly calculated for the Use of those who are desirous of travelling over England and Scotland, by the Rev. C. Crutwell, Author of the Universal Gazetteer. In 6 Volumes." This is avowedly a compilation; but, from its comprehensive form, one of great utility, and executed with skill and judgment. Every object of general or local history, of antiquities, biography, or statistics, is carefully noted, and from the best and most recent authorities: the descriptions in general are full and satisfactory, and useful references are given for the further gratification of curiosity. A work of this kind has long been wanted, and perhaps could not have fallen into better hands than those of the author of the most complete Gazetteer ever published, and whose attention appears to have been devoted more particularly to the history and topography of his own country. The maps to this work are very neatly engraved and coloured, and an ample index is given to each volume.

One work yet remains, which may, without any great impropriety, be placed under the department of Voyages, as we have this year no separate article of Navigation; it is entitled, "The Little Sea Torch, or True Guide for Coast-ing Pilots; by which they are clearly instructed how to navigate along the Coasts of England, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Sicily; the Isles of Malta, Corsica, Sardinia, and others in the Straits; and of the Coast of Barbary, from Cape Bon to Cape de Verd. Enriched with upwards of one hundred Appearances of Head-Lands and Light-Houses; together with Plans of the principal Harbours: also a Table

Table of Soundings, and various explanatory Remarks. The Whole forming a Work of the greatest Utility to Seamen; and particularly calculated to instruct the curious Inquirer into those Subjects that are connected with Maritime Geography. Translated from the French of Le Sieur Bongard, with Corrections and Additions, by J. T. Serres, Marine-Painter to his Majesty, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and Marine Draughtsman to the Right Honourable the Board of Admiralty." This splendid publication seems richly to deserve the public patronage. It is divided into fifteen chapters, decorated with twenty folio plates of appearances of headlands, and striking permanent objects, with numerous views of the same object, accommodated to the various positions of an approximating ship. The charts are twelve in number, and delineate with great accuracy the most celebrated and frequented ports in Europe, marking the shoals and sand-banks, that are hid or partly visible, with their bearings and distances. The soundings near them, and the other parts of the road that lead into each haven respectively, are marked by figures denoting the fathoms of water. The volume concludes with a particular table of those soundings which are of greatest importance to English mariners in the Channel, and on the coasts of England and France. It would be superfluous to enlarge on the utility of such a work as this; but we have heard with shame and astonishment that it has been almost ruinous to the finances of the translator and artist.

The Political publications of last

year were fewer and less important than during any former year since the commencement of the war. The negotiation, which terminated in the preliminaries of peace, appears to have withdrawn many of the subjects of political contest. Enough, perhaps, still remained to engage the zeal of party-writers; and we shall class their productions, as on former occasions, into those which relate to, 1. General Politics; 2. The Northern Powers; 3. Ireland; 4. The Change of Ministry, and the Peace.

The usual topics of reform in the expenditure of the public money, and restrictions necessary to be imposed on persons holding situations in public offices, are urged with little novelty, but considerable strength of argument, in "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform, and on Reform in general: in which the Nature of the British Constitution, the Government, its component Parts and Establishments, are freely but briefly considered. By an Ex-Member of the present Parliament."

Reform of a more serious nature seems to be the tendency of "The Crimes of Cabinets; or, A Review of their Plans and Aggressions for the Annihilation of the Liberties of France, and the Dismemberment of her Territories, with illustrative Anecdotes, Military and Political, by Lewis Goldsmith,"—an author whose ideas of liberty appear to be confused, since he has discovered it in revolutionary France, where neither name nor thing exists. But it is unnecessary to dwell on the merits of a work which, the author informs us, no bookseller could be found to publish. In the same spirit Mr. Goldsmith was led to translate the "State of the French Republic at the

the End of the Year Eight, from the French of Citizen Hauterive, *Chef de Relations Extérieures*," a work of great ingenuity and address, which, however, seems to fail the writer when he endeavours to paint the great moderation of France in her conquests, and the blessings of the free government of Bonaparte.

"Opinions of His Majesty's Ministers respecting the French Revolution, the War, &c. from 1790 to 1801, chronologically arranged. Selected from their Speeches in Parliament; with Extracts from the Speeches of the Opposition; compiled by James Bannantine." About the time of the celebrated coalition, a work of this description appeared under the title of the 'Beauties of Fox, North, and Burke,' and had a considerable influence on the public mind. The present collection has been made with a like view, to expose the wonderful contrariety of opinions held by the same men under circumstances so similar as not to account for the change on any fair and intelligible principle; and to prove that, in the whole management of the war, ministers were guided by nothing more to be depended upon than the chapter of accidents, or what in modern phrase is termed 'existing circumstances.'

Much valuable information of a general kind may be found in "Financial Facts of the Eighteenth Century; or, A cursory View, with comparative Statements, of the Revenue, Expenditure, Debts, Manufactures and Commerce of Great Britain;" the object of which is to show, very contrary to the opinion of many writers, and of some eminent statesmen, that the national resources have not even yet been

entirely called forth; and that, should any future exigency render it necessary to draw them more fully into action, they may, like the cords of a bow, be strained to a greater tension than it is possible at present to imagine, without the risk of breaking the one or the other. Before implicit credit is given to this flattering representation, it may be necessary for the reader to peruse a tract of uncommon ability; and we may add, from the well-known talents of the writer, of undoubted authority, "A Comparative View of the Public Finances, from the Beginning to the Close of the late Administration, by William Morgan, F. R. S.;" and, probably by the author of the "Facts," "Remarks on Mr. Morgan's Comparative View of the Public Finances."

"The Political Interests of Great Britain; in which are included the necessary Measures for procuring an advantageous and permanent Peace with France and her Allies; for terminating our Differences with the Northern Confederate Powers, concerning the Freedom of Neutral Maritime Commerce, and restoring Plenty to the United Kingdom, by George Edwards, Esq." is a prolix work, in many parts desultory and inconclusive; and, we apprehend, written without a due consideration of the consequences of what the author seems to recommend—an alliance or partnership with France in her numerous aggressions. France would no doubt be a valuable ally to Great Britain; but a wise and good man would scarcely wish for such alliance, unless under a system of different policy from that which she has adopted. This writer, however, proposes some schemes of internal improvement, which
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are highly judicious and patriotic.

To the "Reflections on the Political State of Society," noticed in our last Register, Mr. Bowles has added "A Supplement, in which the political State of Society is continued to June 1801," and Reflections at the Conclusion of the War; being, A Sequel to Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society at the Close of the eighteenth Century." Mr. Bowles's strain of sentiment is now so well known as to render it unnecessary to say more of these pamphlets than that he persists in implacable hostility to unconquered France. Many of his moral reflexions, however, on the state of society meet with our cordial approbation.

"Considerations on the momentous Subjects of Peace and War, and Negotiation, in Answer to the Pretensions of France, by Mr. P. Pratt," is one of those pamphlets that might have appeared at any period of the war, and perhaps with more success. The author is of opinion that few, if any, of the colonies conquered by us ought to be restored at a peace, without equivalent cessions by the French of their European conquests. The necessity of the war is ably controverted in a contemporary tract, entitled "Three Words to Mr. Pitt, on the War and on the Peace;" and some consolation amidst public uncertainty is administered in "The dark Cloud in the political Hemisphere broken, and a bright Beam of Consolation issuing therefrom, in favour of his Majesty's Ministers, and depressed Stock-holders; with a few Words of Advice to Growlers and the Dissatisfied of every Description: also a Method prescribed, founded on Reason and

Experience, for removing their Discontent, and rendering their Minds easy under the present State of Public Affairs. By an old Naval Officer."

On other topics of a general nature connected with the late war, the situation of Europe, or with the state of parties and opinions, some information may be derived from the following tracts. "The Statistical Breviary; showing, on a Principle entirely new, the Resources of every Kingdom and State in Europe; illustrated with stained Copper-plate Charts, representing the physical Powers of each distinct Nation with Ease and Perspicuity. By William Playfair. To which is added, A similar Exhibition of the ruling Powers of Hindoostan." "The Trial of Republicanism; or, A Series of Political Papers, proving the injurious and debasing Consequences of Republican Government, and written Constitutions. With an introductory Address to the Hon. Thomas Erskine, Esq. By Peter Porcupine." "The Influence attributed to Philosophers, Freemasons, and to the Illuminati, on the Revolution of France. By J. J. Mounier. Translated from the Manuscript, and corrected under the Inspection of the Author, by J. Walker, A. M. late of St. John's College, Cambridge." "The British Commissary; in two Parts. Part I. A System for the British Commissaries on foreign Service. Part II. An Essay towards ascertaining the Use and Duties of a Commissariat Staff in England. By Haviland Le Mesurier, Esq." "A View of a Course of Lectures, to be commenced on Monday, May 11, 1801, on the State of Society at the Opening of the Nineteenth Century; containing Inquiries

Inquiries into the Constitution, Laws, and Manners, of the principal States of Europe. By Henry Redhead Yorke, of the Inner Temple, Student at Law."

The discussion of the important questions arising out of the contest with the northern powers, which immediately preceded the negotiations for a general peace, may be consulted in "A short View of the political Situation of the Northern Powers; founded on Observations made during a Tour through Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, in the last Seven Months of the Year 1800. With Conjectures on the probable Issue of the approaching Contest. By William Hunter, Esq. of the Inner Temple." "Letters on the real Causes and probable Consequences of the present War with Russia." "The Sound and Baltic considered in a political, military, and commercial View; intended to illustrate the relative Connections and maritime Strength of the Northern Powers: to which are added, Observations upon Egypt, and the Trade of India, as connected with the Baltic or East Sea. Translated from a German Pamphlet published at Berlin in April last." "A Vindication of the Convention lately concluded between Great Britain and Russia. In six Letters addressed to —."

The propriety and policy of two celebrated expeditions, at the conclusion of the war, are explained in "The Substance of a Speech, made by Sir James Pulteney, Bart. in the House of Commons, Thursday, February 10, 1801, on a Motion for an Inquiry into the Cause of the Failure of the Expedition to Ferrol;" and in "Political Recollections relative to Egypt: containing Observations on its Government under the Mamelukes; its

geographical Position; its intrinsic and extrinsic Resources; its relative Importance to England and France, and its Dangers to England, in the Possession of France: with a Narrative of the ever-memorable British Campaign in the Spring of 1801. By George Baldwin, Esq. late His Majesty's Consul-general in Egypt; and attached to the Commander in Chief during the above glorious Campaign."

Some questions arising from the union with Ireland, and the weighty consideration of Catholic emancipation, are examined in "An Argument against Extermination, occasioned by Dr. Duigenan's Representation of the present political State of Ireland. By a Friend to the United Kingdom." "A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Portland on the Subject of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. By a Gentleman who has resided in that Country for a considerable Time." "The Letters of Fabius to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on his proposed Abolition of the Test in favour of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. With an Appendix, containing Mr. Pitt's Speech in the Debate of 1790."

The few pamphlets which have appeared in defence of the new ministry, and of the peace, in the course of the current year, are, "A candid Appeal to the Nation, upon the present Crisis, and the recent Change of Ministers." "The Dismissal of His Majesty's Ministers considered as absolutely necessary to avert the Ruin of the Nation. By T. Jones, Esq. in his celebrated Speech on a Motion for that Purpose in the House of Commons, on Thursday December 4, 1800; wherein he attributes the present deplorable State of the People to the Incapacity of Ministers, &c."

"Considerations

“*Considerations on the present State of Europe with respect to Peace, or a further Prosecution of the War.*” “*A short View of the Preliminaries of Peace, signed October 1, 1801.*” “*The Speech of the Hon. Charles James Fox, on the happy Restoration of Peace with France; with the other Proceedings at the Shakspeare Tavern, on Saturday 10th of October, 1801, being the Anniversary of his First Election for Westminster.*” “*Thoughts on the Preliminary Articles of Peace, by a Kentish Clergyman.*” “*The immediate Causes and remote Consequences of the Peace considered.*” “*Eight Letters on the Peace, and on the Commerce and Manufactures of Great Britain. By Sir Frederick Morton Eden, Bart.*” A second edition of the same, with great additions. This may be considered as the most able defence of the peace that has yet appeared, and the following as the most voluminous but weakest attack that has been made on that measure: “*Letters to the Right. Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, and to the Right Hon. Henry Addington, on the Peace with Bonaparte: to which is added, An Appendix, containing a Collection (now greatly enlarged) of all the Conventions, Treaties, Speeches, and other Documents, connected with the Subject, by William Cobbett.*”

Although our list of works belonging to the department of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature partakes of the general scantiness of the year 1801, we are enabled to mention a few articles as very important acquisitions to our libraries. Among these, the first place seems to belong to “*The Poetical Works of John Milton, in 6 volumes, with the principal Notes of various Commentators. To which are added,*

1801.

Illustrations, with some Account of the Life of Milton. By the Rev. H. J. Todd, M. A.” a gentleman who appears in every respect qualified, by taste and judgment, to exhibit such an edition of the works of Milton, as shall comprise all that is valuable in the various commentaries and criticisms that have been published, in illustration, praise or censure. Mr. Todd’s *Life of Milton* is particularly valuable, and evinces the most laudable research and curiosity after new materials, as well as a judicious application of what is already before the public. That this edition, which we presume will be in future the standard, may be the more complete, Mr. Todd has prefixed as prolegomena, Addison’s criticism on the *Paradise Lost*, and Dr. Johnson’s remarks on Milton’s versification, each with the notes and remarks, and an elaborate inquiry into the origin of *Paradise Lost*. In the sixth volume we have also Dr. Charles Burney’s *Preliminary Observations on the Greek Verses*; and an Appendix containing Baron’s *Imitations of Milton’s early Poems*, Lauder’s *Interpolations*, an article of additions and corrections, and a valuable glossarial Index. The whole is so judiciously arranged, that the public will hear with pleasure that an edition of the works of Spenser may soon be expected from the same editor.

In our Register for 1790 we noticed, and in terms of approbation, an elegant little volume, entitled “*Specimens of the early English Poets.*” A continuation of that work, or rather an enlargement, is now before us, in 3 volumes, “to which is prefixed, an historical Sketch of the English Poetry and Language, by George Ellis, Esq.” The first edition of this miscellany was intended as an attempt to com-

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prise within the compass of one volume, all the most beautiful short poems that have been published in this country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: but it was at the same time admitted, that the completion of the plan had been prevented by the difficulty of procuring a sufficient stock of materials. In the present work, the author informs us that this difficulty has been since surmounted by the assistance of his friends, and it now contains a selection from a considerable number of the best poetical libraries in the kingdom. The collection in its present state will also be found to contain much more variety. The two parts into which it is divided are indeed directed to one principal object; which is to exhibit, by means of a regular series of specimens, the rise and progress of our language, from the tenth to the latter end of the seventeenth century. In the former part, which terminates with the reign of Henry VIII., the extracts are generally chosen with a view to picturesque description, or to the delineation of national manners; and the second division of the work is meant to exhibit the best models that could be found, in each reign, of regular and finished composition. In the former, which consists of very early fragments, it was thought that a few critical remarks, as well as biographical anecdotes, were absolutely necessary, and that these could not be given more concisely than in the form of an historical sketch; but in the latter a short outline of the literary character of each reign, and a few notices respecting the several writers, appeared to the author to be sufficient. This plan we think the most judicious that could have been contrived to prevent the beauties thus discovered from being en-

cumbered with tedious and useless matter, and it is executed with a taste and discrimination which cannot be too highly praised. If our limits permitted extracts, we should find it difficult to know where to end. Mr. Ellis has done honour to himself and to his country.

“Lectures on Painting, delivered at the Royal Academy, March 1801. By Henry Fuseli, Professor of Painting, with additional Observations and Notes.” It appears that the laws of the Academy enjoin the professor of painting to instruct his audience “in the principles of composition; to form their taste for design and colouring; to strengthen their judgment; to point out to them the beauties and imperfections of celebrated works of art, and the particular excellencies and defects of great masters; and finally to lead them into the readiest and most efficacious paths of study.” For these purposes, in the present state of the arts in this country, we know not that the Academy could have fixed their choice upon a person more eminently qualified than Mr. Fuseli, who to his acknowledged genius as a painter adds a classical taste and knowledge which have rarely been the praise of many English artists. His plan appears to us not less judicious than the execution is skilful and happy. The first lecture exhibits a more critical than historical sketch of the origin and progress of the art, containing research to that period when fact and substantial information took place of conjecture: it naturally divides itself, therefore, into two parts, the art of the ancients, and its restoration among the moderns; and each is divided into three periods, that of preparation, that of full establishment, and that of refinement. The second Lecture
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treats on the real subjects of painting, and of the plastic arts, in contradistinction to the subjects exclusively belonging to poetry, endeavouring to establish the reciprocal limits of both from the essential difference of their medium and materials. It establishes three principal classes of painting, the epic, the dramatic, and the historic, with their collateral branches of characteristic portrait and landscape, and the inferior subdivisions of imitation. In the third, design, correctness, copy, imitation, style, with its degrees of "essential, characteristic, ideal," and deviation into manner, are considered, and the classes of the models left us in the remains of ancient sculpture arranged. The fourth is devoted to invention, in its most general and specific sense, as it discovers, selects, combines, the possible, the probable, and the known materials of nature in a mode that strikes with novelty. The fifth follows with composition and expression, the dresser and the soul of invention: and the sixth concludes with observations on colour, drapery and execution. Of this general plan of the course, the present volume consists of the first lecture divided into two, under the heads "Ancient Art," and "Art of the Moderns," and a third, "Invention," or the materials of the proper subjects of the art and of invention, extracted from the second and fourth, and connected by obvious analogy. Men of taste in general, but especially young students, are indebted to the author for the publication of these lectures; they are properly the objects of study, rather than of hearing or transient perusal, and are in our opinion, which on such a subject should be expressed with humility, well calculated to form a

correct taste, and to excite a spirit of independent thinking.

"A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary: of which the palpable Errors are attempted to be rectified, and its material Omissions supplied, by George Mason, Author of the Glossary to Hoccleve, and of an Essay on Design in Gardening." That there are errors and imperfections in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary has been always acknowledged, and by those principally, who are yet of opinion that, as the work of one man, and that man poor and unassisted, it was a stupendous undertaking, and executed much to the honour of his industry and abilities. We know not a man of taste or genius in the kingdom who has not subscribed to the merits of Dr. Johnson, as a man of consummate ability, in the characters of lexicographer, critic, and moralist. It was with astonishment, therefore, not unmingled with indignation, that we found the present writer speaking of him in terms of censure more coarse and arrogant than the utmost license of private opinion can admit. We have no hesitation in stripping Mr. Mason's pretensions as an improver of an English dictionary, when he betrays his ignorance of the meaning of the most common words, by asserting that "Johnson's Dictionary *abounds* with inaccuracies as much as any English book whatever, written by a scholar," and when, which will yet more astonish our readers, he attributes to Dr. Johnson a "muddiness of intellect," which "sadly besmears and defaces *almost every* page of the composition." Either Mr. Mason uses such words in a meaning in which they have never been understood, or he must be conscious of an attack on the character of Dr. Johnson, which no critic of

acknowledged taste can for a moment hold to be warrantable; nor in an examination of this Supplement, which we acknowledge may be useful, can we discover any proofs of superior industry or superior intellect. The bulk of his additions are of words from Spenser, from whom Dr. Johnson did not profess to take any, of law terms, and of words coined since Dr. Johnson's time. We have even the cant of *bon ton* here, and such vulgarisms as "arsey-varsey." With respect to the law terms, both old and new, they are very numerous in this Supplement; and we may expect a supplement of five times the size, if the technicals of every profession are to make part of an English dictionary. What a tasteful addition will the new Chemical Nomenclature make! Yet according to the plan of this Supplement the technicals, and even the cant, of every science and trade ought to be admitted, provided we can find an authority in any humorous poem. We have here *hoity-toity*, and why not *higgledy-piggledy*, and those similar vulgarisms which Mr. Colman once collected in a good-natured piece of humour at the expense of Dr. Johnson's sesquipedalian phrases? But we submit to Mr. Mason whether all this will not make a "hodge-podge," rather than a standard dictionary of the English tongue; and with respect to his authorities, whether men of science ought not to be the legitimate authorities in the case of scientific words. Words belonging to the healing art ought surely to be taken from the most eminent medical writers; yet for the word *navel-string* we are presented with the authority of Edmund Burke in one of his last pamphlets: the authority of a politician for a term in mid-

wifery! Notwithstanding these and other objections which might be offered if we were disposed to treat Mr. M. as he has treated Dr. Johnson, every attempt to improve the Dictionary of the latter ought to be welcomed; and the present may in a certain degree be rendered useful; but in our judgment a great deal more must be expunged than admitted, if we are not determined to naturalise every fanciful and barbarous innovation that may be heard in conversation or admitted into ludicrous composition.

"Specimens of Literary Resemblance, in the Works of Pope, Gray, and other celebrated Writers; with Critical Observations: in a Series of Letters, by the Rev. Samuel Berdmore, D. D. late master of the Charter-house School," is a small volume which exhibits many proofs of literary taste. The author's object is to turn the "Marks of Imitation," published by the bishop of Worcester, against their author, and to prove an instance of plagiarism against him in having taken his interpretation of the Virgilian allegory, at the beginning of the third Georgic, from the notes of Catrou: but we could wish this attempt had been made with the urbanity becoming a scholar, and with the respect due to a venerable prelate who has certainly deserved well of the commonwealth of learning.

"Senilities, or Solitary Amusements, in Prose and Verse; with a cursory Disquisition on the future Condition of the Sexes. By the Editor of the Reveries of Solitude, Spiritual Quixote, Columella, &c." These amusements appear to be the farewell efforts of the veteran Mr. Greaves, to whom the public has been indebted for much variety of entertainment. They consist of prose essays, of the humorous kind, and
a series

a series of poetical pieces, panegyrical, humorous, and miscellaneous, written with considerable vivacity, and very little perceptible decay of powers.

The following work might perhaps have appeared under the article of Education; but its many singularities, and the variety of subjects collaterally touched upon, may justify its introduction here. "The Method of educating the Deaf and Dumb, confirmed by long Experience; by the Abbé de L'Épée. Translated from the French and Latin." The prefatory matter contains a very interesting history of the progress of this wonderful art, which has lately been so successfully introduced into this country, and will unquestionably be promoted by this detail of the long experience of the abbé L'Épée.

Whatever deficiencies we have had occasion to remark in other branches of literature, we must acknowledge that the year 1801 exhibits many proofs of the general cultivation of Poetry, and may stand recorded as the *annus mirabilis* which has produced no less than four epic poems. The first of these in the order of publication, if we mistake not, was "Richard the First, a Poem, in eighteen Books; by Sir James Bland Burges. Two volumes." The subject of this poem is Richard Cœur de Lion, who is here endowed with all kingly and heroic virtues. The struggles of virtue and piety, against human and infernal machinations, are personified in this popular English hero; and the poem is continued until he has completely triumphed over all his enemies, and is ready to return in triumph to his native land. Here is scope enough for the talents of the first of epic poets; but our au-

thor, by adopting the stanza of Spenser, has given this disadvantage to his work, that the form of the verse is ancient, and the diction modern. In the machinery of the poem he has imitated Tasso, and with the addition of a modern allegorical personage, "False Philosophy," introduced for obvious purposes. The general defect is want of vigour and want of variety, of which we cannot select a more striking instance than that of Richard's speech before the diet of Worms, which extends over no less than six books, or nearly a third of the whole work. Numerous beauties might, however, be selected, which place the author's poetical talents in the most favourable light: but upon the whole, however laudable the attempt, we cannot be of opinion that either in plan or execution he has succeeded as an epic writer. Revision and judicious omissions may do much; but in its present form it is one of those compositions which may be read as a task, but to which few will wish to revert as a pleasure.

"Alfred, an Epic Poem, in six Books. By Henry James Pye." The well-earned fame of this author, if it does not greatly rise, will not be much diminished by the present bold undertaking. We are not desirous of noting trivial imperfections, which may be the effect of haste, and may be removed by the author's cooler judgment; but yet we may be allowed to express our surprise at meeting with so many improper rhymes and mixed metaphors. The story is highly interesting, and many passages discover uncommon vigour of imagination, in warm and energetic language; and the versification in general is easy, elegant, and harmonious. He excels his rival, Mr. Burges, as much in the choice of his verse as of his subject.

“*Britannia; a National Epic Poem, in twenty Books: to which is prefixed, a Critical Dissertation on Epic Machinery. By John Ogilvie, D. D. F. R. S.*” Half a century is now expired since this author became a candidate for poetical fame; and many of his compositions have been admired for vigour of conception and harmony of versification. The present work, arduous as it is, seems to prove that age has not abated his powers, while the interest which Englishmen must naturally take in his subject militates strongly in his favour. The following sketch will give some idea of the materials which compose the poem of *Britannia*. Britain, at the time when Brutus lands, is supposed to be peopled, partly by the aborigines of the country and partly by giants. Brutus brings along with him a numerous army, and the principal leaders are his three sons, Locrinus, Camber, and Albanus. His preceding adventures are detailed in the second, third, and fourth books, by Azrael, the demon who had been commissioned by Satan to frustrate his attempt. Gerontes is the king of the giants. His principal counsellors are Romerus and Vortiger, of whom the former is the hero of his party. Androgeus, another of the giants, is civilised, and, having become the protector of the natives, followed them in their retirement to the mountains of Wales. In the fifth book the war commences, with an unsuccessful attempt of a party of the giants, commanded by Vortiger, upon a detachment of the army of Brutus, which, under Albanus and Eugenius, was sent out to reconnoitre the country. In the sixth book, in which the principal characters of the poem are developed, a general engagement takes place. At one time Brutus superintends the war,

without directly engaging in it; and at others, he is opposed to various leaders among the natives. The giants are defeated, but return to the field with a large reinforcement, under Androgeus. At last, Locrinus is, by a stratagem, decoyed into the forest; the consequence of which is, that the army of Brutus is in his absence signally defeated. During the silence of night, Androgeus, who is secretly the friend of Brutus, obtains a truce for four days, for the purpose, as was alleged, of interring the dead. In that interval he proposes to treat with Brutus concerning peace, or the terms on which he could cooperate with the Trojan leader in prosecuting the war. This truce is broken by Vortiger, the great counsellor of his party; who, at the same time, by a stratagem, exasperates Androgeus against Brutus, and the army which he commands. A villain named Camber is, by the advice of Vortiger, sent during the night to the camp of the Albions, armed with a sword, with which he is commissioned to make as great slaughter as possible, and to leave the weapon in the body of the last man whom he should murder. The object of this device was, to fasten the imputation of this foul crime on Brutus. The stratagem succeeds; the murderer escapes; the sword is left in the body of an Albion leader; it is produced in a general meeting of the princes, who are all thus aroused to rage against Brutus, to whom a messenger, bearing the sword so left, is sent, charging him with the base murder, and denouncing vengeance. The infamous charge Brutus repels with such dignity and disdain, that the herald himself is staggered: but at length all doubt is removed, by Camber's recognising the sword, which had belonged to his young friend Philanius,

Iantis, who had been slain by Leontia, the daughter of Gerontes. This business, however, is suspended by the return of Locrinus, accompanied by a band of strangers. His adventures are the subject of two books. In the morning the battle is renewed; when, notwithstanding his late indignation against one whom he had wished to favour and oblige, from his knowledge of his former associates, Androgeus hesitates. The messenger returns, and confirms the suspicions of Androgeus, though the murderer still remains unknown. Meanwhile Locrinus carries all before him on the right, overcoming even the steady courage of Romerus. In his course he wounds Camber, the author of the midnight slaughter, whose life is spared, on his promising to make an important discovery. Gerontes, seeing the ruin in which the discovery must necessarily involve both himself and his followers, rushes forward in order to prevent his being carried away. In making this attempt he is met and slain by Locrinus. The giants now fly on all sides: and now the scene shifts from the plain to the bank of the river, where, confiding in the valour of Romerus, they take refuge in their fortress. Once more Satan makes a great and last effort in their behalf, by mounting on the elements, as the prince of the power of the air. With his defeat and expulsion, that which is to be considered as the machinery of the poem concludes. In the succeeding narrative, the fortress is taken; the giants are finally overthrown; and their formidable leader, Romerus, falls in the field, amidst the ruin of his party.—Such is the tale, which, we agree with the author, is not unsupported by evidence, and is drawn from the bosom of the re-

motest antiquity. It is a great action, as it respects the conquest and first settlement of a powerful kingdom. It is involved in obscurity, and therefore admits the sublime and the marvellous; indeed, our principal objection to it, as a whole, is, that too much labour appears to have been bestowed in accumulating ornaments of the higher kind, and in surprising the reader with unexpected, and frequently unnecessary, images and illustrations, when more simple narrative would have rendered the connexion of the incidents clearer and more regular. On the other hand, it were easy to select passages, particularly from the second, third, and fourth books, which may be advantageously compared with the boldest flights of modern poetical genius; and although such excellence does not universally prevail, there is nothing mean, nothing undignified, or unworthy the subject.

The last attempt of the epic kind we have to notice is, "The Siege of Acre, an Epic Poem, in six Books, by Mrs. Cowley;" which, however, we know not how to characterise, without removing it from the class to which the author seems to think it belongs. It has none of the characteristics of epic poetry, if we except merely its length; and in whatever other light we attempt to view it, it seems to elude the critical grasp. As a poem, it has few pretensions to imagination; as a gazette or newspaper in verse, it is deficient in information, and delusive by a distortion of facts. Where shall we place it, if not among the most memorable examples of failure in taste, judgment, versification, and every requisite to constitute a poem?

"Poems; by William Boscawen, Esq. Author of a Translation of the
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Works of Horace into English Verse:" are a very honourable testimony to the author's genius; which, if not of the first class, furnishes what is pleasing, original, and demonstrative of correct taste. Among these poems are some which were written for the Literary Fund, and have already met with the approbation of the public. The rest are miscellaneous, and occasionally addressed to friends, &c.

"Poems, by George Dyer," are a collection in which there is much that deserves praise. The author's subjects are generally well chosen, and his sentiments benevolent. They are those of a thinking, uncourteous student; although in this volume are some flights which bespeak the observer of manners and the man of the world.

"Miscellaneous Poems, dedicated to the right honourable the Earl of Moira; by William Thomas Fitzgerald:" are the productions of a man of considerable taste, who evidently writes at his ease. Many of them have appeared in other publications; and, upon the whole, are not unworthy of being collected into the present more lasting and beautiful form.

"A Poetical Epistle to Sir George Beaumont, Bart. on the Encouragement of the British School of Painting. By William Sotheby, Esq. F. R. S. and A. S. S." must be distinguished, as the production of a genius which is universally acknowledged; nor will any of Mr. Sotheby's writings do him more honour than this attempt to promote the arts, in a language worthy of the subject. His characters of the eminent painters of the English school are drawn with just discrimination, and evince the intimacy between the sister arts.

"Poems, by the Rev. William

Lisle Bowles, Vol. II," will not diminish the reputation the author has acquired by his former works. The poem in this volume on "St. Michael's Mount" is a production of great merit, and evinces an ability for higher attempts than its author has usually made; and perhaps "The Sorrows of Switzerland," published by him soon after these poems, may be considered as of that kind, although it is not polished with so much care, nor free from those improprieties of style and versification which are not perceivable in St. Michael's Mount, nor in any of the lesser pieces of which the second volume consists.

"Poems, translated from the French of Madame de la Mothe Guion, by the late William Cowper, Esq. Author of The Task; to which are added, some original Poems of Mr. Cowper, not inserted in his Works." The bulk of this little volume consists of translations from an authoress with whose religious opinions Mr. Cowper may have at some period of his life agreed. They are evidently translated *con amore*, and are not unworthy of the author of The Task. The original pieces in this little volume, however, will be read with higher approbation, particularly the lines on Friendship, and an Epistle to a Protestant Lady in France.

"The Millennium, a Poem, in three Cantos."—The first of these was noticed in our last volume: the author has been since induced to add two more, in the same correct, animated, and harmonious verse, descriptive of the reigning follies in opinion as well as conduct. The whole is illustrated by notes, which evince the same extensive reading and classical taste displayed in the former canto. How far, indeed, one of his subjects, the "Cow-Pox,"

Pox," be a legitimate subject for satire, seems doubtful. If it deserves the vigorous and scientific attack of our author, it ought to be classed among our misfortunes rather than our follies.

"*Poems, by John Penn, Esq. two volumes, consisting of original Works, Translations, and Imitations,*" is a work splendidly printed, and ornamented with plates, which will doubtless have their attractions. A considerable part of the collection has appeared in other shapes, and has not met with that approbation which was expected. The author details his gentle warfare with the critics: but critics, he ought to know, are a race with whom no poet can be at peace. Mr. Penn is evidently a lover and a cultivator of literature; but his original powers, although respectable, are not of the first class. We shall, however, in compliance with his request, "respect his intention." It is the least a poet can ask.

"*The Satires of Juvenal, by William Rhodes,*" is a laudable attempt to familiarize an excellent author to the English reader: but unfortunately the attempt is all we can commend; nor perhaps ought that to be too much praised, since it has evidently been made without some, at least, of the indispensable requisites—some knowledge of the author to be translated, and some acquaintance with the laws of English poetry.

"*The Poems of George Hud-desford, M. A. late Fellow of New College, Oxford; now first collected: including Salmagundi, Topsy-Turvy, Bubble and Squeak, and Cranbe Repetita; with Corrections and original Additions: two Volumes.*" The poems enumerated in this title have already passed the

ordeal; they are here considerably enlarged, and a few new pieces are added. The author appears to deserve a high rank among humorous poets; and we could wish he had sometimes chosen subjects of a less temporary nature than political contests.

"*Miscellanies in Verse and Prose, English and Latin; by the late Anthony Champion, of the Middle-Temple, Esq.: published from the original Manuscripts, by William Henry Lord Lyttelton.*" This elegant volume is intended as a tribute to the memory of a gentleman of classical taste, who amused his leisure hours with poetical efforts, to which he probably attached no great degree of consideration. Most of them were written above half a century ago, and are now printed for the first time, with a very short sketch of the author, who is characterised for a more "rich and luxuriant vein of poetry" than we have been able to discover, although there certainly are many beauties and prettinesses of the lighter sort in some of his productions.

"*Bread, or The Poor: a Poem, with Notes and Illustrations; by Mr. Pratt, Author of Sympathy, Gleanings, &c.*" The plan of this poem is very extensive: it comprises whatever can relate to the past and present state of the poor, and the causes of the unhappy changes in their situation, mixed with frequent appeals to the heart which it would be impossible to resist. The author has, however, adopted the common prejudices respecting regrating and forestalling, which ought not to have been interwoven in a popular poem without more direct proof than has yet been laid before the public. There is, however, so much to commend, both in the design and execution of

of the work, that it will always be read with interest, and as a poem be considered as equal to any production of Mr. Pratt's fertile pen. His prose illustrations are both entertaining and instructive.

"The Maid of Lochlin; a lyrical Drama: with legendary Odes, and other Poems; by William Richardson, A.M. Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow." The name of Mr. Richardson as a critic of elegant taste is well known, by his "Essays on Shakspeare's Dramatic Characters," and, in our opinion, it will be considerably raised by the poetical genius displayed in "The Maid of Lochlin." This drama is founded on the Fingal of Ossian, or of Macpherson, it is not of much consequence which, and is entitled lyrical from its containing odes; which are spirited and beautiful. The smaller poems in this volume are, "The Dream of Neviana, the Vigil of Elva, Elegiac Verses on the Prospect of leaving Britain, and an Idyllium, and are entitled to very high praise.

The other poetical productions of the year are, "The Pride of Birth; a Satire, in Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Juvenal. With Notes critical and illustrative, adapted to the Characters and Manners of the present Age;" "The Vale of Trent." "A Peep at Provincial Routs;" "Fugitive Pieces, in Prose and Verse; consisting of Fables, &c. Moral and Sentimental. By William Hart." "Tales of Terror, with an introductory Dialogue;" "Tales of the Devil, from the original Gibberish. By Professor Lumpwitz, S. U. S. and C. A. C. in the University of Snorinberg." These two are very happy pieces of humour, at the expense of Mr. Lewis and his spirit-stirring imita-

tors. "Remonstrance, with other Poems: by Catherine Hood;" "The Vernal Walk;" "The Sweets of Society; and a few Miscellaneous Poems: by the Author of Melody the Soul of Music, an Essay;" "Lacrymæ Hibernicæ, or the Genius of Erin's Complaint: a Ballad, with a prefatory Address to the Right Hon. the Earl of Hardwicke, the reported Viceroy Elect of Ireland; and a pair of Epigrams: by Lawrence Halloran, D. D." "Unio, sive Lamentatio Hiberniæ, Poema Macaronico-Latinum; and an Ode to Peter Pindar;" "Lines on the Death of the late Sir Ralph Abercrombie, by the Author of the Conspiracy of Gowrie;" "The Genius of France, or the Consular Vision, a Poem, with Notes;" "Thalaba, the Destroyer, by Robert Southey;" "A Rainy Day, or poetical Impressions during a Stay at Bright-helmstone, in the Month of July, 1801, by James Boaden;" "The Rural Philosopher, or French Georgics, a Didactic Poem: translated from the Original of the Abbé de Lille, entitled L'Homme des Champs, by John Maunde:" a very spirited and elegant translation, and displaying much knowledge of the poetry of both languages; "Jacobinism, a Poem;" "A satirical Epistle in Verse, addressed to the Poet Laureat on his Carmen Seculare; containing some Strictures on modern Times and Characters;" "Ocean, a Poem, in Two Parts, by Mason Chamberlain, Author of Equanimity, a Poem;" "Ancient Ballads, from the Civil Wars of Granada, and the Twelve Peers of France; dedicated, by Permission, to the Right Honourable Lady Georgina Cavendish, by Thomas Rodd;" "Tears and Smiles, a miscellaneous Collection of Poems, by Peter Pindar, Esq.;" "The poetical

poetical Works of the late Thomas Little, Esq.;" "Juvenilia: or a Collection of Poems, written between the Ages of Twelve and Sixteen, by J. H. L. Hunt, late of the Grammar School of Christ's Hospital;" "Poems, on various Subjects, by G. Walker, Author of *The Vagabond, &c.*" "Herman and Dorothea, a Poem, from the German of Goëthe, by Thomas Holcroft;" "The Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus in Leo, on the 29th of September, 1801: a happy Prelude to a propitious Peace, a Poem: Mercury's Apology for the Curate's Blunder, an Impromptu, addressed to the Earl of Yarmouth: and other poetical Pieces, by the Rev. John Black;" "Peace, a Poem, inscribed to the Right Hon. Henry Addington, by Thomas Dermody;" "Alonzo and Cora, with other original Poems, principally Elegiac, by Elizabeth Scot, a Native of Edinburgh: to which are added, Letters in Verse, by Blacklock and Burns;" "The Dawn of Peace, an Ode, and Amphion, or the Force of Concord, Regulation, and Peace, an Ode, by Thomas Noble;" "The Mechanic, a Poem, by Thomas Morley;" "Charley's Disappointment, an Elegy, occasioned by Mr. Pitt's late Resignation; the Scene at St. Anne's-hill, in the County of Surry; dedicated to all succeeding Patriots;" "The Shoe-black, dedicated to the Right Hon. Abraham Newland, Master of the Mint;" "The Lamentation, a Poem, in two Parts; to which are added other miscellaneous Pieces, in Blank-verse and Rhyme;" "The Canonization of Thomas ****, Esq. who has lately erected at East L——, Dorset, a Monastery, and therein established a Body of Monks; the Stanzas by Sternhold and Hopkins, Poets Laureat to the Monastery; the Notes by Addison,

archbishop Tillotson, Hume, Dnigennan, Renspel, &c." "The Wedding and Bedding; or John Bull and his Bride fast asleep; a satirical Poem, containing an History of the happy Pair, from their Infancy to the present Period, with Reasons for, and Means used to accomplish their Union; also The Matchmakers matched; with their rueful Lamentations for the Loss of the Bride-cake, by T. Canning;" "A poetical Introduction to the Study of Botany, by Frances Arabella Rowden;" "La Bagatelle; or, Delineations of Home Scenery; a descriptive Poem, in two Parts, with Notes critical and historical, by William Fox, jun." "The British Parnassus, at the Close of the eighteenth Century, a Poem in four Cantos, by Alexander Thomson, Author of Whist, the Paradise of Taste, and the Pictures of Poetry;" "Select Translations from the Works of Homer and Horace, with original Poems, by Gilbert Thomson, M. D." "Extract from the Regicide, an heroic Poem, in twenty-six Books, with Notes, and a Dedication to the Friend of Tallien, by the Author;" "Poverty, a Poem, with several others on various Subjects, chiefly religious and moral, by Charles A. Allnatt;" "The Methodist, a Poem;" "Science Revived, or the Vision of Alfred, a Poem, in eight Books;" "The Complaynt of Scotland, written in 1548, with a preliminary Dissertation and Glossary, by John Leyden, Esq." "Scottish Poems of the sixteenth Century, 2 volumes;" "The Sorrows of Love, a Poem, in three Books;" "The Valley of Llanherne, and other Pieces, in Verse, by John Fisher, A. B." "Ballads in Imitation of the Ancient, by W. H. Ireland." "The Enchanted Plants, Fables in Verse, by Miss Montolieu and Miss Julia Montolieu;

Montolieu;" "Poems, to which is annexed Lord Mayor's Day, a mock heroic Poem, by David Rivers;" "Nautical Odes, or Poetical Sketches, designed to commemorate the Achievements of the British Navy;" "The Minstrel Youth, a lyric Romance, in three Parts, with other Poems, by W. Case, junior;" "More Wonders, an heroic Epistle to M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P. by Mauritius Moonshine," &c. &c.

The most considerable Dramatic productions of the year are, "The Surrender of Calais, an historical Drama;" "The Dash of the Day, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Francis Lathom, Author of Men and Manners, &c.;" "Mutius Scævola, or the Roman Patriot, by W. H. Ireland;" "Elisha, or the Woman of Shunem, a new sacred Oratorio, by Thomas Hull;" "Adelmorn, the Outlaw, a romantic Drama, in three Acts, as originally written by M. G. Lewis;" "Chains of the Heart, or the Slave by Choice, in three Acts, by Prince Hoare;" "Alfonso, King of Castile, a Tragedy, by M. G. Lewis;" "Holiday Time, or the Schoolboy's Frolic, a Farce, by Francis Lathom;" "The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth, altered from Shakspeare, as it was acted at Reading School, by Dr. Valpy;" "Almeda, or the Neapolitan Revenge, a tragic Drama, by a Lady;" "Julian and Agnes, or the Monks of Great St. Bernard, a Tragedy, by Mr. Sotheby;" "Virginia, or the Fall of the Decemvirs, a Tragedy, by John Bidlake, B. A." "Deaf and Dumb, or the Abbé L'Épée, an historical Play, in five Acts, translated from the French;" "Mary Stuart, a Tragedy, by Frederick Schiller, translated into English by J. C. M. Esq." "Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, an historical

Drama, Edinburgh;" "The Philanthropist, a Play, in five Acts;" "The Female Volunteer, or the Dawning of Peace, a Drama, in three Acts, by Philo-Nauticus;" "The Female Jacobin Club, a political Comedy, in one Act, translated from the German of Augustus Von Kotzebue;" "The Poor Gentleman, a Comedy, in five Acts, by George Colman the younger;" "The School for Prejudice, a Comedy, by Thomas Dibdin;" "Il Bonducani, or the Caliph Robber, a comic Opera, by Thomas Dibdin."

A very few articles yet remain for our Miscellaneous List, and of the first two, we can give the titles only, "A Practical Guide to Thorough Bass; written by A. F. C. Kollmann, Organist of His Majesty's German Chapel at St. James's;" "A. F. C. Kollmann's Vindication of a Passage in his Practical Guide to Thorough Bass, against an Advertisement of Mr. P. King." These relate to a musical controversy carried on with great warmth, but in which we profess no power of decision.

The Literature of 1801 affording no department under which the following work can be classed, we have, though reluctantly, deferred it to the Miscellaneous class: "Observations on the Winds and Monsoons; illustrated with a Chart, and accompanied with Notes geographical and meteorological: by James Capper, formerly Colonel and Comptroller of the Army and Fortification Accounts on the Coast of Coromandel." This is a work which deserves attention, as the result of a long series of remarks, made by a professional man, during upwards of thirty years' occasional residence within the tropics, and of the experience he has acquired in more than twenty times crossing the equinoctial line; besides coming from

from India by the Arabian Gulph, and returning thither by the Great Desert and the Persian Gulph. Mr. Capper's hypothesis concerning the origin and nature of winds is that of Bacon, more fully illustrated by Halley, namely, that the expansion of air by heat, and the contraction of it by cold, are the immediate causes of its motion, or of those currents of air which we call winds; and the basis of the doctrine advanced in his work is the application of that principle to the atmosphere at large, and to the effect of the heat of the sun in modifying its density. Whatever may be thought of this theory, the experience of so acute an observer must be deemed highly valuable.

"Select Amusements in Philosophy and Mathematics; proper for agreeably exercising the Minds of Youth. Translated from the French of M. L. Despiau, formerly Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy at Paris; with several Corrections and Additions, particularly a large Table of the Chances and Odds at Play; the Whole recommended as an useful Book for Schools. By Dr. Hutton, Professor of Mathematics at Woolwich." We agree with the learned translator of this pleasing book, that it is a very curious and ingenious work, comprising a great deal of useful matter in a small compass, and well adapted for communicating the knowledge of a great variety of interesting particulars, in a manner at once familiar, clear, and amusing. We have some doubts, however, whether tables of the chances and odds at play may not give youth too early a knowledge of what it were better they never knew at all, although at the expense of being ignorant of one branch of calculation.

"Astley's System of Equestrian

Education, exhibiting the Beauties and Defects of the Horse; with serious and important Observations on his general Excellence, preserving him in Health, Grooming, &c.; with Plates," is a work the utility of which cannot be doubted; the rules and instructions being given by a gentleman of long and well-known experience in the art of horsemanship; and being intended for those who are more conversant in affairs of the stable than of the college, it would be unnecessary to object to the many improprieties of style. The practical tendency will more than compensate for these.

"Military Observations, by Captain Aylmer Haly, of the King's own Infantry," is a work of which military men are best enabled to estimate the value. His propositions are in many respects new, but they appear to be the result of experience.

"Lexicographia Neologica Gallica. The Neological French Dictionary; containing Words of new Creation, not to be found in any French and English Vocabulary hitherto published; including those added to the Language by the Revolution and the Republic, which, by a Decree of the National Convention in 1795, now form the Supplement to the fifth Edition of the French Academy's Dictionary, printed at Paris in 1793; with the new System of Weights, Measures, and Coins: the Whole forming a Remembrancer of the French Revolution, as comprising a short History of it, and a View of the Republic, with Anecdotes, &c. By William Dupré." To those who may hereafter wish to take a minute survey of the progress of the French revolution, and to peruse the many publications which originated from it, this work will prove highly useful.

ful. The author appears to have employed much time and diligence in bringing together the revolutionary barbarisms, whether accidental or prescribed, and has impartially affixed such meanings to them as probably were intended by the inventors.

"A Satirical View of London, at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century, by an Observer," is a work which we cannot recommend as a serious representation of the manners of the metropolis; but yet, with much exaggeration, there are truths enough to alarm every friend to public morals and decency. Such works, when well executed, which this is in a considerable degree, act as supplementary to the laws; and men may be sometimes shamed out of the follies of fashionable life, who would cling more closely to them if they were prohibited by authority.

Under the head of Novels, Tales, and Romances, we have, as usual, a copious list, and some probably may have escaped us: "The Soldier Boy, by the Author of the Sailor Boy," 3 volumes; "The Man of Fortitude, or Scadoni in England, by B. Frere," in 3 volumes; "Ancient Records, or the Abbey of St. Oswythe, a Romance, by T. J. Horsley Curtis," 4 volumes; "The Victim of Friendship, a German Romance, by Sophia King," 2 volumes; "First Impressions, or the Portrait, by M. Holford," 4 volumes; "Which is the Man? by Mrs. Meeke," 4 volumes; "The Mysterious Penitent, or the Norman Chateau, a Romance," 2 volumes; "She lives in Hopes, or Caroline, by Miss Hadfield of Manchester," 2 volumes; "Clara, a Tale," 2 volumes; "Martyr of Fenrose, or

the Wizard and the Sword, by Henry Summerset," 3 volumes; "Adventures of the Pyrenean Hermits, translated from the Spanish;" "Ernestina, by Esther Holstein," 2 volumes; "The Infernal Quixote, by Charles Lucas, A. M." 4 volumes; "The Wise Men of Gosmanthorpe;" "Agnes, by the Author of Frederica Rieberg," 3 volumes; "The Knight and Mason, or He who runs may read," 4 volumes; "The Confession, by Agnes Musgrave," 5 volumes; "The Mysterious Husband, by Gabrielli," 4 volumes; "The Moral Legacy, or Simple Narratives;" "Leonard and Gertrude, a popular Story, written originally in German, and now attempted in English with the Hope of being useful to the lower Orders of Society;" "The Microcosm, by the Author of Vicissitudes in genteel Life," 5 volumes; "Justina, or the History of a young Lady, by Harriet Ventum," 4 volumes; "Adamina, by a Lady," 2 volumes; "Romances, Second Edition, to which is now added a modern Romance, by J. D'Israeli;" "Letters from Eliza to Yorick, transmitted from a Gentleman in Bombay, and now first published." "The Welchman, a Romance, by William Earle, junior," 4 volumes; "Mysterious Friendship, a Tale," 2 volumes; "Belinda, by Maria Edgeworth," 3 volumes; "St. Margaret's Cave, or the Nun's Story, an ancient Legend, by Elizabeth Helme," 4 volumes; "Dorothea, or A Ray of the New Light," 3 volumes; "The Little Mountaineers of Auvergne, or the Adventures of James and Georgette, altered from the French;" "Letitia, or the Castle without a Spectre, by Mrs. Hunter of Norwich," 4 volumes; "Helen of Glenross, by the

the Author of Historic Tales," 4 volumes; "Ariel, or the invisible Monitor," 4 volumes; "The Follies of Fashion, a Dramatic Novel," 3 volumes; "Something New, or the Adventures at Campbell House, by Anne Plumptre," 3 volumes; "The Pirate of Naples, by Mary Charlton," 3 volumes; "Swedish Mysteries, or the Hero of the Mines, translated from a Swedish Manuscript, by Johanson Kidderslaw," 3 volumes; "Splendid Misery, by T. S. Surr," 3 volumes; "Eight Historical Tales, curious and instructive;" "The Father and Daughter, a Tale in Prose, by Mrs. Opie;" "Truth and Fiction, a Novel, by Eliz. Sarah Villa-Real Gooch," 4 volumes; "Farther Excursions of the Observant Pedestrian," 4 volumes; "Old Nick, a Satirical Story, by the Author of A Piece of Family Biography," 3 volumes; "Percival, or Nature Vindicated, by R. C. Dallas, Esq." 4 volumes; "Belmour," 3 volumes.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1801.

IN our list of Foreign Publications of the year, the northern nations are distinguished by very few productions. The names of only two works have reached us, which can be classed under the head of Russian Literature: Mr. Storch, who is noticed in our department of Domestic Literature, as the author of the "Picture of Petersburg," has published "An historical and statistical View of the Empire of Russia, at the End of the eighteenth Century," in 4 volumes, octavo; a work of considerable importance. In the first two volumes he points out the civil state of the Russian people, and in the third he traces the progress of Russian industry. The fourth volume contains a particular account of the commerce of Russia, divided into three periods; 1. from the foundation of the empire to the establishment of the first board of commerce; 2. from that time to the re-establishment of the route of commerce across the Black Sea in 1553, by English navigators; 3. to the acquisition of the shores of the Baltic in 1703. The whole subject not being included in the present plan, a continuation is promised.—The other Russian publication is of the same nature: "An historical and topographical Description of Caucasus, by J. Reinigg, collected from his Manuscripts, by E. Schræder," in 2 volumes, with plates and charts. This author

visited the Caucasian nations five times, and by assuming the appearance of a Mahometan, and practising physic among them, obtained much curious information respecting the topography of Caucasus, and the government, manners, languages, and religion of the inhabitants, whose population is estimated at 600,000 men capable of bearing arms. But while the author was employed in preparing his materials for the press, his death interrupted the work, which seems to have found an able editor in M. Schræder.

Among the few Swedish publications is "New Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm," volume 20th, of the year 1799.—This volume is divided, as usual, into four parts; the first containing seven papers; the second, eight; the third, four; and the fourth five. The principal subjects discussed are, the determination of currents at sea: method of determining, from the appearance of the lungs, whether a child has breathed: description of a pellicule attached to the eye from the birth, by J. G. Pipping: two cases of rheumatic affections: some new species of insects: J. E. Norberg's remarks on the effects which manual labour can produce, applied to machines moved with handles; experiments on living queen bees, by G. Adlermark: Thunberg's

Thunberg's description of a new species of nutmeg: account of the lampris, a species of fish unknown to Linnæus and Bloch, by J. A. Retzius: longitudes and latitudes of different places of Sweden, determined by N. G. Sculten: a method of finding curves, by means of analytic expressions of their tangents: description of some improvements applicable to vessels employed in distilling water, by J. E. Norberg: relation of a journey, undertaken at the expense of the academy at Pello, to examine whether the measure of a degree of the meridian, taken in 1739 by Maupertuis and other French philosophers, was exact, by J. Svanberg: extracts of astronomical and meteorological observations, articles of medicine, and some of natural history.—“Stockholm,” in 2 volumes: this account of the capital of Sweden is written by M. Elers, and does credit to his abilities and industry in collecting the most full and interesting account that has yet been published. He has likewise been able to trace its ancient history with considerable precision: a third volume is promised, which is to contain the remaining topography of Stockholm, the history of the government of the city, its commerce, &c. The only other article of Swedish production we have to notice, is “An Essay on the Art of Poetry, in four Cantos: followed by Remarks on the Swedish Versification, by the Count de Gyllenborg:” the patriarch of Swedish versification, and a poet of high estimation in his own country, from which the present publication will certainly not detract: the first canto treats of the general rules of poetry; the second and third of the different kinds, and their progress in different countries; and in the fourth an attempt

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is made to assign to reason, taste, and genius, their different offices.

From Denmark we have “The Friend of the State, or Inquiries into individual and public Felicity, by Boye,” in 2 volumes: the production of a Christian philosopher, whose system is the doctrine of an immortal soul, and that of a Providence, or a moral power which governs the universe. He has a profound reverence for revelation, and a respect for virtue, and is among the warmest and most successful opponents of the philosophy of M. Kant.—“An Essay in Prose, containing Camilla and Constance, a Romance, founded on the Events of the French Revolution, by K. L. Rahbek:” is a very ingenious novel, calculated to show the miseries of political prejudices, and the horrors that arise from the blindness of party rage.—A Danish journal has lately appeared, entitled “Observations of Danish Travellers,” a number of which is published every three months. Of this we have seen an account of only three numbers: the plan is new, and promises information and entertainment, as may appear from the following sketch of the principal contents of these numbers—Observations on Germany and Holland, by Dr. Engelstoft: a description of Pyrmont, by Dr. Frankena: report of the committee of weights and measures, by M. Bagge: an account of the seminary of M. Salzman at Schepfenthal: and the departure of the Russians from Gottingen, one of the frantic actions of the emperor Paul.—“The poetical Works of Tode” have lately been published at Copenhagen, a poet of considerable talents, but perhaps better known as a medical writer.—“Observations on the Vegetable Kingdom, collected in a Journey through

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the Empire of Morocco, in the Years 1791, 1792, and 1793, by K. A. Schonsboc." This is the first volume of a work which, when finished, will form a botanical history of Morocco, which has not yet been examined with a view to that science; and among the indigenous plants are some which have not been before described. They are characterised according to the Linnæan system; but the present volume extends only to the octandria, except a few plants added in a supplement.—At Copenhagen, the sixth volume of "Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities," has made its appearance, and contains some articles of considerable interest, particularly a few relating to antiquities. "The Scandinavian Museum, No. I. Vol. III." is the revival of a work which was some time ago dropped for want of success. The present attempt, however, promises spirit and activity, and it may again interest the literati of Europe. In the number published, are an ode to reason, and two lyrical romances by Baggasen: a philosophical discourse on the utility of the study of the rights of nature, by Professor Schlegel, and gnostic letters on the mountains of Königsberg, by Esmark, with some other pieces of inferior note.—Much of the political history of the northern powers is ably elucidated in a publication which deserves to appear in our own language, entitled "Memoirs of the Life of the Danish Minister Count de Bernstorff, by C. H. D. d'Eggers," in 2 volumes.

The Batavian republic affords us only "Pliny's Epistles, with Notes, by G. E. Gierig, Vol. I." A work of very considerable merit, and superior to the edition of Gesner; and

two publications belonging to the department of medicine, an "Introduction to the Materia Medica," and "Anatomical Tables, by G. Sandifort."

The German publications are as usual more copious than those of any other nation, if we except France; but literary commerce is not yet so general as to enable us to be complete in our lists; and the difficulty of procuring tolerable accounts of German literature are so well known to the literary world, that we hope we shall be excused, if no very gross omissions are detected. Under the head of Biblical Criticism and Theology, we have "A Collection of Dissertations on certain Parts of the New Testament, by H. E. G. Paulus," formerly published separately; of which the most interesting are the first two on the history of Cerinthus, whose appearance is supposed, however, to be here antedated.—Rosenmüller has given a new edition of "Bocharti Hierozoicon,"—and from the pen of C. F. Richter we have an interesting inquiry into "The Time of the Book of Job," which, he is of opinion, was written about the period of the Babylonian captivity, and was new when quoted by Ezekiel. The approaches German theology has lately been making towards transcendental scholasticism may be seen in the following works: "Mniöch's Illustrative Variations on the Tendency of Fichte's Destination of Man;" "Schad's generally comprehensive View of the Theory of Religion, founded on the System of Fichte;" and "The Absolute Harmony of Fichte's System with Religion."—The learned Sintenis, of Anhalt Zerbst, has published a new work, entitled "Pisteion, or the Existence of God," in which he pursues his inquiries into the pri-
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time purity and simplicity of the Christian religion, with freedom.—Ribbek has sent forth a fifth volume of “Sermons adapted to the Spirit and Wants of the present Age,” which are esteemed equal to the former ones. The learned professor Hensler, of Kiel, has published a new “Translation of the Epistle of St. James,” divided into sections, according to the different subjects of which the apostle treats, and illustrated with annotations of great importance to the biblical student.

Under the head of Philosophy we may class “The Commentary of Simplicius on the Enchiridion of Epictetus; with the Christian Paraphrase of the Enchiridion, and the Enchiridion of Nilus, all faithfully compared with the ancient Codices and different Lections, and illustrated with Notes; by J. Schweighæuser,” the learned editor of Polybius and Epictetus, who now completes his view of the stoical philosophy. The Christian Paraphrase was written for the use of the monks, and is little known. Nilus was a monk of the fifth century, who wrote many ascetic treatises for the use of students, which were published by Saurez in 1673.—Perhaps, likewise, as our subdivisions are this year so scanty, we may here notice a work in three volumes, “On the Spirit and Character of the Eighteenth Century, by D. Jenisch,” in which the author enters on these important queries—What degree of general happiness, of humanity, of morality, of perfection in science and arts, has mankind attained during the past century? What are the remarkable differences, observed in the nations of Europe, relative to the four distinguishing faculties of man, namely, the faculty of distinguishing truth, of practising good, of feeling and expressing the beautiful,

and of enjoying physical and moral happiness? And, lastly, What are the events, and who are the chief persons by whom politics, letters, arts, and manners, have been promoted in the eighteenth century? The result of the author’s contemplations on these subjects is in favour of the progressive improvement of the age.—The celebrated Herder, whose “History of Man” we had so lately occasion to notice, has published a work called “Calligone; or, On the agreeable and beautiful,” in three volumes, which abounds with philosophical knowledge and just and striking criticism, but would have been far more useful for general study, if it did not pre-suppose an acquaintance with the Kantian doctrines, which are so far beyond comprehension, and which so ill repay the labour of reading them.

Belonging to Travels, History, or Biography, very few articles of importance have come from the German press; of the following, it will suffice to give the titles only: “The Jovial and Political Travels of Adelstan in Italy, during the Campaigns of Bonaparte,” in two volumes; “Ambrose Simegranus’s History of Hungary and Transylvania, from the Year 1490 to 1606, in four Books, with Notes, by J. Elder;” but “The Life of David Ruhnkenius, by his successor Daniel Whyttenbach,” is a very interesting piece of biography, and excellently written; and much useful information may be obtained in “Memoirs subservient to the History of those States of Asia and Africa which are least known, by G. de Brietenbauch,” in two volumes. The first volume contains the history of the Druses, a people of Asia, with some observations relative to the history of Persia, Ava, Pegu,

Malacca, Ceylon, &c. The second volume contains historical information on the Malacca Islands, Ternate, Macassar, and different parts of Africa, drawn from rare authentic publications and manuscript notes.

Under the head of Natural History, Botany, &c. several valuable publications have appeared, of which our limits permit us to give but a brief account. Schneider, the author of the History of Tortoises, and of an Essay on the Physiology of Amphibia, has published the "Natural and Literary History of Amphibious Animals."—Valuable extracts from different works, and some original memoirs, are given in "Archives of Botany, by J. J. Roemer: vol. I."—"Gesner's Phytographic Tables, exhibiting an Analysis of the Genera of Plants; published with Notes, by C. S. Schintz," is an attempt to unite every advantage and every perfection of which a work of this kind is susceptible; and the descriptions are very correct, and the plates elegant and accurate.—"The Species of Astragali described, and illustrated with coloured plates, by P. S. Pallas." Of this splendid work four fasciculi have appeared.—"German Ornithology, or A Natural History of all the German Birds, drawn from Nature, and described by Barkhausen, Lichthammer, and Bekker, No. I.," is another very elegant work. It contains the description of six birds, each accompanied by the principal synonyms, the character of its species and varieties, the peculiarity of its note, its habitation, nourishment, and propagation, the method of taking it, and its utility, or the mischief which it occasions.—In imitation of the Archives of Botany, above mentioned, we have "Archives of Zoölogy

and Zoötomý, by C. R. W. Weidemann, vol. I. part I." a periodical publication intended to circulate the discoveries made in Germany and other countries, and to give copious extracts from works of merit, which, from their price, are beyond the reach of many naturalists. The plan is good, and appears to be executed with care.—Other publications of this description are, "A Slight View of the Cultivation of Economical Plants, by J. G. Reyer."—"An Essay towards a complete History of the principal Species of Wood, in a systematic Order, by M. de Bergsdorff," in two volumes; "The Physiography of Forests, or the Natural History of Animals, Plants, and Minerals, which are the Objects of the Forester and the Hunter, by F. L. Walther;" "Elements of the Natural History of Animals, theoretical and practical, by G. A. Suckow," in two volumes.

We shall now notice a few articles under the head of Miscellanies, none of which are numerous enough to form a separate department. Among these is an excellent edition of "The Architecture of M. Vitruvius Pollio, in ten books, compared with the Codex of Guelferbitanus, and others of less note: together with a Glossary, in which the technical Terms of the Art are interpreted in German, Italian, French, and English, by A. Rhode;" in two volumes, quarto. The authority of this edition rests chiefly on an ancient manuscript found in the library of Wolfenbüttele. The editor has also consulted the editions of Sulpitius and Jucundus in 1511, as well as the Italian translation of Gallani, of 1758. We regret that the timidity of his publisher prevented M. Rhode from adding plates to a work which must be in a great measure imperfect

imperfect without them.—“Correspondence relative to the Astronomical and Geographical Sciences, by Zach,” is the title of a new journal, which promises to be of considerable importance on all subjects relative to the Sciences specified in the title; it consists of sixteen articles, some compiled from other journals, and some original. Two numbers only have yet made their appearance. The “Elements of Hydrodynamics, by G. Vega,” although of itself a complete work, forms in reality the fourth volume of the author’s Elements of Mathematics, the first three volumes of which appeared in 1782, 1784, and 1789. The first treated of arithmetic and finite quantities; the second of geometry; and the third of mechanics. The present embraces the principles of hydrostatics, aërostatics, hydraulics, and the motions of solid bodies in a resisting medium. It is a work of great perspicuity and accuracy.

Of new editions of Classics, there have been published, an edition of “The Alcestis of Euripides, by Wagner,” the result of several memoirs read by the editor to the Philological Society; and one of the “Remains of Velleius Paterculus, with Notes, by Jani and Kranse, with a Dissertation by Morgenstern on Velleius Paterculus’s historic Accuracy.” The prolegomena consist of four memoirs, which contain a critical history of Velleius; and the work concludes with the notes of Herel, and two indexes; the first on the Memorabilia of Velleius, and the second of Latinity.—The venerable Wieland has published a work entitled “Aristippus,” in 4 volumes; which may be considered as a companion for Anacharsis’s Travels, and embraces much of the history

of Greece and Grecian manners and opinions, detailed in the same engaging and instructive manner. Another historical romance, but with more of the extravagance of fiction, has been published at Hamburg, “Berthold Schwartz, Inventor of Gunpowder,” in 2 volumes; a work from which the reader will derive much entertainment; and some knowledge of the events, opinions, and manners, of the fourteenth century.

Among the Works on Chemistry and Medicine published in the year 1801 in Germany, are many translations, with improvements and additions. The following list will perhaps nearly comprise the original works on those branches of knowledge. “A Parallel between Asclepiades and John Brown, by K. F. Burdach, M. D.,” “Academic Dissertations of Upsal, delivered during the Presidency of C. P. Thunberg, Volume the second;” “Anatomical Memoirs, by H. F. Isenflamm and J. C. Rosenmüller;” “Manual of Health for the Year 1801, by a Society of Physicians at Vienna;” “A System of practical Medicine, by C. W. Hufeland, Part first;” “On the most convenient Arrangement of Field Hospitals, by Dr. G. P. Michaelis, late Field Physician in the Electoral Brunswick Lunenburg Service;” “An Explanation of Acids, Alkalies, Earth, and Metals: of their Combinations and Affinities. In twelve Tables, by J. R. Frommendorff.”

With respect to the literary productions of Italy and Switzerland, the following sketch probably includes the most important: “On the Dramatic Art, by F. A. Capaccioli;” a work published at Milan, as introductory to a collection of

Goldoni's dramatic pieces.—At Parma has been at length published a work, which, we are informed, has been eighteen years in the press, under the title of "The Origin, Progress, and Present State of every kind of Literature, by the Abbé D. Giov. Andres," in seven quarto volumes. An undertaking so stupendous in its comprehension of objects seems scarcely fitted for the life or talents of one man; yet the author has by patient research and industry furnished a work in which the excellencies far transcend the blemishes. The plan is particularly excellent, and might be improved with the greatest advantage by a few literary men in any nation. "Petrarch at Arqua, a scientific and historical Essay, by J. B. Zaborro," is a very pleasing and classical sketch, drawn up with a view of directing the public attention to the antiquities and rural views of Arqua, the last retreat of Petrarch. "On the Physical Economy of the Ancients in the Structure of their Cities. By Gaetano of Angora." A new edition of "Dio Cassius, by Jacob Morelli," improved from a manuscript in the library of Venice, whose merit had escaped the notice of Bongiovani and Zanetti. "Of the Birth-place of Virgil, a Memoir of L. Casali." "Moral Epigrams of Joseph Maria Pagnani, a Carmelite."—The very few publications from Switzerland are, "Helvetic Entomology, or A Table of the Insects of Switzerland, arranged after a new Manner;" a very beautiful and valuable work; and "The Correspondence of Gesner with his Son," which chiefly relates to the fine arts, and was written from the year 1784 to 1788, while Gesner's son, an artist, resided at Rome. That we should not have more from Switzerland, cannot for a moment

be a subject of wonder to whoever contemplates the degraded and helpless state of that once peaceful and happy country.

In reviewing the literature of France, during our prescribed period, we are enabled, from nearness of intercourse, to form a list that may be relied on, as containing those works of real merit which are generally interesting; but which, we are sorry to add, are fewer in number this year than might be expected from a nation rising in consequence, and in boasted advantages of other kinds.

With respect to Theology, we have to notice only one work of small bulk, but of greater real importance, in a national view, than any we can enumerate, "The Concordat between Bonaparte, chief Consul of the French Republic, and his Holiness Pope Pius VII.; together with the Speech of M. Portalis, Counsellor of State, on presenting it to the Legislative Body." This singular performance is no object of criticism: the establishment formed by the chief consul, however, may be said, without disrespect, to be very far removed from what the enlightened Christian and philosopher would have prescribed. When we add that the priests are, as formerly, forbidden to marry, we adduce sufficient proof that France has gained as little by her religious as by her civil revolution.

Under the most general head of Philosophy may be ranked the "Natural History of Mankind, or Researches into its general physical and moral Principles; preceded by a Discourse on the Nature of organised Beings, and on their Physiology; to which is annexed, A Dissertation on the Savage of Aveyron; by J. J. Virey: in two volumes:" of which the second ap-
 pears

pears to us the most interesting, although not unmixed with the prevalent infidelity of the French philosophers. The subjects treated in it are: man, as the chief of animals; his natural manners, and principles of his perfectibility; the moral character of nations; of fashions in general; of national customs; of human sacrifices, and anthropophagy; of languages, and their dialects; writing; religions, their origin and effects; amusements, and dancing; music, education, and philosophy; national pride; slavery of negroes; and the classification of nations according to their civilisation, and of the marks of their perfection.—“Introduction to the Philosophy of Plato, translated from the Greek of Alcinoüs, by J. J. Combes Dounons,” and apparently with accuracy and fidelity. The authenticity of the work of Alcinoüs has been well ascertained by Fabricius, in the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, and from his authority M. Combes was induced to translate it.

In the departments of Chemistry, Natural History, and Mathematics, the French experimental philosophers pursue their inquiries with spirit and vigour. In the “*Memoirs of the National Institute*,” and the “*Annals of Chemistry*,” are many important and ably-written articles. In these national works there is at least no falling-off that is visible. Of separate publications, we have to enumerate “*A System of Chemical Discoveries, with their Application to the Phenomena of Nature and Art*. By A. F. Fourcroy.” In 10 volumes. The most complete collection of chemical facts yet offered to the world; but on which it is the less necessary to dwell in this place, as it is about to be trans-

lated into English by a gentleman every way qualified for the task. The author's division is into eight sections: the first contains the bases of chemical science, the general doctrines, and the introduction, a very elaborate performance; the second, the simple and undecomposed bodies; the third, burnt bodies, oxyds, or acids; the fourth, salifiable bases, earthy or alkaline; the fifth, acids united to salifiable bases, or earthy and alkaline salts; the sixth, metals in particular; the seventh and eighth, vegetable and animal organic compounds. The programme of a very valuable work in natural science has been published, under the title of an essay “*On the Species of Quadrupeds whose Bones are found in the Interior of the Earth*. Addressed to the Learned and Lovers of Science. By G. Cuvier, Member of the Institute.” M. Cuvier, by the extent of his correspondence, and the number of skeletons preserved in the museum, as well as from his knowledge of comparative anatomy, is well enabled to overcome the difficulties which have arisen from a consideration of this subject. He has prepared more than three hundred drawings, and fifty plates are already engraven: but the work they are intended to illustrate will not probably be published for two years; while, in the mean time, he will be enabled to avail himself of the communications of the learned, in consequence of the present publication. The following is a second, and much improved, edition of a work of much science and utility. “*A theoretical and practical Treatise on the Culture of the Vine, with the Art of making Wine, Brandy, ardent Spirits, and simple and compound Vinegar*. By M. Chap-

tal,

tal, Minister of the Interior, the Abbé Rozier, and Mess. Parmentier and Dussieux, the former Member of the National Institute, and the latter of the Agricultural Society of Paris," in 2 volumes. "Natural History of Minerals, by E. M. L. Patrin," in 5 small volumes, is a succinct and perspicuous manual of mineralogical knowledge; although some recent discoveries are omitted. His arrangement is judicious and scientific. He first treats of the primitive rocks, their component parts, and the precious stones, &c. found in them; he next passes to the secondary strata, &c. The metals are arranged in succession, commencing with those which most resemble earth, and proceeding to those which approach nearer to perfection. The inflammables are added at the end. Other publications under this class are, "Description of the new and little known Plants cultivated in the Garden of J. M. Cels. By J. P. Ventenat," "Natural History of Fishes, accompanied with One Hundred and Sixty Plates, by René Richard Castel," in 10 volumes. "The Friend of Nature; or select Observations on various Productions of Nature and Art. To which is subjoined a Catalogue of the Animals in the Menagerie. By B. Toscan." "Treatise on Mineralogy, by M. Haüy, Member of the National Institute. Published by the Council of Mines," in 5 volumes, with plates. A work of great extent and importance; full, clear, and philosophical. A translation would be a valuable addition to English science.—Of Mathematical Works, the principal are, "The Doctrine of Derivations. By L. F. A. Arbogast, of the French National Institute." "Course of Arithmetic, for the Use of the Central Schools,

and of the Compting-house. By Thevenau."

The class of publications relating to Medicine is rather numerous; those which are reported most worthy of notice are, "Legal Medicine and Medical Police. By P. A. O. Mahon, Professor of Medicine, and Chief Physician of the Venereal Hospital at Paris. With Notes by M. Fautrel;" in 3 volumes. "A Manual of the Practice of Medicine, an elementary Work. To which are added several Formulæ of Medicaments. By C. Geoffroy, M. D. Member of the National Institute;" 2 volumes, octavo. "On Nervous Diseases, By M. N. S. Guillon Pastel." "Observations on the Nature and Treatment of various Diseases. By C. Portal, M. D." "Treatise on the Dysentery in General, containing a new Method of Cure. By J. C. Jacobs, M. D." "New Domestic Medicine, from the Vegetables of France. By J. P. Buchoz;" in 2 volumes. "Dissertation on Angistenic Inflammatory Fever. By J. Aygaleuque, M. D." "On the Plague, or the memorable Epochs of that Calamity, with the Means of avoiding it. By J. P. Papon;" 2 volumes. "Inquiries and Discoveries respecting the Nature of the Nervous Fluid or Vital Spirit, and respecting the Manner of its Action, after new and exact Experiments. By Professor W. Le Febure." "An Abridgement of Anthropography, or an exact Description of all the external Parts of the Human Body."

"Historical Essays on the Causes and Effects of the Revolution of France, by C. F. Beaupieu," in 2 volumes; a work of as much impartiality as perhaps can be expected in those who write so near the

the period of great events, and who have themselves been personally concerned. M. Beaulieu seems to have no prejudices to gratify, and no dogmas to assert that will not now be patiently listened to, when so many calamities and disappointments have softened the hearts of all parties.—As a work calculated to convey a general idea of history, by exhibiting the great and principal events which have taken place among the different people of the world, in a clear and well-contrived arrangement, the following seems to have a considerable degree of merit: “The Rudiments of History; or, A general and particular Sketch of the most celebrated ancient and modern Nations; intended as an Introduction to the History of them; followed by a brief Account of those Books in which History should be studied in all its Details: by Lewis Domairon, Professor of Belles Lettres in the Military School at Paris,” in 4 volumes.

Under the heads of History, Biography, or Politics, may be placed “The History of the Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Mysore, under the Reigns of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib, by J. Michaud,” a work which we should not have been sorry to see well executed by an English pen. M. Michaud’s materials are, as may be expected, principally taken from English publications; but with these and other helps he has formed a very comprehensive view of the subject, in a pleasing style, occasionally enlivened by apposite reflections.—“Memoirs of Egypt,” a second volume, has been published in Paris, in which there are many ingenious papers. In our Domestic Literature of the present

year, we noticed the Life of Spallanzani, by M. Tourtes: another memoir of that celebrated naturalist has appeared under the title of an “Historic Eulogy,” by J. L. Alibert.

Among the Voyages and Travels which have issued from the French press, we find “A Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa, performed in the Years 1786 and 1787; containing a Description of the Manners, Customs, Laws, Government, and Commerce of the States of Congo, frequented by Europeans: and an Account of the Slave-Trade as it existed there before the French Revolution. With a Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and a Description of the Military Establishment at that Colony, by L. Degrandpré, an Officer of the French Marine,” in 2 volumes. This work, although entitled a voyage, is chiefly historical, but sufficiently entertaining; and the information respecting Congo is highly interesting, and in a great measure new.—“The First Voyage round the World, by the Chevalier Pigafetta, with the Squadron of Magellan, during the Years 1519, 20, 21, and 22; followed by an Extract of the Treatise of Navigation, by the same Author; and a Dissertation on Martin Behaim, with a Description of his Terrestrial Globe; with Maps and Prints.” This attempt to deprive sir Francis Drake of the honour of being the first circumnavigator will doubtless excite considerable interest. Three centuries are elapsed since this first voyage round the world was performed; and it has till now remained unpublished. A translation would certainly bring this work into general notice.—“Travels

vels in Upper Pennsylvania, and in the State of New York, by an adopted Member of the Oneida Nation, translated and published by the Author of the Letters of an American Farmer," in 3 volumes, is a work which may be read with interest and pleasure; but we suspect imagination has supplied at least the colouring of the descriptions, if not more; and that, in many parts, we are to consider it as a composition between history and novel.

"Physical and Lithological Travels in Campania, by Scipio Breslak; translated by General Pomme-reuil," in 2 volumes, was published some years ago in Italy, under the title of the 'Physical Topography of Campania.' In its present form, however, it is so much improved and enlarged, that it may be recommended as a new and very instructive work.—The best publication under this head, of which we have seen any account, is a "Nautical Tour through the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, with Charts," in 2 volumes, which contains little original matter, if we except some geographical observations on the Euxine Sea, by colonel Lafille, communicated to the author by Mounier, the present sub-director of the fortifications of Geneva.

The additions to our stores of Classical works of polite criticism, or entertainment, are but scanty; most publications of this description in France, at present, being translations, or new editions. Of the literary history of France, however, many very curious anecdotes are to be found in the "Literary Correspondence, addressed to his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke (Paul), afterward Emperor of Rus-

sia; and to the Count Andrew Schowalow, Chamberlain to the Empress Catherine II. from 1774 to 1789, by John Francis La Harpe" in 4 volumes. La Harpe is in general a most severe critic, and has much of the presumption of conscious superiority; yet this work is so replete with entertainment of various kinds, that it will not be easy to dispraise it.—The "Tales, Fables, Songs, and Verses, by L. P. Segur senior, Ex-Ambassador and Member of the Legislative Body," display much gaiety of fancy and elegance of style.—A poem, in fifteen books, of very considerable merit has appeared under the title of "The Scandinavians, translated from the Swedo-Gothic, with Observations on the Manners and Religion of the Ancient Nations of Barbarian Europe, by J. C. Montbron," in 2 volumes. There is reason to doubt whether this be a translation; we have at least not been able to discover the existence of the pretended original. There are many marks of genius and fancy, however, although we cannot compliment the author on his knowledge of the northern nations, and their antiquities.—"The Universe; a Poem, in Prose, in twelve Books; to which are subjoined Notes and Observations on the Newtonian System, and the Natural Theory of the Earth." The author avows his design to be, to paint the universe, considered under its four grand points of view, natural, moral, political, and religious; and, consequently, to develop the four principal systems relative to each of these divisions; and linked together by the general system of the opposition of good and evil, on which the action of the

the poem depends. On these subjects he gives ample scope to the wildness of imagination, while his judgment is perplexed and confused in every step by the mist he raises around him. In his contempt for revealed religion, he dis-

covers the zeal of many of his countrymen; but on this subject it must be allowed that his ignorance is presumptuous, and that to the purity of his morals no objection can be made.

THE END.

1817
J. R. H.

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1801.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of any Month are put down in that Month.

1801.	Bank Stock.	3p.ct. red.	3p.ct. conf.	4p.ct. conf.	5p.ct. Navy.	5p.ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exchequer Bills.	Omm.	Irish 5pr.c.	Imp. 3p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish P. L. Ticket.	Eng. P.
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July	{ 168 165½	61½ 58½	62½ 58½	80½ 78	94½ 92	96½ 93	18½ 17½	5½ 5½	201½ 192	3 pr.		61 58½	57½ 57½	2 1	10½ 6½	93½ 90	60½ 57	15 15 0	86 85	99
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